

1585.

THE  
DESCRIPTION  
OF SCOTLAND,

Written at the first by Hector Boe-  
tius in Latine, and afterward tran-  
slated into the Scottish speech by  
John Bellenden Archdeacon of  
Murrey, and now final-  
lie into English by  
R.H.

Wherevpon is inferred the  
historie of Scotland, conteining  
the beginning, increase, proceeding,  
continuance, acts, and gouernement of  
the Scottish nation, from the originall  
thereof unto the yeare 1571, gathe-  
red and written in English by Ra-  
phael Hollindhead: and conti-  
nued from 1571, to  
1585, by o-  
thers.

Cum priuilegio Regie  
Majestatis.



To the Right worshipfull Maister

Thomas Secford Esquire and Maister of the

Requests, William Harison wisheth all knowledge

*of God, with dailie increase of his gifts at this*

*present, and in the world to come*

*life euerlasting.*



Having by your singular curtesie receiued great help in my description of the riuers & streames of Britaine, and by conference of my trauell with the platforms of those few shires of England which are by your infinite charges already finished (as the rest shall be in time by Gods helpe, for the inestimable benefit of such as inhabit this Iland) not a little polished those rough courses of diuers waters not exactly before time described by *Leland* our countrieman, or any ancient writer, I could not deuise any thing more agreeable with mine abilitie and your good nature (which greatlie fauoureth any thing that is doone for a commoditie vnto many) than to shew some token of my thankfulness for these your manifold kindneses, by the dedication of my simple translation of the description of Scotland at this time vnto your worship.

Indeed the trauell taken heerein is not great, because I tie not my translation vnto his letter, neither the treatise of it selfe such, as taketh vp any huge roome in the volume of this chronicle. But such as it is, and whatsoever it is, I yeeld it wholie vnto you, as a testimonie of my good will, which detesteth vtterlie to receiue any benefit, though it be neuer so small, and not to be thankfull for it. Certes my vocation is such, as calleth me to a farre other kind of studie, so that I exercise these things onlie for recreation sake, & to saie the truth, it is much vnfitting for him that professeth Diuinitie, to applie his time any other wise vnto contemplation of ciuill histories. And this is the cause wherefore I haue chosen rather, on-

*A.ij.*

lie

lie with the losse of three or foure daies to translate *Hector* out of the Scotish (a toong verie like vnto ours) than with more expence of time to deuise a new, or follow the Latine copie, which is far more large and copious. How excellentlie if you consider the art, *Boetius* hath penned it, and the rest of his historie in Latine, the skilfull are not ignorant: but how profitablie and compendiously *John Bellenden* archdeacon of Murrey his interpreter hath turned him from the Latine into the Scotish toong, there are verie few Englishmen that know, bicause we want the books.

Wherefore sith the learned read him in his owne stile, and his countrimen in their naturall language, why should not we borow his description, and read the same in English likewise, sith the knowledge therof may redound to the great benefit of so manie as read or heare the same? Accept therefore (right worshipfull) this my simple offer, and although I assure my selfe, your naturall inclination to be such, as that it will take nothing in ill part that is well meant toward you, how rudelic soeuer it be handled in the doing, yet I will not let to craue pardon for my presumption, in that I dare be so bold as to offer such a trifle to you, whom more weightie affaires doo dailie call from things of so small importance.

Almightie God keepe your worship from time to time in his feare, and bleffe you and my good ladie your wife with such increase of his benefits, as may most redound to his glorie,  
& your own advantage.





The contents of the chapters contained  
in this booke.

- 1 **O**F the bounds of Albion, with the fundrie commodities thereof, and of the great infirmities that fall vnto the people there for their intemperancie : and finallie of the religion vsed there in old time.
- 2 The description of the east, west, and middle borders of Scotland, with the most notable townes and flouds thereof.
- 3 The description of Gallowaie, Kile, Carricke, and Cunningham, with the notable townes, lakes, and riuers in the same.
- 4 The situation of Renfrew, Cliddesdale, Lennox, Lowmund, Argile, Loughquaber, Lorne and Kentire, with all the notable things conteined in the same.
- 5 Of Rosse, Strathuerne, and Murrey land, with such lakes and riuers as are to bee touched there.
- 6 Of Boene, Anze, Buquhane, Mar, Mernes, Fisse & Angus, with the lakes, flouds, abbeis, townes, and other notable commodities there to be seene and found.
- 7 Of Louthian, Striuelin, Menteith, Calidon wood, Bowgewall, Gareoth, with the notable citis, castels and flouds thereof.
- 8 Of the great plentie of hares, harts, and other wild beasts in Scotland, also of the strange nature of fundrie Scottis dogs, and of the nature of salmon.
- 9 Of fundrie kinds of muskles and cockles in Scotland, and pearles gotten in the same. Of vncouth and strange fish there to be seene, and of the nature of the herbe Citifus, commonlie called Hadder.
- 10 Of the Iles of Scotland, and such notable things as are to be found in them.
- 11 Of the nature of their Claike geese, and diuerse maner of their procreation, and of the Ile of Thule.
- 12 The description of Orkeney, and Shetland, with other fundrie small Iles, and of the maners and conditions of the people dwelling in the same.
- 13 Of the maners of the Scots in these daies, and their comparison with the behaviour of the old and such as liued long since within this Iland.
- 14 The description of an ancient Pict, and such as dwelled beyond the wall of Hadrian.
- 15 Of bishoprikes, vniuersities, and counties in Scotland.





The authors out of whome this historie of  
*Scotland hath beene gathered.*

Hector Boetius.

Iohannes Ferrarius Pedemontanus.

Iohannes Maior.

Iohannes Fourdon.

Rogerus Houeden.

Richardus Southwell.

Wilhelmus Paruus, siue Neoburgensis.

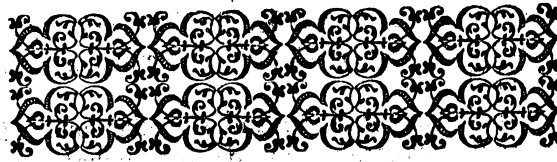
Albertus Crantz.

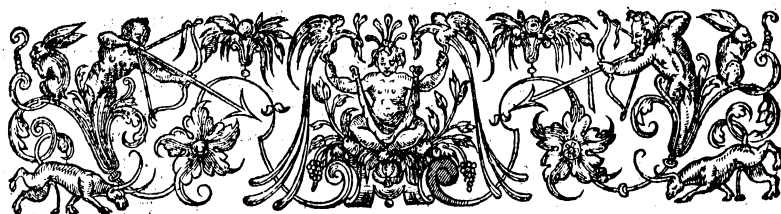
Aeneas Syluius.

Edward Hall.

Richard Grafton.

Iohn Stow: and others.





# The description of Scotland, writ-

ten at the first by *Hector Boetius* in Latine, and after-

ward translated into the *Scotish speech* by

*John Bellenden* archdeacon of Mur-

rey, and now finally into

English by W. H.

The bounds of Albion with  
the sundrie commodities thereof,  
and of the great infirmities that  
fall vnto the people there for  
their intemperancie, and final-  
lie of the religion vsed  
there in old time.

## The first Chapter.



The Ile of Al-  
bion containeth  
in the whole cir-  
cumference, 2  
99. miles, ha-  
ving in length  
700. & in bredth  
300. as appea-  
reth well by the  
coast therof that  
doth lie ouer a-  
gainst France  
where it is broa-  
dest, and from

whence it gathereth narrower and narrower, till it  
come to the vtter marches & last bounds of England  
and Scotland. For betwixt the Mule of Gallowaie  
that is on the west side ouer against the Irish seas,  
and saint Ebbs head, that lieth vpon the Germane  
ocean toward the east, are scarcelie 130 miles, and  
thenceforth it groweth smaller and smaller till it  
touch vpon the north seas, where it is not aboue thir-  
tie miles, as I noted before in the description of  
Britaine.

This Ile is replenished with people, horses, and  
all other kind of cattell and coine in most abundant  
maner, except it be in such places where as God of  
his singular goodnesse hath otherwise indued the soile  
with rich mines of gold, silver, tin, brasse, copper,  
and quicksilver, which for the most part are so plenti-  
full, that they suffice not onlie for the necessaries of  
the whole Island, but also of sundrie regions that are  
situated round about it, if the inhabitants were skil-  
full and painefull to deale withall accordinglie. But  
the abundance of all other things requisite for the  
vse of man, that is found generallie in our Island,  
maketh the people lesse carefull of these commodi-  
ties, and more giuen to idlenesse. For beside the  
great plentie of those things which heauen and earth

do minister, as grasse, coine and cattell, foules of  
sundrie kinds, there is such store of fish in all parties  
of our seas, especiallie towards the north, that the  
same would suffice to feed and susteine all the people  
of the Island, if there were none other commodities  
to be found within the same.

For the inhabitants of all countries that border  
vpon vs, as France, Flanders, Zealand, Holland,  
and a great part of Germanie (especiallie those which  
lie nere vnto the coast) do saile hither with great  
numbers of vessels daile to fish vpon our coasts, and  
buy such as we haue already caught, not onlie for  
their owne vse, but also for the Lenton prouision of  
such nations as lie vpon the Leuant seas, where they  
sell the same at their owne wills, with very speedie  
utterance. Many other rich and precious commodi-  
ties are to be gotten in the said Ile, whereof the a-  
foresaid nations do make no small account, be-  
side these common things. What shall I saie of our  
woolles, which are in so high estimation in all lands,  
because of their necessarie vses, and whereof a great  
part is so fine and soft, that of it are made the costlie  
scarlets, pliant gloues, and manie other grained  
and delicate clothes, of which I thought good to make  
this mention, because the report thereof is not yet  
made common and generallie knowne to all men.

Diomitus A-  
lexandrinus  
saith that the  
wool of Bri-  
taine is often  
spun so fine  
that it is in  
manner com-  
parable to  
the spiders  
draught.

Certes this I dare boldly affirme, that if the  
kingdoms of Britaine had such grace giuen them  
from aboue, as that they might once liue in vnitie,  
or by any meanes be brought vnder the subiection of  
one prince, they should per long seele such a fauour in  
this amitie, that they would not onlie liue franklie  
of their own, without any foren purchase of things,  
but also resist all outward inuasion, with small tra-  
uell and lesse damage. For as touching their per-  
sons, and likewise their notable wits, apt both for  
the attaining of learning and knowledge of handi-  
crafts, they are inferiour to no other nation. There-  
vnto we find them to be couragious and hardie, of-  
fering themselves often vnto the vttermost perils  
with great assurance, so that a man may pronounce  
nothing to be ouerhard or past their power to per-  
forme, if they would giue themselves to liue tempe-  
ratelie, and follow their predecessors in moderation  
of diet.

Wherefore it is (as I thinke) that almightie God in  
his prouident disposition of all things, hath ordeined  
their grounds (otherwise plentifullie indued with all  
kinds of commodities) to be destitute and void of  
wine; as foreseeing that the said liquor, which bring-  
eth greatest benefit vnto other countries, would  
grow in the end to be most pernicious & noisome to  
them.

## The description of Scotland.

them. For they are giuen to such unnaturall rauen-  
ning and greedie desire of forreine things (whilest  
they contemne or not regard their owne) that they  
cannot reſtraine the immoderate vse of wine, and  
exceſſe vſed in drincking of the ſame: inſomuch that  
we may ſee diuerſe to be ouertaken and haunted, not  
onely with ſundrie kinds of grieuous maladies  
common to vs and them of the maine, but alſo ma-  
nie other which they haue not, neither be anie thing  
at all acquainted with, as experience daile tea-  
cheth.

Some by long ſickneſſe and languifhing græſes  
do grow into ſuch deformitie onely through exceſ-  
ſiue feeding, and greedie abuſe of wine, that if you  
knew them when they were chyldren & yong men,  
you ſhall hardlie remember them when they be old  
and aged; and that which moze is, in compariſon of o-  
ther that liue moze ſoberlie, you will hardlie thinke  
them to be borne in the Ile, but rather ſuppoſe them  
to be changelings and monſters, brought out of o-  
ther countries to gaze and looke vpon: diuerſe of  
them through the continuall vse of wine are mole-  
ſted in their age, with phreneticall pangs and paſ-  
ſions. Seldome alſo ſhall you ſee thoſe that are giuen  
much vnto wine and ſuch welfare, to become pa-  
rents of manie chyldren, ſith their naturall moiſture  
and generatiue force is much abated, if not altoge-  
ther extinguiſhed by ſuch immoderate diet.

But to returne to our purpoſe, the Albanes or  
Bytains, as Caſar in his commentaries, and Ta-  
citus in his annales do report, were very religious,  
after the maner of religion vſed in old time. For in  
thoſe daies the prieſts of Bytaine named Druides,  
were expert both in naturall and morall philoſophie,  
and from thence came the firſt profeſſors of that  
ſect and opinion into France. The principall ſeat of  
their prieſts was in the Ile of Span, which was re-  
puted at that ſeaſon for the wellſpring and fountaine  
of all learning and knowledge, and after that their  
prieſts were once conuerted to the catholike faith,  
they perſeuered in the ſame with great conſtancie,  
without anie note of hereſie.

The description of the eaſt, weſt, and  
middle borders of Scotland, with the  
moſt notable townes and flouds  
thereof.

### The ſecond Chapter.

**T**he Picts had ſometimes  
the principall and moſt fer-  
tile part of that countrie,  
which now is vnder the regi-  
ment of the Scots, and after  
they had continued in the  
ſame by the ſpace of 1171  
yeares, ioined in maner in  
perpetuall league with the Scots, and maintaining  
mutuallie the warres ſometimes with the Bytains  
and Romans, and ſometimes alſo ſarring with their  
Scottiſh neighbours, at the laſt they fell into extreme  
hatred one of another, till it was brought to paſſe  
by the diuine prouidence, that the ſaid Picts were  
ouerthrowne, their name extinguiſhed, and the king-  
dome vniited vnto that other of the Scots for euer-  
more. After this time furthermoze, although the  
Scots haue bene verie oftentimes aſſailed with  
moſt dangerous and terrible wars, and oftentimes  
inuaſed by enimies from diuers regions, yet ſuch  
bath bene the fauour of almighty God towards  
them, that ſtill they flouriſh and reſeigne their eſtate  
intoliate.

Whatſoener we haue generallie ſpoken of Al-  
bion, that is chieſlie to be vnderſtood of the Scots,  
and farre greater, eſpeciallie among the Scots,  
as they call them in the high land, as people that haue  
leſſe to do with forreine merchants, and therefore  
are leſſe delicate, and not ſo much corrupted with  
ſtrange bloud and alliance. Whereby in like ſort it  
commeth to paſſe, that they are moze hard of con-  
ſtitution of bodie, to beare off the cold blaſts, to  
watch better, and abſtaine long, wherunto alſo it ap-  
peareth that they are bold, nimble, and the more  
ſkilfull in the warres. As for their faith and promiſe,  
they hold it with greateſt conſtancie, as Hector hath  
ſet downe. Towards the Almaine ſea, I find, that  
Scotland hath the Picts, ſometime the moſt plenti-  
ous region of the Picts for their march, which ſo long  
as the ſaid people did inhabit it, was called Dercra,  
or Derc; but after their expulſion, it was named  
Picts, that is to ſay, the marches or limits of their  
countrie. In proceſſe of time alſo the Scots exten-  
ded their bounds euen vnto the Tweed, which now  
diuideth Northumberland from the Picts.

On the other ſide of the countrie towards the  
weſt, ſundrie ſmall bournes deſcend from the Cher-  
iot hilles, and other mounteines lieng thereabout in-  
to the Solue, diuiding Cumberland from Arman-  
dale, and ſo being brought into one chanell, they fall  
together into the Iriſh ocean, & ſtand for the bounds  
of Scotland vpon that halfe of the countrie. The  
Cheriot hilles are in like ſort taken for the middle  
marches of the region, which with certeine ſmall  
brookes that fall from the ſame, do ſeparate both the  
countries, wherby their limits are knowne. The  
Picts hath vnder marches at ſeueral places (whi-  
ther it is extended) as ſometime the Germane ſea,  
ſometime eaſt Louthian, ſometime the Tweed,  
and ſometime the Forth, and among manie ſtrong  
holds and caſtles, that ſtand vpon the borders, is the  
towne and caſtell of Warwicke in time paſt called  
Ordolucium, as the inhabitants are called Ordoluci  
(if Hector be not deceived).

The Tweed ſpringeth out from a meane head, and  
after his augmentation with other ſmall waters  
that fall into the ſame, it deſcendeth with a large  
courſe into the Almaine ſea. Beyond the Tweed, to  
the middle march vnder the Cheriot hilles lieth De-  
uidale, that is to ſay, the vale of Deffe: beyond it  
is Eskdale, or the vale of Eſke, of a riuer ſo called  
that runneth through the ſame: ouer againſt Eſke-  
dale on the other ſide lieth Cudale, ſo named of the  
riuer Cus that paſſeth thereby, and falleth into the  
water of Annand: but Eſk and Cus do run into  
the Tweed: furthermoze, on the weſt ſide ouer a-  
gainſt the Iriſh ſea, lieth Annandale, wherunto the  
Annand water giueth denomination, which mar-  
cheth ſometimes without the bounds of Spiddeldale,  
where all the three riuers aforeſaid, that is to ſay,  
Cus, Annand and Sulway deſcend together in one  
bottom into the Iriſh ſeas.

In Annandale is a loch or lake named Lochma-  
ben, ſixe miles in length and foure in bredth, not  
onely verie full of fiſh, but of ſuch kind as few men  
are acquainted with. Beſide this lake alſo there is a  
caſtell of the ſame name, builded of purpoſe to re-  
ſtreine the furious dealing of theues which do great  
hurt in thoſe quarters. For not onely in Annandale,  
but in all the dales or vales afore rehearſed, are ma-  
nie ſtrong theues, which often ſpoile the countrie,  
and exerciſe much cruell laughter vpon ſuch as in-  
habit there, in anie troublous time. Theſe robbers  
(becauſe the Engliſh do border vpon their drie mar-  
ches, and are their perpetuall enimies) do often  
make forceable rodes into the Engliſh bounds, for  
their better maintenance and ſuſtentation, or elſe  
they

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lakes, na

they suffer paines from them, as men leading in the meane season a poore beggerlie and verie miserable life. In the time of peace also, they are so intyred to theft and rapine, that they cannot leaue off to steale at home: and notwithstanding that they be often verie sore troubled therfore, yet they thinke it praiseworthy to molest their aduersarie, as they call the truer sort, whereby it cometh to passe, that manie rich and fertile places of Scotland lie wast and void of culture for feare of their inuasion.

Not far from the Sulwaie (a water where great plentie of fish is to be had) are manie quicke-sands, and those so perillous that no man may well go ouer the same, but with great difficultie and danger of his life. This vale of Annand was sometime called Ordouicia, and the people thereof Ordouices, whose ancient barbarousnesse is reported to be such, that in times past they refused not to kill and eate such prisoners as had yielded themselves vnto them. The verie women in like sort would slea their husbands, if at any time they fled from the field, and returned to their houses, onelie to giue occasion vnto other men to stand to their tacklings at euerie such adventure. On the west borders and also toward the northlieth Fiddesdale, so called of the water of Fiddes. It beginneth with a verie narrow course, and increasing broder in the middle marches of Scotland, it finally restraineth it selfe againe, till it cometh at the sea, whither it runneth with a swift course, as the Scottish writers do report. In this vale standeth a towne named Dunitie, wherein manie fine clothes speciallie whites are made, which are brought vp and caried into England, France, Flanders, and Germanie, where they are had in great price and estimation.

The description of Gallowaie, Kile, Carricke, and Cuningham, with the notable townes, lakes and riuers in the same.

### The third Chapter.

**A**Boue Fiddesdale is Gallowaie (named sometime Brigantia) the people whereof were in times past called Brigantes: this region is diuided by the water of Cree into two parts, whereof that which lieth nereſt to Fiddesdale, is called nether Gallowaie, and the other that is aboue the Cree is named vpper Gallowaie. In nether Gallowaie is Kirkcubvie, a rich towne and of a god trade in merchandize, and in vpper Gallowaie is Whitherne, in Latine *Candida Casa*, an abbey dedicated to saint Minian the bishop, and there lieth his carcase, which is honozed of the people with great superstition and errour. Aboue Whitherne is Wigtown towne, and not far from thence is the great lake of Spirtoun, the one halfe whereof doth freeze by naturall congelation as other poles and places do; but the other is neuer ſene to beare any yce at all, which vnto me doth ſeeme to be a great wonder. In Gallowaie moreover are two other lakes, the Salset and the Pentramen, of equal length and breadth with the Lochminton; as for Gallowaie it selfe, it yeldeth out a great point, promontorie, or cape (which the Scots call a mule or nuke) into the Irish sea. The common sort name it the mules nuke, and by the rounding of it selfe, it maketh two great lakes, named Keen and Lois, except I be deceived,

one of these lakes or poles is 30, and the other 16, miles of length, and both full of oysters, herkings, congers, cockles, and other like kinds of fish.

Some are of the opinion that Brigantia was the same region of Britaine that is now called Wales, wherein the Britains inhabited many yeares after their expulsion out of Britaine. But this opinion is false, with the Romans write that Span the Island lieth ouer against Brigantium and midwaie betwene the same and Ireland: for albeit that the bates or bates are now worne wider & further distant each from other by the washing and working of the sea, yet the same latitude & elevation of the pole that Ptolome ascribed to the Brigants, agreeth well to the height of the pole ouer Gallowaie, which is verie far from Wales, sithens the Ile of Span lieth also 300 miles from thence, and in the sight of Gallowaie. In like sort by the testimonie of sundrie authors both Irish and Spaniſh (we asſirme that out of Brigantium a citie in Spaine, now named Compostella) there came a new companie of people into Ireland called Spaniards, and out of Ireland another crew of the same nation with king Fergus into Albion, and in remembrance of the citie Brigance, wherein they inhabited whilst they were in Spaine, they called themselves Brigantes. To this opinion in like sort Cornelius Tacitus doth ſeeme to lean, who ſaith, that the Brigantes descended from the Spaniards, which in his time dwelled in the uttermost parts of Britaine, including vnder that name all the Ile of Albion. These regions afore rehearsed, that is to say, Annandale, Fiddesdale, and Gallowaie, beside fine wools and store of cattell, doth also abound with all kinds of graine, wheate onelie excepted.

Aboue Gallowaie is Carricke, sometime a portion of the region of the Silures, of whose name it is not yet certeinly knowne, whether it was deriued from the famous citie Carricke, whose ruines do yet remaine, or not. Silurie is diuided into three parts, to wit, Carricke, Kile, and Cuningham. In the first, as I said, was Carricke the noble citie: and in this countrie are manie strong castels, both by naturall situation and policie of man: hercin also are faire kine and oxen, whose flesh is delicat and verie tender to be eaten, the fallow moreover of their wombs is so moist and sapie that it neuer waxeth hard, but relenteth of the owne accord, and becommeth like vnto oile. Beyond Carricke is Kile, so called of Coile king of Britaine, sometime slaine in the said region, and therein is a stone, not much aboue 12 miles from the towne of Ayr, full 30 foot high, and three elns of breadth, called the deafe stone, not without cause: for when a man is on the one side thereof, he shall not heare what is said or done on the other, though there be neuer so great noise made, no not if a canon should be discharged of set purpose; which to me doth ſeeme vnpoſſible, neuertheleſſe the further a man standeth from the same, the better shall he heare, whatſoeuer the noise be. Next to Kile is Cuningham the third part of Silurie, whose inhabitants in time past were most noisome to the Romans. In Kile is a pole named Dohne, from whence the riuier Dohne doth runne through the middest of that region into the Irish sea. In Cuningham likewise is a lake called Carnoth, equall in quantitie vnto the Dohne, and no leſſe famous for the abundance of fish that is daillie found therein; and not farre from the same is the towne called Largs, where Alexander the third king of Scotland of that name, sometime ouercame the Danes and Norwegians, whereby it grew to be famous, and of more reputation among vs.

Reade in the Latine HeGor. 12 foot in hith 30 foot in length, and three elns thick.

The

# The description of Scotland.

## The situation of Renfrew, Clidestale, Lennox, Lowmound, Argile,

Louchquhaber, Lozne, and Kentire, with all the notable things contained in the same.

## The fourth Chapter.

**T**he water of Clide runneth Lennor on the north side from the baronie of Renfrew, and it ariseth out of the same hill in Calidonwood, from whence the Armand falleth, and goeth with a long course into the Irish sea; some call this river Cluda, and Cluda: but Tacitus nameth it Clota. Not far also from the fountaines of Clide, ariseth the water of Forth, that runneth on the contrarie side into the Germane ocean. In like sort after the water of Clide hath run for a season toward the north, it gathereth some what inward, till it come to the mountaine of Cranzeben, & from thence holdeth on with a swift course, till it fall (as I said) into the Irish seas. The countrie where it runneth is named Clidestale. Betwixt Clide and Lennor lieth the baronie of Renfrew, wherein are two poles named Dubinsouth and Leboth, of which the first is 12 miles in compass, the other 20, and both verie rich and plentifull of fish. But in Lennor, that lieth next above Renfrew toward the ocean (called by Ptolomie Lelgonia) is a great mere or lake that hight Lochmond, of 24 miles in length, and eight in breadth, and within this lhin or pole are 30 Islands, well replenished with churches and dwelling houses.

And in the same also are three things worthy consideration, whereof the first is, that the pleasant and verie delicat fishes there bred do want fins. The second is, that the water will often swell with huge waues though no wind be stirring, and that in such wise that the best mariners in the countrie dare not adventure to saile thereon. There is also a verie fruitful and commodious Ile therein, verie necessarie for the pasturage of cattell, which flieth hither and thither as the wind bloweth. This lake is situat at the foot of the hill called Cranzeben, which were sometime the marches or limits betwixt the Scots and Picts, and are extended from Lochlowmound to the mouth of Dee. Certes the Picts had no part of the countrie beyond the Cranzeben, nor toward the Irish seas, for this region was inhabited by the Scots. Eight miles from Lochlowmond is the castell of Dumbzittene named sometime Alclud, and here the water of Leuen falleth into the Clide.

Beyond Lochlowmond is Argile, an hillie countrie and full of crags and mounteins, therein also are two lakes, Lochfine & Lochquho, that diuide the region into three parts, that in the middelt being called Knapdale. In Lochfine is moze plentie of bering than in anie part of the coast that compasseth the Island, but in Lochquho are such kinds of fish to be vsualle had, as are commonlie bred in fresh waters. There are mozeouer in Argile two castels, Glenunquhart and Enconell, & in it are 12 Isles, whose chiefe commoditie resteth rather in pasturage for cattell, than abundance of graine. In Argile furthermore are manie rich mines full of mettall, but the people there haue no skill to find and trie out the same. The constant report also goeth there, how there is a stone

of such nature, that if it be hidden in straw for a certeine season, it will kinde of it selfe, and consume the straw to ashes. There are seuen other lakes in Argile, whereof some are thirtie miles in length and breadth, and other lesse.

It was told me once by Doncan Campbell a noble knight, that out of Carloll, one of the poles of Argile, there came a terrible beast, in the yeare of Grace 1510, which was of the bignesse of a greibound, and footed like a gander, and issuing out of the water earlie in the morning about midsummer time, did verie easilie and without anie visible force or streining of himselfe ouerthrow huge oaks with his taile, & thereunto killed three men out-right that hunted him with three strokes of his said taile, the rest of them sauing themselves in trees thereabouts, whilst the foresaid monster returned to the water. Those that are giuen to the obseruations of rare and vncouth sights, beleeue that this beast is neuer sene but against some great trouble & mischief to come vpon the realme of Scotland. For it hath bene described also before that time, although not verie often. Lozne abutteth vpon Argile, which was once a part of Argile, and reacheth out into the Irish sea, in manner of a cape or tong, full firtie miles. This point also was called Nouantia, but now it is named Kentire (that is to saie) the head of Lozne, whose uttermost part is not full 16 miles from Ireland. Some authoers affirme, that both Argile and Kentire, were called Nouantia in old time, sith Ptolomie maketh no mention of Argile in his cosmographie. In this Lozne is great abundance of barlie, which the Scots call beir. Beyond Lozne is Louchquhaber, heretofore a portion of Murrey land, verie rich in mines of iron and lead, and no lesse beneficiall to the countrie in all kinds of cattell.

There are likewise manie woods, manie lakes, and manie riuers, but two of them are most notable for the plentie of samons, and other delicate fish, as well of the salt as fresh water, which be there taken, and almost without anie trauell; neither is there anie where else in all the Ile such store. The one of these is named Lochtie, & the other Spanze, but vpon what occasion these names were giuen to them I find as yet no certieintie. The Lochtie riseth not above eight miles from Lochnes, and falleth beneath the same into the Germane ocean, and beside it, there is a rockie crag, running out at length into the sea, named Hardnoimorth. In the mouth of Lochtie likewise was sometime a rich towne named Inuerlochtie, whither the merchants of France & Spaine did make their daillie resort, till at the last it was so defaced by the warres of the Danes, that it neuer was able since the said time to recouer his pishinate renowne. But whether the negligence of the due repara of this towne, proceedeth of the sloth of our people, or hatred that some enuious persons do beare to cities and walled townes in our countrie, as yet it is vncerteine. Beyond Lochtie is the castell of Dunstafage, in time past named Euonim: beyond Dunstafage also is the mouth of the water of Spanze, where it falleth (as I heare) into the Germane ocean.

The discourse of Ros, Stranauerne, & Murrey land, with the lakes, riuers, and notable townes in them.

## The fift Chapter.

**B**yond the water of Spanze lieth Ros, sometime called Lugia, a verie narrow region (God it wote) but running out in great length through the middelt

of the Island, being enuironed on both sides with the ocean. That portion thereof which lieth nearest to the Irish seas, is verie difficult for such as trauell by the countrey, by reason of the high mounteins, which maketh the countrey more apt for wild beasts than mankind to inhabit: neuertheless waring more fertill on that part which stretcheth toward the German sea, it yieldeth it selfe to culture, and rendreth some graine. In pasture also it is not altogether vnprofitable, sith there is good grasse and verie batable for their heards: for the ballies there, being watered with sundrie pleasant streames, doe yeld a sweet and verie sauozie grasse, therewith all sorts of cattell are verie much delighted. In Kos are sundrie lakes, but Lochbun is the greatest. There are also manie fresh riuers, fraught with excellent fish, and finally a notable firth or safe haven called Cromart, whereunto diuers in time of necessitie do resort, to auoid the danger of shipwacke, that otherwise would assuredly annoy them. The Scottish men call it Heill of Shipmen. In this region moreover is the towne called Spaine, where the bones of Dutho an holy man (as they say) do rest, & are had in greater estimation among the superstitious sort (as sometime ouer the whole Island) than the holie gospell of God and merits of his sonne, whereby we are onelie saued. Two ancient houses are likewise maintained in one vale of the Kos, whose formes resemble so manie belles, but to what end as yet I do not find. Pert vnto the said Kos lieth the Stranaunerie, as the uttermost region of Scotland, the coasts thereof abutting for a while vpon the Deucalidon sea, do afterward turne againe toward the Almain seas, hauing partlie the Deucalidon coast, and partlie Cathnessle vpon the north side, Southerland on the east, Rossa on the south, and Deucalidon againe vpon the west. There are three great crags or points lieng on the uttermost side of Stranaunerie, that is to saie, the Hoie, Hotochun (the greatest of the three) and Dohu misle, which because they thow farre off, into the sea, do make two great firths and lakes, each of them being severallie distinguished from other.

Pert vnto Cathnessle lieth Southerland, a profitable region both for graine and all kinds of poultrion; but chieflie for the nourishment of bestiall, whereunto it chieflie inclineth, as do the other two last before rehearsed. On the further side also of this lieth Spurrey land, sometime called Vararis, although the marches thereof are changed from that they were of old. For whereas in time past all the region lieng betwene Spate and Spesse to the Irish sea, was nam'd Spurrey, now it is knowne to be quite beyond the water of Spate & Balloche, & reacheth on vntill it come to the Irish sea. Betwixt Kos and Spurrey land, is a great baie; and likewise a descent of sundrie waters: for therein fall the Pesse, Gardin, Findorne, Log and Spate, whereof this latter runneth with so fierce & violent a streame, that the force of the sea at the filds struing to enter into the same, is put back, & may not resist the inuincible fall, and beates backe the water that descendeth into the ocean. The Pesse issues out of a lake of the same name (which is not passing 8 miles from the said plash, from whence the Lochie runneth) & thence goeth into the Irish seas: and this propertie it hath, that neither the streame, neither the lake it selfe will yeld to be frozen in the verie deepe of winter. Such also is the force thereof, that if anie ice or anie frozen substance be cast therein; it will by and by relent and dissolve againe to water, whereby it becommeth verie profitable for such cattell as are benumbed with cold. In the mouth of the Pesse, standeth a towne called Inuernele, where sometime was great abundance of herring taken, but now they be

gone by the secret working of God. The common people put the fault in the rich & men of higher calling, who enuiling the commoditie of the poore inhabitants, will often seme to bereue them of this emolument, by force and slaughter. Whereupon (as they say) it cometh to passe, that the increase of fishes decreaseth, and verie small store is taken there by manie yeares after such iniurie offered.

But to proceed: beside Lochnessle, which is 24 miles of length, and foure in bredth, by reason of the great woods there standing, is great store of sauage beasts, as harts, wild horses, roes, and such like. There are likewise martins, beuers, foxes & wezels, whose skins and cases are sold vnto strangers at huge and excellent prices. In Spurrey land also is not alonely great plentie of wheat, barlie, otes, and such like graine, beside nuts and apples; but likewise of all kinds of fish, and especiallie of samon. The people thereof in like sort doe vse a strange manner of fishing: for they make a long woele of twicker, narrow necked, and wide mouthed, with such cunning, that when the tide cometh, the fish thow themselves into the same, and forthwith are so inclosed, that whilist the tide lasteth he cannot get out, nor after the water is gone escape the hands of the fishers. In this region moreover is a lake named Spiney, wherein is exceeding plentie of swans.

The cause of their increase in this place is ascribed to a certeine herbe, which groweth there in great abundance, and whose seed is verie pleasant vnto the said foule in the eating, wherefore they call it Swangirs: and hereunto such is the nature of the same, that where it is once sowne or planted, it will neuer be destroyed, as may be proued by experience. For albeit that this lake be five miles in length, and was sometime within the remembrance of man verie well stored with samon and other fish, yet after that this herbe began to multiply vpon the same, it became so shallow, that one may now wade through the greatest part thereof, by means whereof all the great fishes there be betterlie consumed. In this portion furthermore, is the church of Pette, where the bones of little John remaine in great estimation. Certes his carcase hath bene 14 foot long, his members well proportioned according to his stature, and not fullie six yeeres before this booke was written (by Boetius) he saw his hand bone, which seemed so great as the whole thigh of a man, and he did thrust his arme into the hollownesse thereof, whereby it appeareth what mightie people grew by in our region before they were overcome with gluttonie and excess. In this quarter finally is the towne called Elgin, not farre from the mouth of Spate, and therein is a cathedrall church furnished with canons: there are thereto sundrie rich and verie wealthie abbeies in Spurrey, as Killos of the order of the Cisterciars, and Bluscardie of the Cluniaks.

This was no Scot but an Englishman, dead into Ireland, and then into Scotland

Of Boene, Anze, Buchquhane, Mar, Mernis, Fiffe, and Angus, with the lakes, foulds, abbies, townes, and other notable things contained in the same.

### The sixth Chapter.

**N**ext vnto the Spurrey lieth Boene, and Anze, two fertill and plentifull regions, which extend their bounds euenuo the seas. They are both verie notable indowed with batable pastures, and by reason thereof are verie full of

## The description of Scotland.

of cattell, they yeld mozeouer excellent corne, and by means of their large woods and forrests not without great store of wild beasts of sundrie kinds and natures. There also into the Dourne water, which is a river marvellouslie stozed with fish, standeth a towne named Banfe, and vnder these two regions aforesaid lieth Buchquhane, a verie batable soile for all kinds of cattell, but especiallie of sheepe, whose wolle excédeth that of the like beast of all other countries thereabouts for whitenesse and fineness. The rivers that are in this countrie do in like manner abound with samons, so that there is no one of them void of this commoditie, except the Kattra onelie, wherein it is not heard that anie hath bene scene: herein also standeth the castell of Slanis, in which the high constable of Scotland dwelleth, and nere unto the same is a marvellous caue: for the water that dropeth into the same, in a short processe of time becommeth an hard white stone, and except they had bene oft remoued heretofore, the caue it selfe had bene filled vp with the same manie peeres agoe.

This region is void of rats, and such is the nature thereof, that if anie be brought thither from other places, they are found to die immediatlie: finally it is most marvellous of all, that as otes do grow there in manie places of themselves without culture and tillage; so if a man come thither of set purpose to mow downe the same, he shall find nothing els but emptie huls and straw: but if he chance vpon the sudden and without premeditation of the thing to cut downe anie (a matter impossible in my mind) he shall find them so good and full as anie are elsewhere, to be gathered and led home. Certes it appeareth hereby, that this is nothing else but an illusion, wherewith the wicked fends do captivate and blind the senses of the superstitious sort; for that it should be so by nature, it is a thing altogether impossible. Next vnto this lieth the great region of Mar, which is verie plentiful of cattell, and extendeth 60 miles in length, from the Almaine seas to Wapenoch. In this is the citie of Aberdeen, wherein is a bishops see, and noble vniuersitie, sometime founded by William Elphinston bishop there. This citie lieth betwixt two rich rivers, the Dorne and the Dee, wherein is the greatest store of samons that is to be found againe within the compasse of Albion, and likewise the greatest and longest if you respect their quantitie.

Next vnto Mar, we haue Pernis toward the sea, a verie fat soile, full of pasture, and abundantlie replenished with euerie sort of cattell. In this portion standeth Dunnoter the marshall of Scotland's house, and likewise the towne of Foridon, in which the bones of Palladius do rest, who is taken generally for the apostle of our nation. The water of Orkney is bound vnto this region, which is otherwile called Forthelke, a verie dangerous chanell, and wherein manie haue perished for default of a brydge; as they haue attempted to passe and repasse ouer the same. Angus bordereth vpon the Pernis, it was sometime part of Forreth, and now watered with three notable rivers, as the Forthelke already mentioned, and marvellouslie replenished with samons, likewise the Southelke; and finally the Tait, the noblest water in all Scotland, and remembred by the Romane writers vnder the name of Tan.

In Angus also is an high mountaine or promontorie called the Red braes, which lieth out far off into the Almaine seas. The Tait also passeth farre beyond the mounteins of Granzben out of Loch Tait, which is a pole of 24 miles of length, and 10 of breadth, wherein are not onelie diuers Islands, with castles in them, but the water of the lake it selfe being most

fine and subtil) is notable replenished with great store of fish, and therefore verie commodious for such as dwell about it. It falleth into the Almaine sea betwixt Dundee, a towne called in old time Aleum, wherein I was borne, and in which the people trauell verie painfullie about weaving and making of cloth. There are in Angus also manie other cities and rich abbeies, as Pountros, Bredin, and Forfaire, beside so manie castles as lieth not in me to number. This likewise is not to be passed ouer with silence, that whereas Forfaire was in times past a notable citie, strengthened with two roiall castles, as the ruines do yet declare, now it is brought vnto little more than a countrie village, replenished with simple cotages. Manie lakes & poles are also in Angus, and those well fraught with fish. There is also in this countrie one place called the vale of Orke, whose sheepe haue such white, fine, and excellent wolle, as the like vnto it is hardlie to be found againe within the whole Island.

After we be ouer the Tait, we come vnto Fife, sometime a part of Orkney. In this region groweth all manner of graine so plentifullie as elsewhere in anie part of Albion; and where no corne is, there is no lesse soison of cattell. There are blake stones also digged out of the ground, which are verie good for firing, and such is their intollerable heat, when they are kindled, that they resolute and melt iron, and therefore are verie profitable for smiths, and such artificers as deale with other mettals; neither are they found anie where else (that I do know of) but betwixt the Tait and the Tine within the whole Island. Salt is likewise made within this region in great quantitie of sea water, which they boile according to their manner. There are furthermore sundrie citis in the same, of which Dunnoter is the chiefe, wherein is both the see of an archbishop and a famous vniuersitie. There are moreover sundrie lakes, as Loch Torre and Loch Lenin, and in this later are diuerse Isles, and in one of them also the church of St. Whillane, a Scottish saint, of no small name and reputation.

Fife is diuided of Lowthian by the river of Forth that runneth a large & broad channell into the ocean seas. Certes it is a water verie plentifull indred with rockes, divers, muskels, scales, pellocks, merelwme, whales, and great soison of white fish: and among manie other Isles that are to be found in this Forth, that of Spae is of greatest fame, because Aspidochelone was killed in the same. In the midst of this Ile springeth up a fontaine of fresh and cleare water, from an high rocke, which is not a little to be marvelled at, considering the quantitie and situation of the Ile. Beside this also is a wonderfull crag, rising within the sea, where vnto is so strict and narrow a passage, that a ship shall hardlie come thither by a stiffer vote, and there to but at one place. This rocke (called the Rube castle) is marvellous, and therein are manie times verie profitable for defense, made heretofore by great labor and industrie of man.

Certes, there is nothing in this rocke that is not full of admiration and wonder: there in also is great store of soland geese (not unlike to those which Phine calleth thair eagles, or as we saie) sea herons, and no where els but in Albion and this rocke. At their first coming which is in the spring of the yeare, they gather such great plenty of ducks and draught together for the building of their nests, that the same do satiffie the keeper of the castle, for the perrellie maintenance of his felowl, without anie other provision. These fowles do feed their young with the most delicate fish that they can come by. For though they haue already preyed vpon anie one, and hence

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it fall in their beake or talons, yet if they happen as they lie toward the land to espie a better, they let the first fall againe into the sea, and pursue the later with great and eager swiftnesse, untill they take hold thereof.

Sometimes their prey is taken from them by the keepers of the castell, as also their sticks from time to time for the aforesaid vse; but they making small or rather no resistance, doe turne againe forthwith, for more wood or fish (as their losse requireth) not ceasing till they haue builded their nests with the one, and nourished by their pong with the other; so that what by the timber of their nests, the beguiling them of their prey, and stealing awaye of their pong, they bringe yerele no small commoditie vnto the owner of the castell. Within the bowels of these geese there is a kind of grease to be had of singular force in medicine, and cleaving likewise the skin from their bodies with the fat, they make an oile verie profitable for the gout and manie other diseases in the hanches and groines of mankind. In this crag more, there groweth an hearbe verie pleasant and delicious for salads, but if it be taken vnto and planted elsewhere, it either groweth not at all, or bitterlie giueth ouer the vertues wherewith it was earst indued.

There was sometime a stone found here in this rocke much like to a water sponge or pumice, hollow on the one side, and of such a nature, that if anie salt water had bene poyred thereinto, and suffered to run through, it would forthwith lose the naturall saltnesse, and become fresh and verie pleasant vnto the mouth and tast. We heare in these daies that this stone is to be seene in Fast castell, whither it was brought after it had passed manie hands for the trial of this matter. In this firch also is the Ile Almon, wherein is an abbey. There are likewise diuers other Ilands, and those are verie full of cories; and in the said firch are sundrie fishes oftentimes seene of monstrous shape, with coloures hanging ouer their heads like vnto monks, and in the rest resembling the bodie of man. They shew themselves likewise aboue the water to the nauill, howbeit they neuer appeare but against some great pestilence of men, or murren of cattell; wherefore their onelie sight doth haue great terro: vnto the Scottissh nation, who are verie great obseruers of vncouth signes & tokens.

The description of Louthian, Striueling, Menteth, Calidon wood, Bougewall, Gareoth, with the notable cities, castles, and foulds thereof.

The seventh Chapter.



In the south of the Forth lieth Louthian, so called of Lothe or Loth, one of the kings of the Picts, it was sometime named Pictland; but now it is parcell of the Scottissh kingdome, & therefore to for bountie of soile is not inferiour to anie region of Scotland. In Louthian are manie abbeies, castles and towne, as Hadinton, Dunbar, Forthberwicke and Leith; but Edinburgh passeth them all, as well in policie of regiment as in forme of building and wisdome, and riches of the inhabitants: therein also is the castell of Edinburgh, remembred by the most renowned authors, & also the kings' chiefe palace, the which tri-

pleth the renoume of the foresaid citie. Not farre from thence moreouer is a certeine oillie spring, which riseth out of the ground in such abundance, that the more is caried from thence, the more is refreshed: and the people are persuaded hereof, that it is verie medicinable against all cankers and skalls.

Not farre from the mouth of Forth is the castell of Dunbar, which by naturall situation and industrie of man, is now become one of the chiefe holds in Albion. It was sometime the principall house appertaining to the earles of Sparch; and there hard by is a towne of the same name, wherein is a rich abbey or colledge of canons founded by those earles. Pert vnto Louthian lieth Spers, whereof I haue spoken already, but we will now go by higher into the land. Pert vnto Spers therefore lieth Tweeddale, and aboue it is Elvedale: next vnto Elvedale is Dunsdale, Walscopdale, Dongslassdale, and Cliddisdale, and all these are such names as the riuers haue that run along their bottoms. The principall towne of Cliddisdale is Glasco the Archbishops see, wherein is a notable church created in the honor of saint Gorgon, and builded with great magnificence. In Glasco also is a noble vniuersitie, where the liberall arts and sciences are verie plentifully taught.

In this region moreouer is a verie rich mine of gold, and another of azure, the commoditie of which later is reaped with small trauell. There are sometimes found diuers pretious stones also, as rubies and diamonds. Certes this mine was disclosed in the time of James the fourth, who would no doubt haue brought it to full perfection, if he had longer liued, whereas now little profit reboundeth thereby to the commonwealth, because it is either utterly neglected, or not very much regarded. Forth of Glasco lieth Spenteith, and Striueling shire, bordering vpon Argile and Lennox. In Striueling shire is the towne of Striueling, and aboue it is the castell of Striueling, which was sometime called the dolorous mountaine. At this towne also began the great Calidon wood, which ran through Spenteith and Stratherne, to Atholl and Lochquhaber, as Ptolome writeth in his first table.

In this wood were sometime white bulls with thack heares and curled manes like fierce lions, otherwise they were like vnto the same, neuertheless so wild and sauage, that they would neuer be made familiar, nor tast of any hearbe or grasse that mans hand had once touched, after manie daies. Being taken also by the industrie of man (which was very hard to doe) they would refuse all sustenance, & starue themselves to death. Asone as any did inuade them, they would rush vpon him with great violence, and beare him to the earth; as for dogs, nets, or any kind of weapon they feared not, neither cared for any manner of engine.

It is said that Robert Bruce after his coronation did hunt one of these bulls in the foresaid wood, being accompanied but with a small traine, in which boiage he escaped narrowlie with his life. For after the beast felt himselfe soze wounded by the hunters, he rushed vpon the king, who hauing now no weapon left in his hand therewith to defend himselfe, he had suerlie perished if rescue had not come: howbeit in this distresse one came running vnto him, who ouerthrew the bull by plaine force, and held him down till the hunters came that killed him outright. For this valiant act also the king indued the aforesaid partie with great possessions, and his linage is to this daie called of the Turnebulls, because he ouerturned the beast, and saved the kings life, by such great prowesse and manhood. Certes the flesh of these beasts were reputed in old time as a most delicate

licate food, and onlie meate for the nobilitie, notwithstanding that it be verie full of sinetous and gristles, whereat some delicat feeders doe often take offense. In times past also they were bred in many places of the Calidon, but now they be all consumed by the gluttonie of the inhabitants, so that none of them are left, but onlie in Comerland.

On the east side of Pentecith lieth Stratherne, & bordereth also vpon Fife. Through the ballies likewise of this region runneth the water of Crn, that falleth into Tay. This is moreover worthy to be noted, that not foure miles from the confluence of Crn and Tay, there is a stone of small quantitie, and yet of great wonder, for in what place soener it be laid, it will not be removed from thence by manuell practice, art, or engine, & yet one man may so moue it as an hundred. On the other side of Tay beyond Angus and Cotwray lieth Strermond, a region plentifulle inquired both with grasse and corne. Not farre from Strermond is Athole, wherein are manie noble ballies and riuers full of fish, as pikes, lamperns, &c. The soile there also is so bountifull, that it yeldeth corne in maner without any tillage. There is likewise therein a towne called Lud, whose fields are so plentiful, that (if they be well tilled and dressed) they will yeld great store of barlie without any sowing of seed. Howbeit, as this is in that part of the region often verified, so in other there is a contrarious disposition to be found in the earth, which turneth wheat some into good and perfect rie, the like whereof I heare, to be not far from Luke, & in the countries thereabouts.

West of Buchquhane and Boche lieth Bostge-well and Careoth, very plentifull soiles both for grasse and corne. In Careoth also is an hill called Doundoze, that is to saie, the golden mounteine: for the sheepe that feed thereon are yellow, and their teath of the same hew, resembling burnished gold. Their flesh moreover is red as it were tinged with saffron, and so is their wooll much after the same manner. There is furthermore in the same region, an heape of stones lieng together in maner of a crown which yeld a sound when one of them is stricken as if it were a bell. Some are of the opinion, that one idoll temple or other stood heretofore in that place, while the Scottissh nation was addicted to the worshipping of diuels. Many other regions are in Scotland, as Bzadalbane, Strabzaun, and Bazenoth, with diuers small territories and shouds, howbeit they are not so notable as those which we haue already touched, and therefore I thinke it but follie to deale any further with them.

Of the great plentie of hares, red deer,  
and other wilde beasts in Scotland,  
of the strange properties of sundrie  
Scottish dogs, and of  
the nature of  
sumon.

### The eight Chapter.

**H**aving made this speciall description of the realme of Scotland, now will I touch such things as concerne the same in generall. First of all therfore in the fields and wild places of the country there is great plentie of hares, red deer, fallow deer, roes, wild hazzles, wolues and fores. These hazzles are not gotten but by great sight and policie: for in the winter season the inha-

bitants turne certeine tame hazzles & mares among them, wherewith they grow in the end to be so familiar, that afterward they go with them to and fro, and finallye home into their maisters yards, where they be taken and some broken to their hands. The wolues are most fierce and noisome to the herds and flocks in all parts of Scotland, sauing in one parcell of Angus, called Glenmoys dale, where these beasts doe no manner of hurt vnto the domesticall cattell, but preie onlie vpon the wild.

Fores doe much mischief generallie in all places, but chiefly in the mounteins, where they be verie hardlie hunted, howbeit art hath devised a meane to prevent their malice, and to preserve their pultrie. Certes there is almost no hazzle that doth not say certeine daies cherisly by a yong fox, which the Scots doe call a *Wodde*; and then killing the same, they mince the flesh thereof amongst such meat, as they giue vnto their fowles and other little bestia, and by this meane so many fowles and cattell as eate hereof are preserved from danger of the fox, almost by two moneths after, so that they may wander whither they will. As the fores as it were winding or smelling the flesh of their fellows yet in their crops will in no wise meddle with them, but eschew; and know such a one, although it were among an hundred of other.

In Scotland also are dogs of maruelous combittion; for beside the common nature and vniuersall properties of dogs of all other countries, there are thre sorts with vs, which are not seene else where in anye quarter of the world. The first is an bound of great swiftnesse, hardinesse, and strength, fierce and cruel vpon all wilde beasts, and eger against them that offer their maisters any violence. The second is a racy or bound verie exquisite in following the foot, (which we call *drawing*) whether it be of man or beast, yea he will pursue any manner of foule, and find out what soener fish is cast vp, or lurketh among the rocks, by that excellent sense of smelling wherewith he is indued. The third sort is no greater than that of raches, in colour for the most part red, with blacke spots, or else blacke and full of red marks. These are so skilfull that they will pursue a thiefe, or thiefe stolen goods in most precise manner, and finding the trespasser, with great assurance they will make a raise vpon him. If it be so that he haue taken the water for his safeguard, he thinketh not to follow him, and entering and issuing at the same places wherethe partie went in and out, he neuer ceaseth to range till he haue nosed his soting, & be come to the place wherein the thiefe is hid. The dogs of this kind are called *leuthhounds*. Certes this report would seeme mere incredible, except it were bailie had in experience vpon the borders of England and Scotland, where pillage is god purchase in differentie on both sides. There is a law also among the borderers in time of peace, that whose denient entrance or sute of a leuthhound in pursuit made after fellows and stolen goods, shall be holden as necessary vnto the theft, or taken for the selfe thiefe.

Of fowles, such (I meane) as live by preie, there are sundrie sorts in Scotland, as eagles, falcons, gohawkes, sparrowhawkes, marlions, and such like: but of water fowles there is so great store, that the report thereof may seeme to exceed all credit. There are other kinds of birds also in this countrie, the like of which is no where else to be seene, as the capercaille or wild hazzle, greater in bodie than the rauen, and living onelie by the rinds and barks of the pine trees. We haue in like maner manie more cocks and hens, the which absteining from corne, doe feed vpon nought else, but the leaues of *Cypritus*, which the Scots doe commonlie call *hadder*.

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These two are verie delicate in eating. The third sort is reddish blacke of colour, in quantitie comparable to the pheasant, and no lesse delicious in taste and savor: at the table, our countrie men call them wild cocks, and their chiefe sustenance is by wheat.

Beside these, we haue also another soule in Spers more strange and vncouth than all these afore mentioned, called a gusard, fultie so great as a swan, but in colour of feathers and tast of flesh, little differing from a partridge, howbeit these birds are not verie common, neither to be scene in all places, such also is their qualitie, that if they perceiue their eggs to haue bene touched in their absence by mans hand (which lie commonlie on the bare earth) they forsake those nests, and late in other places. All other our fowles are common to vs and other nations. Samon is more plentiful in Scotland than in anie other region of the world, and bicause the nature of this fish is strange, I will set downe so much as I doe know herof at this present time as followeth.

The samon in harvest time cometh vp into the small rivers, where the water is most shallow, and there the male and female rubbing their wombe one against another, they shed their spawne, which forthwith they couer with sand and grauell and so depart away. From henceforth they are gant and slender, and in appearance so leane that they appeare nought else but skin and bone, and therefore woorthie saide to be growne out of vse and season. It is said also that if they touch anie of their full fellows, during the time of this their leanness, the same side which they touched will likewise become leane, whereby it cometh to passe, that a samon is oft scene to be fat on the one side of the chine, and leane on the other. But to proceed, the aforesaid spawne and milt being hidden in the sand (as you haue heard) in the next spring doth yeld great number of little frye, but so nesh and tender for a long time, that till they come to be so great as a mans finger (if you catch anie of them) you shall perceiue them to melt, and their substance to dissolue and fade euen as if were gellie, or as yfe laid forth against the sun. From henceforth they go to the sea, where within the space of 20 daies they grow to a marvellous greatnesse, and then returning againe toward the place of their generation, they shew a notable spectacle not vnwoorthie to be considered.

Certes in Scotland there are manie linnies or poles, which being in some places among the rocks verie shallow above, are yet depe beneath, with the fall of the water, and thereto the samon not able to pearce through the channell, either for swiftnesse of the course, or depth of the descent of such water as cometh against him, he goeth so nere vnto the side of the rocke or dam, if I may so call it, as he may, and there aduentureth to leape over and vp into the lin, if he leape well at the first he obtaieth his desire, if not, he waiteth the second or third time, till he returne now vnto his countrie: a great fish able to swim against the streame, that before was a little bod, and maugre his resistance, caried with the violent course of the water into the maine ocean. Such as alway often to leape, and cannot get ouer, do byrde themselves and become meafelled: others that happen to fall vpon drye land, a thing often scene, are taken by the people (that watch their times) in caldrons of hot water, which they set vpon the shallow & drye plots with fire vnder them, in hope to catch the fattest, & such as by reason of their weight do offnest leape short. Certes the tast of these is reputed to be most delicate, and therefore their price is commonlie greater than of the rest. It is inhibited in Scotland to take any samon from the 8 of September, vntill the 15 of November. Finally there is no man that

knoweth readilie whereon this fish liueth, for neuer was anie thing yet found in their bellies, other than a thicke slimie humoz.

Of the sundrie kinds of muskles and cockles in Scotland, and of pearles gotten in the same: of the vncouth and strange fish there to be scene, and of the nature of the herbe Citulus, commonlie called Hadder.

### The ninth Chapter.

**H**ere it resteth that I shew the nature of muskles and cockles, whereof we haue manie and sundrie kinds among vs: of these also some are small, and yet if they be eaten fresh, are not without a naturall delicacie in tast. Others are greater and not unlike in forme and quantitie to those that haue the purple: and albeit that they are bitterlie void therof, yet is their meat and substance right pleasant in the eating. There are of another sort which are longer and greater than either of these, called horse muskles, to be had in Dee and Done, and in these are the pearles ingendered. Certes they loue to be resident in the deepest and clearest waters that are void of mud and filth, and such is their estimation among the deintiest kinds of food, that they were not vnwoorthie called of old time, widowes lustes. Their shelles also is as it were wrought euen from the verie tops, and thereto full of spots, where in (as in yeld of gaine) they farre exceed all other. These earlie in the morning, in the gentle, cleare, and calme aire, lift vp their upper shelles and moueth a little above the water, and there receiue of the fine and pleasant breath or dew of heauen, & afterwards according to the measure and quantitie of this vitall force receiued, they first conceiue, then swell, and finally produce the pearle.

They are so sensible and quicke of hearing, that although you standing on the braie or banke above them, do speake neuer so softly, or throw neuer so small a stone into the water, yet they will descrite you, and settle againe to the bottoine, without retorne for that time. Doubtlesse they haue as it were a naturall carefulnesse of their owne commoditie, as not ignorant, how great estimation we mortall men make of the same amongst vs, and therefore so sone as the fishermen do catch them, they bind their shelles together, for otherwise they would open and shed their pearles of purpose, for which they know themselves to be pursued. Their maner of apprehension is this, first foure or fve persons go into the river together, by vnto the shoulders, and there stand in a compasse one by another with poles in their hands whereby they rest more sauerly, sith they fix them in the ground, and staie with one hand vpon them: then casting their eyes downe to the bottome of the water, they espie where they lie by their shining and clerenesse, and with their toes take them vp (for the deapth of the water will not suffer them to stoape for them) & giue them to such as stand next them.

The pearls that are so gotten in Scotland, are not of small value, they are verie orient & bright, light and round, and sometimes of the quantitie of the nasse of ones little finger, as I haue had and scene by mine owne experience. Almost such another muskle found on the coast of Spaine, the shels whereof are gathered by such as go in pilgrimage to saint James, and brought into Scotland, but they are without

Cardane describeth this, lib 7. de Subtilitate.

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without pearls, because they live in salt water, which is an enemy to the margarite: but Cardane also denyeth it. In all the sea coasts also of Scotland are cockles and muskles of the same forme, but without this commoditie. Many burcouth and strange shapcs of fish likewise are scene there, whereof some are armed with shels, some with hard scales, and others round as a ball skinned like an ycheon or hedgehog, having but one cundit both for purgation of their excrements, and reception of their sustenance. To shew euerie kind of fish that is in Scotland, it were but a vaine trauell, with the same are knowne almost in euerie region.

In like sort we haue such plentie of fish upon our feuerall coasts, that although millions and infinite numbers of them be taken on the one daie, yet on the next their losse will be so supplied with new store, that nothing shall be missing by reason of the yesterfang: so bountifull is God in these his benefits vnto vs. Furthermore, there is another gift bestowed vpon vs by the singular prouidence of God. For the greater dearth & penurie of flesh and cozne is scene in Scotland, the greater store of fish is taken vpon our shores. In like sort, in the deserts and wild places of this realme, there groweth an herbe of it selfe called Hadder or Hather verie delicat, as Columella lib. 9. cap. 4. saith, for goats & all kind of cattell to feed vpon, and likewise for diuerse foules, but bees exceptalle. This herbe in June yeldeth a purple floure. Sweet as honie, whereof the Picts in time past did make a pleasant drinke, and verie wholesome for the bodie: but forsomuch as the manner of making hereof is perished in the haucke made of the Picts, when the Scots subdued their countrie, it lieth not in me to set downe the order of it, neither shewed they euer the learning hereof to any but to their owne nation. Finally there is no part of Scotland so barren and vnpromisable, but it produceth either iron or some other kind of mettall, as may be proued easilie throughout all the Isles that are annexed to the same.

Galen. lib. 7. de Antidotis sateth that Citrus is no herb but a shrub, and so doth Plinie lib. 12. cap. 3. lib. 13. cap. 24. lib. 16. chap. 38. And Columella in the end of his 5. booke, where he accompteth it among trees.

Of the Isles of Scotland, and such notable things as are to be found in them.

### The tenth Chapter.

**B**Eing fallen at the last in to mention of our Isles, I will adde to my selfe to describe the same, in manner and forme as followeth. At the Irish sea, betwixt Ireland and Scotland are fortie and thre Isles, whereof some are thirtie miles long, others twelue, and others more or lesse. These are called by some writers Eubonia, and by other Hebrides. But the principall of them all is that of Man, which lieth ouer against Gallatway, & was sometime the principall seat of the Druides, as Cornelius Tacitus, Caesar in his commentaries, and other Roman writers do testifie at large. South from the Isle of Man lieth Arran, or therwise named Botha after S. Wandons time, who dwelled there in a little cottage, which (as all other the like were in those daies) was called Botha. From Arran we go to Hellaw and Rotheray, which later is so named of the Scot, which brought the Scots first out of Ireland into Britaine. Not far from this Isle is Ailsay, where there is such store of soland geese as they said before to be in Bas. Beyond Ailsay lie manye other distinguished by their se-

uerall names, but full of mines, as of iron, tin, lead, & sundrie other mettals. But the most notable Isle belonging to Scotland is Fla, that lieth beyond the promontorie of Prouant cliffe (in Sect. 8. the towne of Lorne) within sight of Lochquahag. Certes it is a rich parcell, thirtie miles in length, and full of cozne and mettall, if the people were cunning to find and trim the same.

Not farre from thence is Cumbra, and Gula, sublie so large as Fla, both for length and breadth. In Gula is a faire spring two miles from the sea, from whence runneth a little brooke or strippet, whereof you shall read more in the description of Britaine, lib. 1. cap. 8. Nere vnto this is Zona, otherwise called Columkill, in which is an abbey, wherein the kings of Scotland were commonlie buried from the time of Fergus the second, vnto Malcolme Canmore, who erected the monasterie of Dunfermlin, where since that time the most part of our kings haue bene of custome interred. Passing forward toward the northnorthwest seas, ouer against Kofle is an Isle named Lewis, 60 miles in length, in this Isle is but one fish riuer, & it is said that if a woman wade through the same at the spring of the yere, there shall no fawon be scene there for a twelue month after, whereas otherwise that fish is knowne to abound there in verie great plentie. Beyond Lewis lie the Skye and the Rona, in the later whereof, it is incredible to saie what of scale, of pellocke and porpasse is to be scene, which are nothing abashed at the sight of any man. The last and bittermost Isle is named Hirta, where the eleuation of the pole is 63 degrees, and since the latitude of Man, is but 57.

I conclude, that from the Isle of Man the first Isle of Albion, to Hirta the last Isle hereof are 377 miles, after 62 miles and an halfe to each degree, as Prolomie hath set downe. It is named Hirta, which in Irish soundeth so much as a sheepe in English, for herein that kind of cattell aboundeth, each one being greater than any bucke, their hornes longer and thicker than of the bugle, and thereto they haue fine taitles that reach vnto the earth. It is enuironed on euerie part with rochie or rockie crags, whereby few vessels may land there but at one place, where the working of the sea is oftentimes so terrible & rough, that no man dare aduenture thither without danger of his life. They that go thither therefore, do watch their times when the sea is calme and still. In the moneth of June also, a priest cometh vnto them out of Leuisa, and ministrereth the sacrament of baptism to all the children that haue bene borne there since that moneth in the yere precent: which being done, and a certeine number of masses said, he receiuerh tithes of all their commodities, and then returneth home againe.

In the Isle of Lewis are two churches or chapels, whereof one is dedicated to saint Peter, another to saint Clement. The same is, that so lone as the fire goeth out in this Isle, the man that is holden of most cleane and innocent life, goeth to the altar with great solemnitie, and there lateth a wispe of straw, which being done they fall all to praier, in the midst whereof fire cometh downe from heauen and kindleth or setteth the same on fire. Beyond this is yet another Isle, but void of people and all other liuing creatures, sauing a certeine kind of beasts like vnto sheepe, whose nature and forme I haue already touched in the description of Britaine, and therefore omit it here for hast and breuitie sake. Betwixt these Isles also is a right dangerous passage, with the sea by working of opposite streames hath engendred a gulle, which sometimes taketh in an incomprehensible deale of water, and sometimes casteth it forth againe, by means whereof many ships that

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that by rage of wind and weather are enforced to come that waite, are either swallowed by the waues, or throtne against the rocks to their utter danger and ruine. The greatest rage of this confluence is at a place called Cozebrecke, where it will either strike, or at the least wise draw any ship unto it, though it be a full mile distant from the same.

Of the nature of the Claik geese,  
and sundrie maners of their pro-  
creation, and of the Ile  
of Thule.

The eleuenth Chapter.

**N**OW it is come to hand that I intreat of those geese which are ingendored by the sea, whose procreation hath hitherto been thought to haue bene made vpon trees. But the opinion is false, and yet with their generation is strange indeed, I haue not a little trauelled, and with no small diligence in deuoured to search out the truth hereof, wherby I learne that their ingendure is rather to be referred to the sea, than any thing els, if my coniecture be oughts: for although that they are in sundrie wise produced, yet I find the same to be performed continuallie in the sea, and not elswhere, as shall appere hereafter. All trees cast into that element in procelle of time become wormeaten, and in the holes thereof are the said wormes to be found, though verie little and small (in comparison to that they be after ward) to be perceived at the first. In the beginning, these wormes do shew their heads and feet, and last of all their plumes & wings. Finally when they are come to the iust measure and quantitie of geese, they sit in the aire as other fowles do.

This was notable proved in the yeare of Grace 1490, in sight of many people, beside the castell of Desseg, whether the bodie of a great tree was brought by working of the sea. This tree being taken, it was carried to the lord of the isle, who some after caused it to be slit in sunder with a saw: which being done, it is incredible to see, what a multitude of wormes came out of their holes. Of these also some appeared as if they had bene but new shapen, others had head, feet and wings, but no feathers, the rest were formed into perfect fowles. At last when the people had gazed thereon by the space of an whole daie, they carried it to saint Andrews church beside the sea, where the said blocke remains still to be seene. Within two yerres after there hapned such another tree to come into the fieth of Tay, beside Dundee, impregnated and full of young geese after the same manner: the shipp was kene in the haven of Leith beside Edinburgh; and also within a few yerres, in like sort a ship named the Christopher, after she had lian there yerres at anchor in one of these Isles, was brought to Leith, where because her timber was found to be rotten she was taken in sunder, and in her keele were found infinite holes as if they had bene eaten with wormes, or bored with a bumble, and each one of them filled with such creatures, as I haue said before.

There if any man will alledge that the Christopher was builded of such timber onlie as groweth in these Isles, and that all roots and trees there growing, are of such nature as in their corruption doe turne into these fowles, I will disprove his assertion by one notable example the which before mine eyes. After A-

lexander Galloway parson of Birkell, was sent by in these Isles, & giuing his mind with attentive diligence to search out a full resolution with vs of these obscure and hidden matters, it hapned on a time that he took by a branch of Alga, called in Scottish, Seat-angle, which hanged full of muske shels from the root euen to the verie top. Being also desirous to see what was in them, he grew to be more astonished than before: for when he had opened one or two of them, he saw no fish but a soule perfectlie shapen, fullie answering to the capacite of the shell.

Finally, knowing that I was verie inquisitive of these and the like rare nouelties, he came hither with the said hearbe & shewed it vnto me, who found no lesse by experience than I before reported. By these and many other reasons and examples I cannot beleue that these Claiks (or Barnacks as I call them) are produced either by the qualities of the trees or the roots thereof, but onlie by the nature of the sea, which is the verie cause and productur of so manie wonderfull creatures. Furthermore, because the rude and ignorant people saw oftentimes the fruits that fell from trees, which stood neuer in the sea, conuerted within short time into geese, they beleued that these geese grew vpon trees, hanging by their nebs as apples and other fruit do by their stalks, but their opinion is vnderlie to be reiected. For so soon as these apples or fruit fall from the tree into the sea, they grow first to be wormeaten, and in procelle of time to be conuerted into geese.

Thus haue I spoken sufficientlie of the Isles of the Hebrides adiacent vnto the realme of Scotland, and therewithall would shut vp my discourse of the same, were it not that I haue somewhat to say also of Thule, not unknowne vnto the Romans, as may appere by Tacitus, who telleth how the Romane nauie by the commandement of Agricola, was sent to view the coasts of the whole Island of Britaine, and at their returne reported how they had seene the Thule, with other Ilands lieng about the same. Ptoleme writeth that the Ile of Thule is one of the Shetland Isles, which lie nere vnto Norwey, and beyond the Orkades; but this cannot be proued so by late experience: for Thule is manie miles distant from Shetland. Some say that Thule is the same which we call Island: other write that it is the last Ile of the ocean sea, and so is Island, which lieth in the cold frostie sea, beyond the Arctike circle toward the north pole. The people of Island because no corne groweth among them, liue onlie by fish, which they drie and powder so small as meale doth come backe from the mill, afterward they mix it with water, and worke it vp for bread.

Of the description of Orkeney, and  
Shetland, with sundrie other small Isles,  
and of the maners and conditions of the  
people dwelling in the same.

The twelfe Chapter.

**B**EYOND the Isles of Scotland lie those of Orkeney, partlie toward the north west, and partlie toward the Atlantick seas. The principall Ile of these is called Pomona, wherein is a bishops see, and two strong castles. In these groweth no wheat, they are in like sort void of wood, howbeit all other graine groweth there verie plentifullie, they be without all venomous beasts also, neither can such as are brought thither liue any while.

while, more than in Ireland, which susteineth no creature that is aduerfariie to mankind. Duer and beside this, there are no frogs: as for æles they are seldome found and to be seene in the Dyshades. Having thus fallen into the mention of Ireland, I thinke it good among diuers other rare gifts of nature, to remember one thing that I haue proued by experience to be done there (although the tractation of Ireland and hir commodities appertaine not to this place) which farre passeth all that euer I haue read in booke.

Certes there is a loch, lin, or poole there, nere vnto the which by manie miles, there groweth neither herbe nor tree; howbeit such is the qualitie of this water, that if a stake be pitched in the same, the nature thereof both within one yeeres space alter and change excēdinglie, for that part thereof which staueth in the ground is conuerted into hard stone, the same that is inuironed with water turneth into tough iron, onelie that portion which is aboue the said element reteining hir former wooddie substance, whereby it is often seene how in one and the same bodie, thre distinct substances are found, that is to say, stone, iron, and wood, which farre excēdeth all credit. But to returne againe to our Dyshades, whereof things of little or no lesse importance are to be rehersed, for sith there is great abundance of barley thereof they make the strongest ale that is to be found in Albion, and thereto knowne, that they are the greatest drinkers of anie men in the world; yet was there neuer drunken or man disguised with drinke seene there, neither anie foole, or person otherwise bereft of his wits through frensie or madness. There is herevnto small vse of physicke: for mankind liueth there most commonlie vnto extreme age in sound and perfect health, whose bodies also are of strong constitution and verie white of colour.

The ewes that are to be found in these Islands haue for the most part two or thre lambs a peece at euerie eaning, and therewithall they haue in this countrie such plentie of foules both wild and tame, as the like number againe is not to be found in Brittain. Their horses are little greater than the French asses, but in their labour they excēd all other. What should I speake of the plentie of fish there to be had, which passeth all credit: among which there is one sort greater than anie horse, of a maruellous and incredible sluggish desire to sleepe. This fish when thre poundeth to sleepe, fastneth hir huge teeth vpon some crag that lieth aboue the water, and then slumbreth or falleth into a most sound rest, which the seafaring men espieing, they forthwith cast anchor, and then letting downe their ship-boats, they conuete themselves to the fish, and bore a great hole through hir taile, wherevnto they put one end of a cable, and so make it sure; the other end is fastened to a great anchor, which is let fall of purpose into the sea, and thus is their enterprise attempted per long to be achieved. For after this wound, it is not long yer the fish awaketh, who feeling himselfe to be hurt, leapech at once into the sea, thinking to hide and shroud hir in the deepes: but being staid by the weight of the anchor, and endeavouring in vaine to breake the cable, she laboureth so vehementlie, that at the last she windeth hir selfe out of hir skin (for the which she is commonlie taken) and some after also turneth by hir bellie, yeelding herselfe vnto the waues, and hir bodie to the mariners, who make an excellent dille of hir grease, and passing strong cables of hir hide or skin. Certes such is the force of rope made of the skin of this fish, that they will hold at a plunge no lesse than the Spanish sparto. Herein also they excēd the same, in that they will continue verie long without stretching asunder.

An hundred miles beyond the Dyshades are the

Shetland Isles, whose chiefe commodities stand onelie by fish which is dyed in the sun. There are brought also into Scotland out of these Islands great store of sheeps felles, ore hides, goates skinnies, and calves of martirnes dyed in the sunne. And in the same maner the merchants of Holland, Zealand and Germanie, fetch them pærelie by barter and exchange for other common and necessarie wares, with the people of that nation, who for maners and conditions resemble much the Dyshanois. The same in like sort that is said of the Dyshanois, concerning drunkennes and frensie, is veriffied on them, as is also their length of life, although not in so rare maner: sith these in stead of strong ale, content themselves with water, and verie slender diet. Beyond the Shetlands there are diuerse other Islands of like condition, but without corne and all maner of flesh to feed vpon. These drie their fish in the sunne, and when they are through stiffe, they grind them to small powder, which they worke vp with water into loaves, and so vse the same in lieu of other bread. Their firing consisteth of the bones of such fishes as they take, and yet they content themselves in such maner with this their poze kind of liuelode, that they thinke their estate most happy in respect of such as inhabit in the maine.

Certes there is no quarrelling amongst these for wealth or gaine, but each one prouideth such store of fish in summer which he taketh himselfe, as shall find his familie, or kepe his house in winter. They are void of all ambitious mood, and neuer troubled with ciuill or forren warres, as men that deme strine peace and quietnesse, with mutuall lone and amitie, to be the chiefe felicitie to be sought for in this life, and to remaine herein, each one to his power doth shew his whole endeavour. This finalie is to be added vnto their commendation, that they are simple, plaine, void of craft, and all maner of serpentine subtiltie, which endeth commonlie with mischief, and reigneth in the maine. Once in the yeere there commeth a priest vnto them from Dykene, (of which diocesse they are) who ministrerh vnto them the sacrament of baptisme, and after a certaine time (having taken vp in the meane time his tithes in fish, which is their sole increase, and verie trulle paid) he returneth home againe the same way that he came.

If anie gifts of nature are to be numbered as parcels of twofold riches and rendowine, they are not without these also: for the people of these Isles are lustie, saire, strong of bodie, and high of stature, so that nature hath not failed to indue them with these things, and that in most excellent maner. What should I say of their health, which is and may be preferred aboue all treasure, as they well know that are oppressed with long and greivous infirmities: for here among these men, you shall very seldome heare of sickenesse to attach anie vntill extreme age come that killeth them altogether, and this is that exceeding best naturalie appropriated vnto their cases. As for their quietnesse of mind, it is alwaies such as is constant, vnderstandable, and the rest, comparable vnto any riches or huge masse of worldly treasure.

Herevnto furthermore, if it be true riches (as it is in deed) for eche one not to covet other mens goods, but to content himselfe with that which is his owne, and not to stand in need of anie thing, can anie man be found in anie other region more rich and more nate than the Shetland men and these Islanders: for nallie, if wole be the true honours, and reuerend duties vnto the obediēt vnto the great sinceritie and bold of all flatterie, doth shew vnto his good parents, and therewithall the best of his marvellous

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lie resolle and beliste themselves! And that these are also not wanting in these regions, can we easily say that these men do lacke anie thing, or shall we not rather asseme with great assurance, that they rather stand in need of nothing that anie mortall man can lustie with or desire?

But if there be anie man that will accuse me of untruth in the recitall of these things, as one that lieth lowd and by authoritie of a people dwelling far off, for so much as I my selfe was neuer in those Islands, he shall vnderstand that I learned all these things of the reuerend father Edward bishop of the Orkades, with whom one of these Islanders dwelled, who not onelie made a like rehearfall of these things with his owne mouth, but also verified the same in his owne person, for his height far passed the common stature of men, thereto he was excellentlie well featured in his lims, so white of skin ouer all, that he might contend in beautie with anie ladie of the land, and finally so white and strong of bodie, that no man in all those quarters durst run or wrestle with him. Hereby also we may see, how far they are deceived which iudge them to be barbarous, and miserable creatures, that inhabit far from the tropike lines, for there are no people more happy than those that dwell in these quarters, as I haue proued already.

Furthermore, among the rocks and crags of these Isles groweth the delectable amber, called *E-lestrum*, *Chrysolitrum*, or (as Dioscorides saith) *Pterygophoron*, indued with so beehem an attractive force, that being chased it draweth straw, flor, and other like light matter unto it. This gum is ingendred of the sea froth, which is throtwen by by continuall repercussion of crags and rocks against the sea walls, and through perpetuall working of the waues groweth in time to become tough as glue, till it fall at the last from the rocke againe into the sea. Such as haue often viewed and marked the generation of this gum, whilst it hangeth on the rocke, asseme it to be like a froth and bubble of water without all massie sadnesse, because that as yet it is not sufficientlie hardened by the working of the element. Sometimes the Seatangle is found inuironed also withall, because it is driuen hither and thither by the working of the waues, and so long as it flieth to and fro in this manner, so long is it apt to cleaue to anie thing that it toucheth.

Two yeares before I wrote this booke, there came a great lumpe of amber into Buchquhane, in quantitie so big as anie house, which the heardmen that kept their cattell nere hand caught by, & not knowing in deed what it was, they caried it home, and thew a portion thereof into the fire: finally, perceiving a sweet and delectable sauour to proceed from the same, they ran by & by to the priest of the towne where they dwelled, telling him how they had found a peece of stufte which would serue verie well in stead of frankincense, wherewith to perfume his saints or rather Idols in the church. These men supposed that sir John had bene more cunning than themselves, but contrarie to their expectation, it fell out that he was no lesse vnskillfull & void of knowlege than they; and therefore refusing the whole lumpe, he took but a small portion thereof, and returned the rest unto them, whereby it came to little proffe and lesse gaine among the common sort, who suffered it to perish by reason of their vnskillfulness. Certes when they brake it in peeces, it resembled in color vnto the purest gold, & shined as if it had bene the late or flame of a candle. Herein also the proverbe was proued true, that the sow recks not of balie. But to come as I vnderstand of the matter, I shew such diligence, that our portion thereof is brought to

me at Aberdeen. And thus much of the *Hebrides*, *Orkades*, and *Scheland* Isles subiect vnto the Scottish regiment.

I might (no doubt) haue made rehearfall of diuers other strange things touching the nothing in this behalfe: but I haue made choise onelie of the most rare and excellent, and so would finish this description, were it not that one thing hath staied me right pleasant to be remembred, as an vncouth & strange incident, wherof maister James Ogilbie ambassadour from James our king (among other) vnto the king of France, hath certified me, and wherof he had experience of late, at such time as he was constrained by tempest of weather to get to land in Norwaye. Thus standeth the case, being thus (as I said) vpon the shore of Norwaye, he and his companie saw a kind of people ranging by & doone in the mounteins there, much like vnto those which diuers pictures giue forth for wild men, hearte and body to behold. In the end being aduertised that they were sauage and wild beasts; yet neuertheless deable enemies to mankind: they vnderstand therevnto, that although in the day time they abhorred and feared the sight of man, yet in the night they would by great companies invade the small villages & countrie townes, killing and sleaing so manie as they found, or where no dogs were kept to put by their rage and furie.

Certes such is their nature, that they stand in great feare of dogs, at whose barking and sight they flee and run away with no small hast and terror, wherfore the inhabitants are enforced to cherishe great numbers of the said beasts, thereby to keepe off those wild men that otherwise would annoy them. They are moreover of such strength, that sometimes they pull by yong trees by the roots to fight withall among themselves. The ambassadours seeing these vncouth creatures, were not a little astonished, and therefore to be sure from all inuasion, procured a strong garr to watch all night about them, with great fires to giue light ouer all that quarter, till on the morrow that they toke the sea, and so departed thence. Finally, the Norwayes shewed them, that there was another people not far off, which liued all the summer time in the sea like fish, & fed of such as they did catch, but in the winter half (because the water is cold) they pished vpon such wild beasts as fed on the mounteins, which coming downe from the snowe hills to graze in the vallies, they killed with darts and weapons, and caried vnto their caues. In this exercise also they tie little bowes to their feet, which beare them vp from sinking into the snow, and so with a staffe in their hands they make the better shift to cline by and come downe from the crags & mounteins, where in that region there is verie great plentie and abundance.

Of the maners of the Scots in these daies, and their comparison with the behaviour of the old, and such as liued long since within this

The xij. Chapter



How much as toucheth noble men haue desired me to shew apart the old maners of the Scots touching in my discourse, to the end it may be knowne how far our nation in their present daies are different in their maners and behauiour.

behaviour from those of our forefathers, and hereunto although I assure my selfe alterable that the revealing of these things will procure unto me the hatred of sundrie worthie or renowned personages (of which few will yeeld to heare their doings touched or their errors repproued) yet because I owe such duetie and service unto those that haue made this request unto me, and least I should seeme ingrate not to hearken unto them in this behalfe; I haue condescended to the performance of their desires, and so much the rather, for that they alledge how it will be verie profitable unto all the readers, but especially such as are not immoderately giuen over unto their owne affections, nor so wholie drowned in their owne sensualitie and pleasures, but upon consideration of wholesome admonition will be verie willing to leaue whatsoeuer offendeth in them.

First of all therefore, I will declare what vices haue bene among our elders both in time of warre and peace, and by what wisdom and industrie they haue preuailed so long time against such and so many mightie aduersaries, as first the Britains, then the Saxons, next of all the Danes which haue entered into this Island with huge armies to spoile and subdue the same. Furthermore, I will set downe with so much breuitie as I can, how the falling by little and little from the frugalitie and customs of their forefathers, their vertue and force also began in like order to decaye. And finally how in these daies either by the clemencie of our neighbours, or by their delicat negligence rather than by our owne prouesse, we liue in securitie, and thereby as it were ouerwhelmed and wapped up in all auarice and excess, whereinto our want of exercise and martiall prouesse doth maruellouslie impell vs.

Certes I beleue that by this meanes such as are of the more couragious sort (& yet retaining a sauour of the temperance of their elders) will reioice to heare their manhood & great prouesse commended in this wise, as others of the contrarie sort (in seruile manner addicted to gather goods, and spend their times in idle excess and riot) seeing their errors iustlie reprehended, and the dishonour gotten thereby openly reuealed, will the rather aduerse themselves to reformation of their estate, thereby to recover the ancient renowne of their forefathers, in answering to their prouesse, than proue a reproch unto their successors, through their lewd behaviours neuer to be forgotten. Thus I protest before all men, that whatsoever I shall speake of the euill manners of our times, I do not meane it unto all, but those onlie whome blind selfe-love, couetousnes, intemperance, excess and abuse of all Gods good gifts haue so touched, that they deserue much more to be reprehended than I will vouchsafe to attempt in this my latewarde treatise. Therefore if anie man shall thinke himselfe to be rubbed on the gall by me, I counsell him that he conceale not his infirmities, by seeking reuenge on other men, but rather inuention to procure the remedie in first acknowledging his misdeeds, which is the one and better halfe of his cure.

Our elders although they were right vertuous both in warre abroad, and at home in peace, were yet neuertheless in conuersion & behaviour verie temperate, which is the fountaine & originall of all vertues. In sleep they were competent, in meate and drinke sober, and contented with such food as was ready at hand and prepared with little cost. Their bread consisted of such stuff as grew most readily on the ground, without all manner of sifting and bolting, whereby to please the palate; but baked by as it came from the mill with out anie such curiositie, which is a great abating of the force thereof onto

our daile nourishment. The fish whereon they chiefe lie fed, was either such as they got by hunting, wherein they take great delight, and which increased not a little their strength and nimblenesse, or else such tame catte as they bred up at home, whereof beefe was accompted the principall, as it is yet in our daies, though after an other maner and far discrepant from the use and custome of other countries. The stiches or young beets vngelded, whether kill young for beale, or geld, to the end that they may serue afterwarde for tillage in earing up of the ground, but the cowcalfes and heifers are neuer killed till they be with calfe, for then are they fattest and most delicious to the mouth. The common meat of our elders was fish, howbeit not onlie or so much for the plentie thereof, as for that our lands late often wast and untilld, because of the great warres which they commonlie had in hand. They brake also their fast earlie in the morning with some slender repast, and so continued without anie other diet untill supper time, in which they had but one dish, whereby it came to passe, that their stomachs were neuer overcharged, nor their bones desirous of rest though the fulnesse of their bellies. At such time as they determined of set purpose to be merie, they used a kind of Aquauite void of all spice, and onelie consisting of such hearbs & roots as grew in their owne gardens, otherwise their common drinke was ale: but in time of warre, when they were enforced to lie in campe, they contented themselves with water as rediest for their turnes. Each souldier also had so much meale as might serue him for a daie which he made up in cakes, and baked on the coles, as the Romans sometimes used to do, and the emperor Caracalla himselfe (as Herodian hath remembred.) Seldome did they eate anie flesh in their tents, except they got it from their aduersaries; such as they had likewise was eaten halfe raw, because they supposed the iuice thereof so bled to nourish verie abundantly. But fish was much more plentifull amongst them, especially when they wanted their vsuall pries, or could not attaine vnto them.

They brought furthermore from their houses to the field with them, a vessell of butter, cheese, meale, milke, and vinger tempered together as a shot-anchorage against extreme hanger, on which they would feed and sucke out the moisture, when other provision could not be gotten. In like maner, whensoever they had entred into league and amitie with their enemies, they would not liue in such securitie, that thereby they would suffer their bodies & forces to degenerat, but they did keepe themselves in their former activitie and nimblenesse of lims, either with continuall hunting (a game greatlie esteemed amongst our ancestors) or with running from the hilles unto the ballies, or from the ballies unto the hilles, or with wrestling, and such kinds of pastime whereby they were neuer idle. Their heads were alwaies shaven after the maner of the ancient Spaniards, with a little tuft of heare onelie left on their foreparts, and neuer covered, except when they were troubled with sickness, by which means it came to passe, that few of our nation in old time was scare to be bald and hearelesse. They went also barefooted, or if they had anie shoes, they dipped them first in the water, yet they did put them on, especially in winter when sharpest weather shewed it selfe, to the end that the soles of their feet (which were well hardened in summer with heat and in winter with cold) might be more strong and able to susteine great labour and daile trauell.

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and serue their appointed vices, their hosen were shapen also of linnen or wollen, which neuer came higher than their knees, their breeches were for the most part of hempe, clothes also they had for winter made of course woll, but in the summer time they ware of the finest that could be gotten. They slept moreouer either vpon the bare stowe or pallets of straw, teaching their children euen from their infancy to eschew ease, and praise the like hardnesse; and sith it was a cause of suspicion of the mothers 10 fidelitie toward hir husband, to seeke a strange nurse for hir children (although hir milke failed) each woman would take intolerable paines to bring vp and nourish hir owne children. They thought them furthermore not to be kinde fostered, except they were so well nourished after their births with the milke of their breasts, as they were before they were borne with the blood of their owne bellies, nay they feared least they should degenerat and grow out of kind, except they gaue them sucke themselves, and 20 eschewed strange milke, therefore in labour and painfulnesse they were equall, & neither sex regarded the heat in summer or cold in winter, but trauelled barefooted, and in time of warres the men had their cariages and victuals trusted behind them on their horses, or else vpon their owne shoulders without refusal of anie labour intolned vnto them by their captains.

If it hapened them at anie time to be vanquished, they fled with such speed to the mounteins, that no horse might ouertake them, and verie oft escaped. The violence that was done to anie one of them, was reputed common to all, & such was their deadly feide conceived in these cases, that vntill they had requited the like with more extremitie, they would neuer be quiet nor let go their displeasure. The noblest and most courageous gentleman would soonest desire to be placed in the fore ward, where his valour 30 or seruice & manhood should reabill be seene, and such was the friendship of the nobilitie amongst themselves, that whilst they contended which of them should be most faithfull and friendly to other, they would oft fall out, and quarell one with another. Sometimes it hapened that their capitaine was beset with extreme perill, or peraduenture some other of the nobilitie, in which cases they that were of his band would suddenly rush in through the thickest of their enemies vnto him, and deliuer him, or else if they could not so do, they would altogether lose their lues with him, thinking it a perpetuall note of reproch to ouerlue their leader.

The graues and sepulchers of our noble men had commonlie so manie obelisks and spires pitched about them, as the deceased had killed enemies before thine in the field. If anie souldier had bene found in the field without his sint and tinder box, or had walked or gone vp and downe with his sword at his side, and not naked in his hand, for then used they light armour for the most part, he was terrible scourged: but he that sold or morgaged his weapon, was forthwith cut from his companie, and banished as an erle; he that fled or went from the battell without leaue of his capitaine, was slain therefoerer he was met afterward, without anie iudgement or sentence, and all his goods confiscated to the prince. Their light armour in those daies consisted of the lance, the bodie, the long sword which hanged at the side of the owner, and thereto a backler, but afterward heavier armour came into generall vsage.

In these daies also the women of our countrie were of no lesse courage than the men, for all about maidens & wiues (if they were not with child) marched as well in the field as did the men, and so some

as the armie did set forthward, they slue the first living creature that they found, in whose blood they not onelie bathed their swords, but also tasted thereof with their mouthes, with no lesse religion and assurance conceiued, than if they had already bene sure of some notable and fortunate victorie. When they saw their owne blood run from them in the sight, they feared neuer a whit astonished with the matter, but rather doubling their courages, with more egerneesse they assailed their enemies. This also 10 is to be noted of them, that they neuer sought anie victorie by treason, falshood, or sleight, as thinking it a great reproch to win the field any otherwise than by mere manhood, prowess and plaine dealing.

When they went forth vnto the wars, each one went with the king of his owne cost (except the hired souldiours) which custome is yet in vse. If any were troubled with the falling euill, or leprosie, or fallen frantike, or otherwise was out of his wits, they were diligentlie sought out: and least those diseases should passe further by infectious generation vnto their issue & posteritie, they gelded the men. But the women were secluded to some old place far off from the companie of men, where if the afterward hapened to be gotten with child, both she and the infant were run through with the lance. Gluttons and raueners, drunkards, and egregious deuourers of victuals were punished also by death, first being permitted to deuoure so much as they listed, and then 30 drowned in one fresh riuer or other.

Furthermore, as iustice in time of war was commonlie giuen to perke, so in daies of peace our countrymen that offended, were oft severely punished and with incontinent rigor. For they well considered that after their people should returne & come home againe from the warres, they would be giuen to so many enormities, that the same their excesses should hardly be restrained but by extreme severity: such also was their nature, that so soon as they knew themselves guiltie of any offense committed against the estate or commonwealth, their first attempt was to set discord amongst the pères and princes of the realme, neuertheless when they are gentle intreated, and with courteous moderation, they are found to be verie tractable and pliant vnto reason: in private bargains & contracts they are so willing to giue euerie man his own, that they will yeld the more. And so farre is it growne into a custome euen in these our daies, that except there be some surplusage about the bare covenant, they will breake off and not go forwards with the bargain.

They used at the first the rites and maners of the Egyptians from whence they came, and in all their priuate affaires they used not to write with common letters, as other nations did; but rather with cyphers and figures of creatures made in maner of letters, as their epitaphes vpon their tombes and sepulchers remaining amongst vs do hitherto declare. 60 Nevertheless in our times this hieroglyphicall maner of writing (I wot not by what meanes) is perfected and lost, and yet they haue certeine letters proper vnto themselves, which were sometime in common vse: but among such as retaine the ancient speech, they haue their aspirations, diphongs, and pronunciation better than any other. The common sort are not in vse withall, but onlie they which inhabit in the higher part of the countrie, and sith they haue their language more eloquent and apt than others, they are called poets, they make also poets with great solemnitie and honour, being borne out thereby by the authoritie of the prince. Besides the skill also of many other arts and sciences, whose rules and methodes are

## The description of Scotland.

are turned into the said language, are given by tradition from their elders, they chaste excell in physique, wherein they go far beyond manie other, who learning of them the natures and qualities of such herbs as grow in those quarters, doe heale all manner of diseases euen by their onelie application.

Certes there is no region in the whole world so barren & vnfruitfull, through distance from the sun, but by the prouidence of God all manner of necessities for the sustentation of mankind dwelling there are to be had therein, if the inhabitants were such as had any skill how to vse the same in order. Fewer the lesse our elders, which dwelled continuallie vpon the marches of England, learned the Saron tong through continuall trade of merchandize and hazard of the wars long since, whereby it came to passe that we neglected our owne language, & our owne manners, and thereto both our ancient order in writing and speaking is bitterlie left among vs, that inhabit nere vnto them; whereas contrariwise those that dwell in the mounteins reteine still their ancient speech and letters, and almost all their old rites, wher vnto in time past their forefathers haue bene accustomed. One thing hereof also may euidentlie be seene (for an example) in their boats which they call carrocks, for being made of osiers and couered with bull hides, they vse to passe and repasse with them ouer their riuers and waters in catching of samons, and when they haue done, they beare them on their backs vnto what place soeuer it please them.

But we will now leaue the maners of our ancient friends, and intreat of our later countrymen. In pprocess of time therefore, and chaste about the daies of Malcolme Canmore, our maners began greatlie to change and alter. For when our neighbours the Britons began, after they were subdued by the Romans, to warre idle and slothfull, and there vpon diuene out of their countrie into Wales by their enemies the Saxons, we began to haue alliance (by proximity of the Romans) with Englishmen, speciallie after the subuersion of the Picts, and through our daile trades and conuersation with them, to learne also their maners, and therewithall their language, as I haue said already. Whereby shortly after it came also to passe, that the temperance and vertue of our ancestors grew to be iudged worthy of small estimation amongst vs, notwithstanding that a certeine idle desire of our former renowne did still remaine within vs.

Furthermoze as men not walking in the right path, we began to follow also the vaine shadow of the Germane honor and titles of nobilitie, and boasting of the same after the English manner, it fell out per long, that wheras he in times past was accounted onlie honorable, which excelled other men not in riches and possessions, but in prowesse and manhood, now he would be taken most glorious that went laden with most titles, wherof it came to passe, that some were named dukes, some earles, some lords, some barons, in which vaine puffes they fired all their felicitie. Before time the noble men of Scotland were of one condition, & called by the name of Ebanes, so much in Latine as *Quaestores regis*, gatherers of the kings duties, in English: and this denomination was giuen vnto them after their desert and merit.

But how far we in these present daies are swayed from the vertues and temperance of our eldres, I beleeue there is no man so eloquent, nor indued with such bitterance, as that he is able sufficientlie to expresse. For whereas they gaue their minds to dooghtinesse, we applie our selues to drunkenness: they had plentie with sufficiencie, we haue inordinate excellence with superfluitie: they were temperate,

we effeminate: and so is the case now altered with vs, that he which can deuoure and drinke most, is the noblest man and most honest companion, and there to hath no pære if he can once find the vaine, though with his great trauell to puruey himselfe of the plentifullest number of new fine and delicate dishes, and best prouoke his stomack to receiue the greatest quantitie of them, though he neuer make due digestion of it.

Being thus drownded in our delicate gluttonie, it is a world to see, how we stuffe our selues both daie and night, neuer ceasing to ingorge & polue in, till our bellies be so full that we must needs depart. Certes it is not supposed meet that we should now content our selues with breakfast and supper onlie, as our elders haue done before vs, nor inough that we haue added our dinner vnto their aforesaid meales, but we must haue thereto our beuerages and entre suppers, so that small time is spared wherein to occupie our selues in any godlie exercise, with almost the whole daie and night doe scarce suffice for the filling of our paunches. We haue also our merchants, whose charge is not to looke out, and bring home such things as necessarilie pertaine to the maintenance of our liues, but vnto the furniture of our kitchen, and these search all the secret corners of our forests for beneson, of the aire for foules, and of the sea for fish, for wine also they trauell not only into France, whose wines doe now grow into contempt, but also into Spaine, Italie and Greece: nay Africke is not void of our factors, no nor Asia, and onelie for fine and delicate wines if they might be had for monie.

In like sort they gad ouer all the world for sweet and pleasant spices, and drugs (prouokers vnto all lust and licentiousnesse of behaviour) as men that aduenture their owne liues to bring home poison and destruction vnto their countrymen, as if the mind were not already sufficientlie bereft of his image of the diuinitie, but must yet moze be clogged and ouerladen with such a franked case, therewithall to be extinguished outright, which already dwelleth or is buried rather in such an eglic sepulchre. The bodie likewise being oppressed with such a heape of superfluous food, although otherwise it be indued with an excellent nature, cannot be able to execute his office, nor keepe him selfe vpright, but must needs yeeld as overcome, and to be torne in peces and rent with sundrie maladies.

Whereof also it cometh to passe, that our countrymen trauelling into the colder regions are now a daies contrarie to their former vsage taken sometime with feuers, whereby their inward parts doe burne and parch as it were with continuall fier, the onelie cause wherof we may ascribe vnto those hot spices and drugs which are brought vnto vs from the hot countries. Others of them are so swollen and growne full of humors, that they are often taken suddenly, and die of vehement apoplexies, and although here and there one or two recover for a little while, yet are they but dead people, reuiuing againe, leading the rest of their liues like shadows, and walking about as if they were buried already.

Our youth also following these vnhapie steps of their parents, giue themselves wholly to lust and licentiousnesse, hauing all vertue and knowledge in contempt, and eschewing the same as a pestilence and subuersion of their pleasures, wherunto they applie themselves as vnto the most excellent trade. But sithens they are now inured, and as it were haunted with these vices, when time doth come of seruice, and that our countrie shall stand in need of manhood, these will become so effeminate, that they must not arise on horsebacke as clad in beaule armor, for on foot they cannot go by reason of their feebleness.

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nelle which choiceth by their vitall forces, neither be able to performe anie thing at all in comparison of the soueraigne manhood and prowesse of their elders. So some also as they retorne home, because their possessions are not otherwise able to nourish them by in pleasure and pampering of their matowes, they must fall to couetous and greedy practices, thereby to enrich themselves, or else proue strong thienes, or finally sowers of dissention and discord among the noble men, thereby to preie some commoditie.

Certes these and other vices following them necessarilie, proceede generallie from none other faulte than voluptuous life and intemperancie, the which if we would restraime, there is no region vnder the sunne that would proue more wholesome, lesse subiect to pestilence, nor more commodious and profitable for the sustentation of hir people. Certes I despaire not of the redresse of these things, but still hope that in short time these corrupt manners of my countie men will be turned into better frame. While are not yet become impudent, neither altogether haue cast off vnchastitie, sith that in a great manie some remainder of our ancient sobernesse and manhood doth yet appeare, and thereto newnesse of life with seruent deuotion increafe euerie day, through the working of the zeale of our christian religion in vs.

This also will I adde, without offense vnto other nations, that there was neuer people more stedfast to my knowledge in the christian faith, nor more constant in their faithfull promises, than the Scots haue bene since their first beginning: and for a conclusion I will say more, not onelie for their praise, but also in exhorting them vnto perseuerance, that as our people now liuing doe passe their ancestors in sumptuous and curious attire, so they are more neat and fine in their houses, better giuent to learning, and much more magnificent in building and decking of their churches. God grant them also to returne to their former frugalitie, and that with speed, Amen.

Whither to haue I translated Herodors description of Scotland out of the Scottish into the English tong, being not a little assted therein by the Latine, from whence sometime the translator swaueth not a little, as I haue done also from him, now and then following the Latine, and now and then gathering such sense out of both, as most did stand with my purposed breuitie. Now will I set downe the description of an ancient Pict, as I haue gathered it out of Herodian and other, and then I will giue ouer not onelie to write more at this present, but for euere hereafter of anie historிக்கal matters, sith I see that this honest kind of recreation is denied me, and all time spent about the same in these daies utterly condemned, as vaine and fauouring of negligence, and heathenish impietie.

The description of an ancient Pict.

### The 14 Chapter.

**T**he Pict (saith Herodian) hath generallie no vse in apparel, howbeit the nobler sort of them doe wrap their heads and wombs in hops of iron, which they take for great brauerie, esteeming this kind of attire, in such as weare the same, to be a token of wealth and riches, and so great an ornament, as if they had wore gold or any costlie iewels. Beside this, and the shauing of their nether lip, they painted ouer their bodies with the images of all kinds of beasts, so that he was the giest man that had his skin most disguised in this maner.

Certes none of them regarded to increace anie apparel, because they esteemed it a great glorie to haue these paintings seene. In warres they were boie, and desirous to shed blood, contenting themselves in stead of other armes with a short lance, and narrow target or buckler, their swords were tied to the naked sides with a thong, and as for iacke, shirt of male, or helmet, they made no regard of them, because they would trouble them in swimming, or otherwise at a pinch, when they should be compelled to wade.

Dion writing generallie of the whole countie, describeth it with Herodian into the Calidons & Preats, saing that the said countie is verie sauage, their cities void of walles, and fields without townes: they liue moreouer (saith he) by hunting and preie, and oftentimes with the fruit of their trees: and albeit that they haue exceeding plentie of fish, yet they eat not of it. They liue naked in tents, and without shoes on their feet, their wines are common, and children generallie looked vnto: they haue moreouer a populous regiment, and are verie readie to scale: they fight in wagons, and haue little light and swift horses, which run also verie swiftilie, & stand at their feet with like stedfastnesse. In the nether end of their lances they haue hollow bullets of brasse, in each is a little peece or two of iron, which ratteth when they shake it, and maketh a strange noise where manie of them are together. They haue also narrow daggers, but cheslie they can susteine hunger and cold best of all men, and likewise sore labour: and if it hapen them to hunger and haue no meat at hand, they will sit in the marshes by to the chins by manie daies together. In the woods they feed on roots or barkes of trees, and they haue a kind of meat among them, whereof if they take but so much as a beane, they neither hunger nor thirst in a long time after. And thus much of the Preats (which were the nextest vs) and the Calidons that dwelled beyond the wall, and both in their prouince called Maxima Cæsariensis, whereof let this suffice.

The number of bishops in Scotland.

### The xv Chapter.

| The archbishops of S. Andrews.                   |  | Viscounties. |                          |
|--|--|--------------|--------------------------|
| Archieb.   | Albante.   | Earledomes.  | Berwick alias north Ber. |
| Edin.  | Edin.  | Cathnes      | Wike                     |
| Glasc.   | Glasc.   | Sutherland   | Korborow                 |
| Dunfalden  | Dunfalden  | Rosse        | Selkirk                  |
| Dunblanen  | Dunblanen  | Forfar       | Twedale                  |
| Aberdeen   | Aberdeen   | Buchanan     | Dunfrise                 |
| Brechen  | Brechen  | Garnach      | Piddisdale               |
| Forfar   | Forfar   | Mar          | Wigton                   |
| Kos  | Kos  | Perth        | Are                      |
| Whithorne  | Whithorne  | Angus        | Lanarke                  |
| Cathnes  | Cathnes  | Coloxi       | Dunbritten               |
| Argadie  | Argadie  | Fife         | Sterueling               |
| Dykenie  | Dykenie  | Marche       | Louthian                 |
| Forfar   | Forfar   | Athole       | Clakmanan                |
| one of the Isles which are exempt vnto the pope. | one of the Isles which are exempt vnto the pope. | Strathorne   | Bimos                    |
| Vniuersities.                                    | Vniuersities.                                    | Perth        | Fife                     |
| S. Andrews                                       | S. Andrews                                       | Leuchor      | Perth                    |
| Aberdeen   | Aberdeen   | Wigton       | Angus                    |
| Glasc.   | Glasc.   | Duglass      | Perth                    |
| Dukedomes.                                       | Dukedomes.                                       | Carrie       | Aberdeen                 |
| Kothlay  | Kothlay  | Cratford     | Bamph                    |
|  |  | Annandale    | Fozes                    |
|  |  | Durmonth     | Inuerne.                 |
|  |  | Huntley.     | FINIS.                   |

1585

THE  
Historie of Scotland,  
containing the beginning, in-  
crease, proceedings, continuance,  
acts and gouernement of the Scottish  
nation, from the originall thereof  
vnto the yeere 1571, gathered and  
written in English by Raphael  
Hollinshed: and continued  
from 1571, to 1585, by  
others:

With a table of the principall  
particularities herein  
contained.

*M.Pal.in Ari.*

Historiæ placeant nostrates ac  
peregrinæ.

*Cum privilegio Regiæ  
Maiestatis.*



To the Right Honorable the Lord  
Robert Dudley, Earle of Leicester, Baron  
of Denbigh, Knight of the most noble order  
of the Garter, Maister of the Queenes  
Maiesties horffe, and one of  
*hir Highnesse priuie*  
Councill.



*I* may seeme (Right Honorable) a great presumption in mee, to haue taken in hand the collection of this Scottish historie, and other of diuers regions, considering so many sufficient men as liue in these daies, farre more able to performe the same. But where at the motion of a speciall friend, I undertooke to deale therein, more vpon trust of his promised aid than of mine owne abilitie, it pleased GOD to call

him to his mercie before the worke could be fullie brought to an end: but yet to answer the expectation of his friends, and trust which he had committed to them and me in this behalfe, I haue doone my good will to accomplish part of that, which in his life time was intended, although not to my wished desire, by reason of such wants as had beene supplied if he had liued to haue scene it published himselfe.

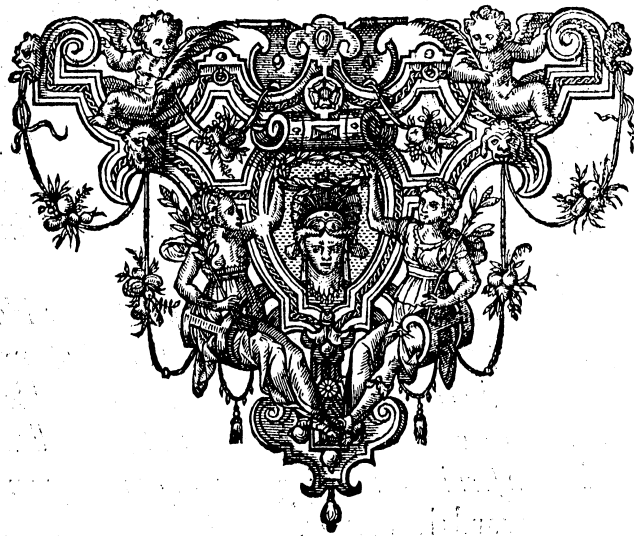
It resteth (right noble Earle) that it may please your Honor to accept my dooings in good part, to whom I offer this parcell of my trauels in this historie of Scotland, in regard of the honor due to your noble father, for his incomparable valure well knowne and approoued, as well within that realme as else-where in seruice of two kings of most famous memorie, Henrie the eight & Edward the sixt, sounding so greatlie to his renowme, as the same cannot passe in silence, whilest any remembrance of those two most peerelesse princes shall remaine in written histories. I therefore most humblie beseech your Honor, to beare with my boldnesse in presenting

Cij.

ting you with so meane a gift, proceeding from one, although unknownen to your Lordship, yet not without experience of your bountifull goodnesse extended towards those, to whome I reckon my selfe most beholden. As what is he within this realme almost of anie degree, which findeth not himselfe bounden to your Honor, either in his owne causes or his friends? For such is your inclination to pleasure all men, as the same may seeme a peculiar vertue planted in your noble heart, moving you so much to delight therein, as no time is thought by your Honor better spent, than that which you employ in dooing good to others.

But least I should enter into so large a discourse, as might be framed of this and other your excellent vertues (a matter far exceeding my simple knowledge) I will ceasse to speake further thereof, sith the same is spread ouer all, as well this as other regions: for no where doo want great numbers of such as haue abundantlie tasted of your exceeding courtesies. In making you owner therefore of this abstract of the Scottish histories, I most humbly beseech your Honor, if anie thing be amisse, to impute the same to the imperfection and defect of better instructions, and with your benigne and favorable interpretation to haue me therein excused. Such as it is, I adresse it to your good Lordship with so dutifull a mind as may be imagined, beseeching God to preferue your Honor with plentifull increase of wisdom, vertue, and all wishfull prosperitie.

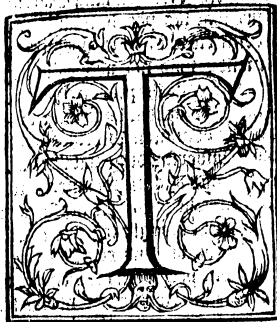
Your Honors most humble to be  
commanded *Raphaell Hollinsbed.*



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# THE HISTORIE OF Scotland.



**T**he Scottish men, according to the manner of other nations, esteeming it a glorie to fetch their beginning of great ancientie, say that their originall descent came from the Greeks and Egyptians; for there was (as

the old Scottish historiographers haue left in writing) a certaine noble man among the Greeks, named Cathelus, the sonne of Cecrops, who builded the citie of Athens: or as some other would, he was the sonne of Argus Pheolus, the fourth king of the Argues. This Cathelus plaing in his youth manie wild and vnrule parts in the countrie of Macedonia and Achata, was diuers times sharplie rebuked by his father and other of his friends: so that in fine disdaining their correction and vholsome admonitions, he was banished by his father: after which he got together a number of strong and lustie yong men, such as had vsed the like trade of lining, and with them fled ouer into Aegypt; and comming thither in the 33 yeare of Pharaos Dynas as then king of that countrie, was receiued of him in most glad some wise, for that his seruice (as was thought) might stand in great stead in those warres, which the Egyptians held at that time with the Aethiopiens that had invaded the realme of Aegypt, euen vnto Memphis. This Cathelus, to be short, went forth with his bands against the same Aethiopiens, vnder Moses the capteine generall of the armie, choscu thereto by diuine oracle (as Iosephus writeth) which Moses obtained the victorie, and conquered Saba by force being the chiefeft and principall citie which stood in the Ile Heroe.

For such tokens of valliance and worthis prowesse as Cathelus shewed, both in this countrie, and in other places, he grew also into such estimation with Pharaos, that he gaue him his daughter in marriage. But Moses was rather enuied than honored for his doing, because the Egyptians doubted least the Israelites should increase to such a puissant multitude, that in the end they might vburpe and challenge the gouernance of the whole realme, and bzing it by rebelling into their owne hands: wherefore diuers informations were made to the king against him, so that when he once perceiued himselfe to be in danger of the lawe, and looked for no mercie at their hands, he fled from thence out of the countrie, & gat

him into the land of Spadian. Vnto Cathelus and his people there was giuen a citie called Thebes [Aegyptiaca] being taken from the Ienehtes. Here you must vnderstand, that Pharaos daughter, which Cathelus thus married, was called Scotia, of whose such as came of the posteritie of that nation were afterwards, and are at this present day called Scots, that is to say Scottishmen, and the land where they inhabit Scotia, that is to say, Scotland.

Cathelus thus being aduanced by such honorable marriage, liued all the daies of his father in law Pharaos Dynas, in great honor. But after his decease, and in the third generation, an other king named Pharaos Chencres succeeded in his throne, who oppressed the people of Ikaell then abiding in Aegypt, with more bondage than euer his father or grandfather had done before him. Neither was there hope of anie redresse, till Moses returned by Gods appointment from amongst the Spadianites (where he had remained in exile) into Aegypt, and there declared vnto this Pharaos, Gods commandement, touching the deliuerance of his people.

But forsomuch as his words were regarded, neither with the king, nor with his subiects, the land was plagued in most horrible manner, and moreover it was signified vnto such as sought to know what was meant by way of oracles, that soer and more greivous plagues should after follow, if remedie were not found the sooner. Cathelus therefore being certified hereof, and giuing credit to the oracles aforesaid, determined out of hand to forsake the countrie, and seeke him a new place of abode in some other parties of the world. Wherefore he caused a number of ships to be rigged, and all necessarie purueiance to be provided, and when the same was once readie, and all things set in order, he took with him his wife and children, and a great multitude of people both Greeks and Egyptians, whom he imbarked in those ships, and hoisting vp sailes, departed out of the mouth of the riuer Nilus, in the yeare of the worlds creation 2453, when he had dwelled in Aegypt 39 yeares and more. Being thus departed, after some trouble in the voyage, they arrived first on the coasts of Spundia, which is one of the regions of Affrike, now called Barbarie: but being put backe from thence by the stout resistance of the inhabitants, they took the seas againe, and landed in a part of Spaine, which long after was called Lusitania.

There be that haue written how it should be cleped post Cathelus of this Cathelus, and certeine yeares after Lusitania, and estonces againe in a manner to haue got the former name, being somewhat corruptly called Portugale. But who is able in a matter of such ancientie to auouch anie thing for truth?

T. iij.

Cathelus

The citie of Thebes was giuen vnto Cathelus.

Scotia daughter to Pharaos.

The credit of this historie of Cathelus doe leane to the authors. Israel oppressed.

Moses called out of Spadian into Aegypt.

Moses not regarded. Exodus.

Cathelus leaving Aegypt, sought other countries.

Cathelus departing was, Anno mundi, 2453. W.H. 3643. H.B. He was repelled from Barbarie.

He landed in Portugale.

Cathelus.

Cathelus giuen to his pleasure.

Cathelus went into Aegypt, Anno mundi 2416.

Cathelus returned to Pharaos.

Cathelus remained against the enemies. Pharaos captaine generall over Pharaos.

Cathelus his voyage ad.

Cathelus was repelled from Barbarie.

Cathelus son.

The inhabit-  
ants resist  
Cathelus.

A communi-  
cation.  
Cathelus  
buildeth the  
cittie Brigantia  
by the sea.

A communi-  
cation.

Cathelus left  
Dorungale,  
and went into  
Galitia.  
He buildeth a  
cittie called  
Brigantia,  
and now  
Colipostella.

Cathelus.

He maketh  
lawes and or-  
dinances.

The Spani-  
ards fight  
with the  
Scots in-  
fortunate.

A peace con-  
cluded.

Cathelus in-  
flicted justice.  
A description  
of the feat.

Cathelus with his companie being thus come to land, sought abroad in the countrie for victuals, and such other necessarie things as they wanted (for their long being on the seas had wasted all their puruiance:) whose arrivall being once knowne in the countrie, the people assembled together, and fiercely encountering with the strangers, after sharpe and cruell fight, in the end the Spaniards were put to the worst and chased out of the field. This victorie put Cathelus and his folks in hope of good successe to haue there a place for them to inhabit in, and so to end their long wandering in strange and vncom- teine places. And to the intent they might bring their purpose the more easilie to passe, they found means by way of communication to ioine in friend- ship with the Spaniards, and obtaining of them a plot where they might build a place for to inhabit in; shortly after they began the foundation of a citie nere to the banks of the river called of ancient time Spundus, and afterwards Brachara.

It chanced after this, that the Spaniards (percei- uing these strangers to increase further in puissance than, as they thought, stood well with their securitie) sought diuerse occasions to fall at debate with them, and to make warres vpon them: but when they vn- derstood that Cathelus was as readie to defende, as they were to invade, they offered to sell to a commu- nication, a persuaded with Cathelus, that it should be best for him and his people, for the auoiding of va- riance, to remoue vnto the northside of Spaine, li- eing vpon the coasts of the Cantabrian seas, now called Galitia (where he should find much void ground, by reason of the small number of inhabi- tants) adding that if they would so do, they would aid them to the uttermost against all such as should attempt to disquiet their indeuours in anye maner of wise. This offer Cathelus gladly accepted, and causing publike sacrifice to be celebrated in honoz of the gods, he departed with all his people into Galitia, and there concluding a league with the inhabi- tants, builded a citie which he named Brigantia, but after it was named Spoutum, and now Com- postella.

Here Cathelus being intituled by the name of a king, deuised and ordeined lawes for his peo- ple to liue by, that the citie might not onelie be fen- ced with strong walles, but also with good and hol- some statutes and ordinances, the chiefest fortifica- tions that may be for all cities and countries. And bi- cause he would not onelie haue his said people to liue vnder one law, but also to be knowne and cal- led by one name, he gaue commandement that they should be all called Scottishmen (as before is said) of his wife Scota. In continuance of time, this na- tion grew to a wonderfull multitude, so that the Spaniards doubting the worst, determined to fore- see remedie in time, and here vpon purposing utter- lie to destroye them, got them againe to armour, and with their whole puissance comming vpon the Sco- tishmen gaue them a sore battell, though in the end they were put to flight, the victorie remaining with the Scottishmen, albeit not without great blood- shed on either part, as the Scottish historie saith. At length a necessarie peace was agreed vpon be- twixt both parties, the conditions whereof were these: that aswell Scottishmen as Spaniards should liue after their owne lawes, and neither of them to invade other.

Cathelus hauing peace thus with his neighbors, sat vpon his marble stone in Brigantia, where he gaue lawes, and ministred iustice vnto his people, thereby to mainteine them in wealth and quietnesse. This stone was in fashion like a seat or chaire, ha- uing such a fallall desinie, as the Scots say, follow-

ing it, that whereoeuer it should be found, there should the Scottishmen reigne and haue the supreme gouernance. Hereof it came to passe, that first in Spaine, after in Ireland, and then in Scotland, the kings which ruled ouer the Scottishmen, receiued the crowne sitting vpon that stone, vntill the time of Robert the first king of Scotland. The inscription al- so of the stone, though ingrauen long time after, as should appeare, was this:

*Nullat fatum, Scoti quocumq; locatum  
Inuenient lapidem, regnare reuerentur ibidem.*

Which may be thus translated:

Except old lawes doo faile,  
And wifards wits be blind,  
The Scots in place must reigne,  
where they this stone shall find.

But to returne where I left touching Cathelus. When he perceiued that his people multiplied in such wise, as the countrie which was appointed him by the last agreement, was not able to susteine them, he was loth to breake the peace which he had established with the Spaniards, by seeking to in- large the bounds of his dominion with breach of co- uenant: and therefore vnderstanding that there was an Island lieng north ouer against Spaine, wherein were but few inhabitants, he caused all such ships as he was able to make, to be brought together into an haven nere vnto Brigantia, and commanding a great armie of his owne people and subiects to be assembled, he appointed his two sonnes whome he had by his wife Scota, the one named Iberus, and the other Himeneus, to conuie them ouer into that Island, which afterwards they named Hibernia, after Hibernus, but now it is commonlie called Ireland.

At their first arrivall there, they came into the ha- uen of Dundalk, where getting on land, they first incamped themselves nere the shore, and then sent forth certaine of their folks to search if they could learne what people inhabited in the countrie, by whome at their returne, and by such as they had hap- pened vpon and brought with them, they vnderstood how there was no great number of inhabitants in that Isle, and that they which dwelled there were ve- rie simple, such I meane as liued onelie by milke and herbs, with other the like things as the earth by nature brought forth of hir owne accord, without mans helpe or vse of anye tillage. Here vpon Iber with his brother Himeneus, went not about with force, but by gentlenesse to win those people, nri- uing to ioine them in friendship so with their Sco- tishmen, that both the people might be made as one. Neither was this hard to be done, sithens the inha- bitants (perceiuing the Scottishmen not to go a- bout to harme them) came flocking in thologie about them, submitting themselves into their hands with gladnesse.

When things were once set here in a stay, and that orders were giuen how the land should be conuerted vnto tillage, and manured for the bet- ter bringing forth of such things as serue for mans sustentance, Iber (leaving his brother in charge with the gouernance of all those which were appoint- ed to abide there in Ireland) with the most part of the ships and residue of the companie, sailed backe into Spaine, where finding his father Cathelus dead, he succeeded in his place of gouernement, to the great reioicing of all the people there.

This Iber was a man of great courage, and more giuen to the wars than his father before him, so that where his father contenting himselfe with the bounds and limits of the countrie assigned him by composition, sought no further (as is said) to enlarge the

about a con-  
tinent.

A peace.

Spaniards &  
Scots becom  
one people.

Himeneus.  
Himeneus &  
Iber.

Dilection.

The Scots  
find an am-  
bassador vnto  
Himeneus in  
Spaine.

He sent to  
aid the  
Scots in Ire-  
land.

He sent him  
by milke and  
herbs.

He sent him  
gentle me-  
treated.

Himeneus  
returned into  
Spain againe

Hiber.

Hiber retur-  
ned into  
Spain.

Hiber succe-  
ded his father  
Cathelus.

Himeneus  
Duch.

Hiber  
came into  
Ireland.

the same: &  
to knowe na-  
tures, by rea-  
son of parties: an  
league be  
Spaniards  
within certie  
by marriage  
together, be-  
continued a  
long season  
neus, & fol-  
were of mo-  
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at large.

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the same: Hiber ceased not to conquer cities and townes more adioining to the borders of his subiects, by reason whereof his fame spred ouer all those parties: and in the end constrained his enemies to seeke for peace, which he willingly granted: so that a league being concluded betwixt the Scots and Spaniards, the same took such good successe, that within certeine yeeres after, both the nations, that by marriage and other contracts, which they exercised together, became one. The succession also of kings continued after Hiber decaisse in his posteritie a long season; amongst the which, Metellus, Hermoneus, Ptolomeus, Hiberus, and Simon Brechus were of most worthy fame, as is recorded by such as haue written the histories of that nation more at large.

In the meane while that these things were thus adoming in Spaine, Himeccus being left, as is before remembred, in Ireland, to haue the gouernance there, ruled both the people of Scottishmen, and the former inhabitants, with as much indifferencie as was possible: yet could he not ioine them so in one; but that after his decaisse either of them would haue seuerall rulers of their owne nation to gouerne them: by reason whereof, falling effones at discord amongst themselves, there ensued sharpe and cruell warres betwixt them, which being ended sometime by truce (when both parties happilie were thoroughlie wearied) they renewed notwithstanding their malicious strife againe, so lone as they had once recovered their decayed strengths, so that the one seeking the others destruction, they continued in great disquietnes for a long time. These Scottishmen being thus troubled in Ireland, finally abressed an ambassage vnto Metellus, who as then reigned amongst the Scottish men in Spaine, requiring him of aid and succor against their enemies, who went about with tooth and naile to expell all the Scottish nation out of Ireland, which they were like enough to bring to passe, if in time there were not speedie remedie through his aid provided for the contrarie.

Metellus hearing these newes, as a man moued with a naturall zeale toward all the Scottish linage, gaue care to their request, supposing it should be his part to defend his kinsfolke from all wrong and injuries: immediate therefore he sent his three sons, Hermoneus, Ptolomeus, and Hiberus, with a chosen power of warriours ouer into Ireland, where vanquishing the enemies with fierce and cruell battles, they set the Scottishmen in sure and quiet possession of all their lands and liuings. This done Ptolomeus and Hiberus remained there to rule and inhabit the countrie. But Hermoneus, who was the eldest brother, returned backe againe to Spaine, there to succeed his father when time should serue thereto.

After this the Scottish estate continued many yeares in good quiet in Ireland, the people still increasing in wealth and puissance, till prosperitie the mother of contention, stirred by grudge and partialities amongst them, which shortly would haue decayed the force of the Scottish nation, if the ancient lords had not prouided redresse in time, which was to perswade the people to haue a king of their owne, who being partaker with none of them in their factions, might haue the absolute gouernance of the whole, so that by common consent they sent into Spaine for one Simon Brech, whose name was right famous amongst them in that season, both as well for that he was lineallie descended of the bloud royal, as also for that he had shewed many proofes of his noble valiance in sundrie affaires and businesse. This Simon being glad of these tidings, sailed quicklie into Ireland, and brought thither with

him amongst other princelie Jewels and regall monuments, the fatal stone of marble, wherein he caused himselfe to be crowned, in token of his full possession and establishment ouer that kingdome.

Brechus being thus crowned, was the first king that reigned ouer the Scots in Ireland, who began his reigne there, in the yere from the creation of the world 3270, which time by maister Harisons account is after the flood 1616, from the first building of Rome 55, after the entrie of Brutus into Britaine 870, and before the incarnation of our saviour 697. And hauing ruled his subiects with great iustice by the space of fortie yeeres or thereabout, he died, after whose decaisse succeeded Pandusus, who had issue Ethion, and he begat Clancus, which Clancus begat Potastilus, the father of Rothfay: all of them reigned successiuelie ouer the Scottishmen in Ireland, as in the description of that land more plainelie may appere.

This Rothfay (perceiuing the Scottish nation increased to a greater multitude in Ireland than the countrie was well able to susteine) transported ouer certeine numbers of them into the Isles ancientlie called Ebonides, afterwards Hebrides, but now by the Scots, the Iwerterne Isles, because they lie on the west halfe of Scotland: and there they placed them to inhabit. He named also that Ile which he first began to possesse Rothfay, after his owne name. Which translation of these Scottishmen into those Isles was 133 yeeres after the coronation of Brechus.

This Rothfay had not bene long in those Isles, but that hearing of his fathers decaisse, he returned into Ireland to succed in his place. Where the Scottishmen perceiuing the fertilitie of the Isles, and how the same serued well for the breeding of cattall, became so desirous to inhabit there, that they went ouer thither daile in great numbers, with their wiues, children, and whole families, so that within a short time they multiplied in such wise, that the Isles were not large enough to find them sustentance, by reason whereof diuers companies of them got them ouer into the maine land of the north part of this our Britaine, called as then Albion, where they first inhabited a waste and desert portion thereof, lieng toward the west, ouer against the foreremembred Isles, by them already inhabited, Anno 383. That part where they first began to settle themselves, they named Argathella, after the name of their first capitaine and guide Cathelus, but the inhabitants at this day call it Arguile.

At their first coming, because they perceiued they could not liue without lawes and ciuill gouernment, they seuered themselves into tribes, or as it were into hundreds, or wapentakes, euerie of the same hauing a speciall gouernor: to see their lawes ministered, and iustice maintained: which gouernors were had in such reuerence, that they were as much afraid to sweare by the name of any one of them, as they were by the gods. In this state they continued many a yere, increasing in procelle of time vnto a mightie nation, and liued in good rest without trouble of warres or inuasion made vpon them by any forren enemy. In this meane time also, the Picts, which were a certeine people of Germanie, as most writers doe agree, came and set foot also in another part of Britaine, which now is comprehended likewise within Scotland.

Some saie that they came forth of the hether part of Scythia, and other there be which hold opinion, that they descended of the people named in old time Agathyrsi, which inhabited in a part of Sarmatia, and were called Picts, because they used to paint and colour their faces, or (as some suppose) for that they

Brechus.

4504 H.B.  
60 H.B.  
696 H.B.  
Pandusus.

Rothfay.  
The Scots  
ferrie ouer into  
the Iwerterne Isles.

They inhabit  
the Ile of  
Rothfay.

The Scots  
inhabit  
the maine land of  
Scotland.

4617 H.B.  
They inhabit  
the countrie  
called Arguile

They make  
lawes and ordinances.  
Gouernors  
had in reuerence.

They liue in  
peace.  
The Picts  
came into  
Scotland out  
of Germanie.

The Scots  
the new  
lars.

The Scots  
in the  
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Irishmen  
by milke and  
carbes.

Irishmen are  
gentle  
reated.

Hiber.

Hiber retur  
ned into  
Spaine.

Hiber succed  
ed his father  
Cathelus.

# The historie of Scotland.

32

The Picts came first into Orkeney, and changing their seats came into the maine land of Scotland, Pictland, Firth.

4867 H. B. The Picts make strong holdes.

The Picts require wives of the Scots.

A league made.

The succession of the government.

Their alliance mistlied.

Dissention a present destroyer.

The Picts good husband-men. The Scots given to hunting and fowling.

The Britains send

used gaine apparell of diners and sundrie colours; but the same writers generallie confesse, that they first came into Germanie or hitler Scythia (that is to meane Denmarke) many yeeres before they entered into Britaine. Truth it is that they first came out of Germanie, into the Isles of Orkeney, and there inhabiting for a season, feried over into Cathness, whereof it came to passe, that the streit there at this present is called Pictland firth: and so in continuance of time increasing in number, they passed further into the land, and got possession of Koffe, Spurrey land, Orerne, and Angule, and after that, entering into ffitte and Louthian, they drove such Britains from thence as inhabited there before, which were but a simple kind of people, as those that applied nothing but onelie nourishing and breeding of cattell.

These Picts, as by conference of times may appere, entered first into Scotland, about the yeare after the creation of the world 3633, and being once arrived, they began to erect and build certeine forts, wherein they might defend themselves, if any force of enimies should chance to put them to such thits; but perceiving they could not continue any time without wives to mainteine their stocke and progenie by bringing forth issue, they thought it expedient to require of the Scottishmen some number of women to marrie with, that thereby a sure alliance might be had betwixt both nations, & that if need required, they might the better defend them from their common enimies the Britains, whom they knew would be loth to see the increase of either Scots or Picts, as those that were strangers to them, and usurpers vpon their confines.

This request was granted, and a full league ratified betwixt the Scottishmen and Picts, with covenants, that neither of them should take to blame any pece of that which the other held, but content themselves with their owne marches. And further, he that attempted to wrong the one, should be accounted an enimie to both: and against whom they should be ready to ioine their powers in either others defense. Also it was accorded, that if at any time it were doubtfull who ought to succeed in the government of the Pictish kingdome, some one descended of those Scottish women should be admitted to the throne.

This alliance was even at the first mistlied of the Britains, who doubted, that if these two nations should once be ioined inseparably together, they might in time to come increase to greater puissance than should stand well with the suertie of their estate. Wherefore studieng how to prevent that danger, they thought the readiest meane to destroye both those nations was (if they might bring it to passe) to set them first together by the eares amongst themselves, that afterwards when their powers were by such means sore abated, they might the more easilie subdue them at their pleasures. This devise the Britains kept secret for a time, till occasion served to worke their intent. In which meane while the affinity betwixt the Scots and Picts increased to the wealth of both nations, and for the issue sake great love and friendship was maintained among them. The Picts applied themselves to tilling the ground, and building of fortresses: the Scots set all their delight in hunting and fowling, using about the same to go armed in iacks and light ieffernes with bow and arrowes, no otherwise than if it had bene in open warre: for in this exercise they placed all the hope of the defense of their possessions, lands and liberties.

At length, the Britains perceiving happlie some grudge or envie to be entred amongst them, they

sent solemne ambassadoers vnto the Picts, declaring that it were moze honorable for them to ioine in league with the Britains, than with the Scots: which Britains were knowne to be famous, both in peace and war, and inhabited a countrie most fruitful and replenished with all commodities necessarie having therein rich mines of diuers kinds of metall, where the Scots being a rude nation, wild and savage, inhabited a barren countrie, full of rough and fruitlesse mounteins, delighting thereto in nothing but in the slaughter of men and beastes. And herevnto they added that (which most moued the Picts) how it was foretold them by propheties, that the Scots through treason should utterly in time to come ertinguish and destroye all the Pictish blood. Which persuasions induced the Picts at the last, to make a league with the Britains, who promised their aid at all times, in whatsoeuer enterprise the Picts should take in hand against the Scots, and as often as occasion should require.

This league thus being confirmed with the Britains, incouraged the Picts so, that they sought daily how to picke quarels, and fall out with the Scottishmen: whereupon making proclamation that no Scottishman should enter into their borders, vpon paine of death: some such as they took within the same, they cruelly slue; other they ransomed at exorbitant summes: wherevpon the Scots being kindled with iust displeasure, on the other side requited them with the like, euer as they caught any of the said Picts by hap or otherwise amongst them, or in their walks.

The one nation seeking thus to be reuenged of the other, there ensued open war betwixt them: whereby on the Scottishmen, to the end they might be the better able to mainteine their quarrell, sent over their ambassadoers vnto their kinsmen in Ireland, requiring them of aid in that present danger, as having now not onelie warres with the Picts, but also with the Britains, who minded nothing but the utter destruction of them and their linage, except speedie remedie were found. And for that they saw it needfull to haue one onelie head and gouernor, they made sute also to haue some captaine of honor with them into Albion, vnto whom as to their king they would submit themselves. In that season amongst the Pictish Scottishmen, there reigned a king named Fergusus, who inclining to the petition of the Pictish Scots, caused an huge armie forthwith to be leued, and thereto he appointed his owne sonne Fergusus to be generall of the same, a worthy young gentleman, and an expert warrior: whom he sent ouer with his puissant companie, in such speed as was possible. He had also with him the marble stone, that he might conceiue the better hope to reigne there as a king, because he went forth vnto such a dangerous warre.

Such also as went with him in this iourne, had their wives, their children, and all their substance with them, as the manner of the nation then was, when they went forth into any forren countrie. Now it came to passe that this Fergusus was no sooner come into Albion amongst the Scottishmen there, but that in a parlement called and assembled in Argile for the purpose, they first consulted after what sort they might mainteine themselves against their enimies, and what order for gouernment should be obserued amongst them. Where finally for avoiding of such inconueniences, as might rise through manie gouernors, they decreed to chuse onlie one, whom in all things, as their king & head, they would from thenceforth follow and obey.

But because there was none thought so meet to beare that office, as Fergusus, and that the

ambassadoers vnto the Picts. A strange suggestion.

Prophecy.

The Picts become enimies to the Scots.

The Scots reuenge their iust wrong done vnto them.

Scots sent for aid into Ireland.

They require a gouernor.

Fergusus king in Ireland.

Fergusus sent into Scotland. The marble stone.

Fergusus landed in Albion. A parlement.

A king is to be obserued.

Fergusus

The Britains and against the Scots.

The Britains are about to destroye the Picts.

Creation renewed vnto Fergusus.

Fergusus sent vnto the Picts.

A peare to be concluded.

The king of the Picts called his countie and comons.

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chaste of hope was also brought with him: they concluded by whole consent to commit that charge vnto him, and so to the great reioicing of the people, he was placed vpon his marble stone, and crowned king, being the first of the Scottish nation that euer ruled in Albion as absolute gouernour, who began his reigne in the yeare after the creation of the world 2640, which is (as Harison saith in his chonologie) before the incarnation of our sauiour 227, after the building of Roine 420, and after the entring of Brutus into Britaine 790.

The kingdome of the Scottishmen being thus begun in Albion, Fergus took vpon him to rule as king, making provision on all sides to resist his enemies: who whilst these things were a doing in Argile, had assembled their powers: vnto whom also the Britains had ioined themselves, and were now entred into the Scottish borders. Fergus hauing herof knowledge, speedilie got together his people, and came with banners displayed to encounter his enemies. In king Fergus banner, there was a red lion portraied rampant, with his taile folded towards his backe, as though he did beat the same, which is the manner of them when they be moued to displeasure. Fergus was the first that bare this cognisance in Albion, which euer since hath bene borne by those kings that haue successiuelie reigned after him there.

Both the armies were now come within sight of other, and readie to haue giuen the onset, when there went a murmuring amongst the Picts, that their companions the Britains were gotten to a hill a little beside them, minding to see the end of the battell before they did stir, and then if occasion serued (as their hope was it should) they purposed to fall vpon both parties, as well Picts as Scots, and so to destroye them both, the vanquishers together with the vanquished, as they found them out of araie in following the chase. The like report was brought vnto Fergus by one that fled to his side from the enemies campe, touching this treason of the Britains, conspiring the exterminion of both the people.

By reason whereof, either part being put in feare of that which might insue through the malicious purpose of the Britains, they kept their tents certaine daies together, without making any hast to battell. And in the meane while Fergus sent a messenger vnto the king of the Picts, requiring him to come to a communication before they should fight, for that he had to informe him of such matters as pertained no lesse to the safeguard and preservation of the Picts, than of his owne people the Scots. The king of the Picts willinglie gaue eare to this message, and so a little beside both the armies standing in battell araie, the two kings accompanied with a few of their nobles met together, where in the end the danger in which they both stood, being plainelie disclosed and throughlie weighed, they condescended to haue a further treatie of peace, which the king of the Picts alleged he might not conclude without the publike consent of his subiects; and therefore he appointed on the daie following to returne to the same place againe, there to giue a resolute answer, after he had vnderstood the minds of his lords and commons in the same.

Wherevpon therefore returning to his campe, he called his counsell afoze him, declaring the substance of the communication which had bene betwixt king Fergus and him, which was in effect tending to this end. First considering the present deuises of the Britains, there was nothing more expedient than a peace to be agreed vpon, as well for the commoditie of the Picts as Scots, if they would yield withall to auoid the imminent perill of their

better ruine and common destruction intended by the Britains.

Wherevpon also he required their aduise what they thought good to be done; declaring that according as they counselled him, he would worke therein. This matter being thus proposed, as there were diuerse heads, so were there sundrie opinions. Some iudged that in no case they could enter friendship againe with the Scots, who had so cruellie slaine and murdered a great number of the Pictish nation; and had shewed such tokens of a brauillie furious nature, that there was no hope to continue long in amitie with such a raging kind of people: and hereto they held that it was not vnknowne how the propheticke went, that the Scots should in the end destroye all the Pictish progenie. So that it were wisdom to keepe their power vnder, so long as was possible, and not to increase the same by ioining with them in friendship.

Other were of a contrarie mind, esteeming that in no wise the Scottish mens friendship ought to be refused, vntlesse they would determine to forsake new dwellinges in some other forraine parties; sith the Britains would not faile, but vpon occasion take what vantage they could to expell them both, as well Scots as Picts, out of the countries now by them possessed. And as for that, which was alledged touching the propheticke, if the gods had so determined, then might no policie of man preuent it: and if there were no such thing appointed by the same gods, what follie then were it to cast such dreadfull doubts where no cause was? Duer and besides this, they had taken them wiues of the Scottish nation, and thereby ingrafted their seed (the hope of their posteritie) in that stocke, which is the nearest meane and forceablest occasion to nourish friendship amongst people, that is or may be deuised; therefore it should not be onelie profitable but necessarie also to haue peace with the Scots, to renewe againe with them the former league, to the perpetuall strengthening and aduancement of both the nations.

Whilst the Picts were thus in debating the matter, their wiues also being present there in the armie, came in amongst them with their children, and in most lamentable wise besought their husbands to haue pitie vpon them, in their so sorrowfull case, and not to suffer their hands to be defiled with vnnaturall murder, sith it were lesse discomfort to them with their sillie little ones to die anie kind of death whatsoeuer it were, rather than to behold their husbands with their fathers, their brethren, and their kinsfolke ioine together in battell, and there to kill one another without all mercie and compassion. The nobles and gentlemen of the Picts hearing the cries of these women, and being now somewhat moued to pitie, consented at last to haue peace with the Scottish men, and to renewe againe the old league that was heretofore betwene them: and for mutuall iniuries heretofore committed, that there should be a mutuall recompense, according as might stand with equitie and reason. So that where the Britains had bene the chiefe procurers of all that mischief and discord betwixt them, in hope thereby to destroy both the parties, they should now be reputed from henceforth as common enemies to them both. As for all other articles & conditions of agreement, it was ordeined that their king should do therein as vnto him might seeme good.

In the morning therefore, as was appointed, the king of Picts meeting with king Fergus, declared what his subiects were agreed vpon: and further opening his mind touching the establishment of the peace, thought it conuenient to haue a day of meeting betwixt them to ratifie the same. Wherewith Fergus

A propheticke.

The Picts admonished by their wiues to peace.

The Picts are moued to pitie.

Britains reputed as enemies.

The meeting of the two kings.

ambassadors to the Scots.

craftie suggestion.

propheticke.

The Britains and Picts.

The Picts come into the Scots.

The Scots coming into them.

Scots sent into Ireland.

They require a gouernor.

Fergusardus king in Ireland.

Fergus sent into Scotland. The marble stone.

Fergus landed in Albion. A parliament.

A king is to be observed.

Fergus.

In other day taken for the ratification of the peace.

The Britains go home-ward disap- pointed of their purpose.

The Scots and Picts re- turne home in peace.

This Coillus by the circum- stance of the time, and o- ther consid- erations, should seeme to be the same whome the Britains name Gut- teline.

Coillus his subtilie.

The Britains rob the Scots and the Picts for to stirre discord.

The Scots and Picts in- vade the Bri- tains.

Coillus entred into Scot- land with an armie.

Fergusse as- sembled a great power of Scottis- men.

Fergusse being well contented & glad that through his motion a peace should thus ensue, a day was appointed betwixt them and kept accordingly, so that comming together, the ancient league was in all points renewed, with some conditions added thereto, available (as was thought) for the stronger confirmation thereof. Before this, and after the first meeting betwixt the Scots and Picts, I meane so sone as the Britains had understanding of this agree- ment, they had no lust to tarie longer in the field, but raising their power, they departed their waies home-wards, doubting least the said agree- ment might turne smallie to their gaine. The Picts and Scottishmen also after they had thus fullie rati- fied the peace and league betwixt them, brake up their camps, euerie man repairing to the place of his abode.

The king also of the Britains named Coill (so- journiing in that season nere about Forke) being informed of this sudden renouation of the league be- twixt the Scottishmen and Picts, was nothing for- full of the newes: for he doubted least in time to come their confederacie might be occasion of their further increasing in puissance, and after that some new occasion of his trouble. Wherefore studieng by what waies and meanes he might best prouide reme- die for such inconueniences as might insue, he at- tempted nothing openlie for the space of two years, but onelie watched his time, to the end that if he might in that season chance (thorough the insolent courage of either nation) to espie anie occasion ser- uiceable for his time, he might set vpon and be a plague vnto them both.

At length also he caused his subiects (such I meane as bordered nere to the marches of both the people) to fetch prizes and booties out of the Pictishe confines. So that when the Picts sent thither with request to haue restitution made, it was by and by answered, that the Scots had done such trespasses (being a people inured vnto such feats by nature, and not the Britains, who were nothing guiltie in that kind of matter; and thus would the Britains doe in like sort when they had robbed the Scots, so that with such in- iurious dissimulation, as well Scots as Picts be- ing not a little offended, they entred sone after in- to the Britishe confines, robbing & spoiling the same, as their custome is, with all maner of crueltie. When Coill of Britaine had notice of these doings, he took greivous indignation thereat, and there- vpon determined to proue whether he might with open warres atchieue his purpose, which he could not being to passe by his former cloaked practise. And herewith assembling an armie, he entred into the Scottish borders lieng towards the Irish seas, wa- sting & spoiling with fire and sword whatsoeuer he found in his waies, till he came euen to the riuer of Dune, where incamping himselfe vpon the banks thereof, he sent forth companies of his souldiers to destroye the countrie, and to bring in all such pris- oners as they should lay hands vpon.

But in the meane time, and so sone as Fergusse heard of the approach of the Britains, he caused all the people in the countrie to get them with their gods & cattels vnto the mounteins, except such as were able to beare armour: whome he appointed to attend vpon him, to defend the countrie as occasion serued. Whereof Coill hauing knowledge brought by an espiall, he sent forth about fise thousand nimble men, and such as had bene used to cline craggie hills, to go before and win the passages, purposing the next day to follow himselfe with the whole armie. But the Scottishmen and Picts being now assembled together, and certified hereof also by their spies, they first fell in consultation what they

were best to doe; and in the end agreed that the same night they should set vpon the Britishe campe: Fer- gusse with his Scottishmen on the one side, and the king of the Picts on the other; so that in the dead of the night the Scottishmen killing the watch, were entred into the Britishe campe, yer Coill had know- ledge of anie such thing.

Whereby it came to passe that whilst the Britains (awaked with the noise) drem vnto that part where the alarme rose, to beat backe the Scots; the Picts comming ouer the riuer of Dune, by a certeine blind fowd, assailed them on the backs, to the great confusion of the whole armie, by reason whereof the Britains (seeing none other remedie but to saue themselves by flight) turned their backs and fled, in which turmoile they were trodden downe and fell by heaps one vpon an other, and were not able to helpe themselves, nor yet to make shift to auoid the hands of their aduersaries. In this businesse also Coill himselfe chanced to be oppressed amongst the rest, so that he was found dead in the search of such as were slaine, and after solemnlie buried according to his estate in Troinouant, leauing the kingdome vnto his sonne Sifellius, who with his mother Aperia gouerned the same together by the space of ma- nie yeares.

Such Britains also as escaped out of their enemies hands, got them together in the next morning, & per- ceining what losse they had sustained not onlie by the death of their prince, but also in the slaughter of a great part of their whole armie, sent an herault vnto the Scots and Picts to require a peace: which though the most part of the people were not in will to haue consented vnto, yet perswaded in the end by their princes, they were contented to yield there- to: so that a generall peace was concluded, and speedilie published betwixt them.

Immediate herevpon, the Picts with their part of the spoile gotten at this iournie, departed to their homes, and Fergusse returned into Argile; where studieng dailie for the quiet aduancement of the Scottish commonwealth, he called a parlement of his nobles, and first declaring to the assemble how much bound they were to the gods for giuing them this victorie ouer so puissant enemies as the Bri- tains were, he exhorted them to liue in friendlie concord amongst themselves, and to abstaine from violating the leagues now concluded, as well with the Britains as before hand with the Picts.

Also for the auoiding of enuious contention, and for the better assurance of euerie mans estate, he iudged it necessarie to haue a partition made of all the lands belonging vnto the Scottish dominion. For before they occupied the whole as in commune, without knowing to whome this pece or that did be- long. Which pollicke aduise of Fergusse, the Scottish- men praised most highlie, promising not onelie to follow his counsell herein in all that he should wish, but also in all that he should otherwise command.

Wherevpon shortly after there were chosen by his aduise seuen ancient personages, men of god conscience and great experience, which were appoin- ted to be surueyors of the whole countrie, and to di- uide the same as nere as they could into a set num- ber of equall portions (but with this consideration, that according as the fruitfulness or barrenness of the soile required, so they should enlarge or diminish the circuit of their bounds.) When they had viewed the countrie, and according to their commission se- cured forth the same into parts, they returned into Argile, where Fergusse then sojourned, and there in his preference, the names of all his noble men that were reputed as gouernors were put in lots, euerie of them to haue such part of the realme for his owne,

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Statutes and laws are made.

Herzogin.

A place apoin- ted for iustice.

Coill was slaine and his whole armie discomfited, whome as Hector Boetius, the countie of Coill took name.

Peace con- cluded.

Which Fer- gusse other- wise hadde Fergusse.

Whom, Emphras, Emelious, This citie the deathly, say- ing take to be London- man, of the which there is often mention made in the Roman writers: but here heerein sayd great- were.

In exhorta- tion vnto qu- etnes and peace.

The land is parted.

Obedient subiects.

Then diuide the land into portions.

The gouern- ment is giuen vnto the nob- les by lots.

as should fall to him by good lucke and present hap.

By this meanes each of them being placed as his chance fell, they inhabited their quarters with such people as they had the leading of, so that afterwards the countries took their names of those the first gouernors: which names for the more part (being a little changed) remaine amongst them euen vnto this day. Fergus hauing thus without occasion of enuie diuided his countrie amongst his nobles and subiects, studied further more to deuisse lawes for the maintenance of common quiet amongst them. And therefore amongst other ordinances he made statutes against murder, robbrie, burning of houses, and especiallie against theft.

He builded also the castell of Beregonium in Longbuhabze on the west side of Albion, ouer against the westerne Isles, where he appointed a court to be kept for the administration of iustice: that both the Albion Scots, and also those of the same Isles might haue their access & resort thither for redresse of wrongs, and ending of all controuersies. The residue of his life he past in rest and peace with his neighbors the Brits and Britains, endeavouring by all meanes to knit and couple the hearts of his subiects in one friendlie bond of inward loue and amitie. Finally, sailing afterwarde into Ireland to be arbitrator in a matter of variance betwixt the nobles of that land, as he returned homewards by force of tempest, the ship wherein he was imbarked, was driuen vpon a rocke, where he perished, after he had reigned as king amongst the Scottis men in Albion about 25 yeeres. The rocke where he was thus cast away, hath bene euer since called rocke Fergus, after his name.

In the same season there reigned amongst the Britains one Enantus, named by Hector Boetius Eadadus, and amongst the Brits one Cruthneus Camelonus that builded a famous citie vpon the bankes of the riuer called Caron, as the Scottis writers affirme, appointing it to be the chiefe citie of all the Britis kingdome, where in times past there was a faire commodious haueu apt to harbour ships in at all seasons, but now it is dammed vp in such sort, that vneath there appeareth anie token where that haueu was: and the citie it selfe was finally subuerted by Kenneth king of Scotland, as after shall appeare. The fozenamed Cruthneus builded also the towne of Agneda, afterwards called Odenbrough, of Ethus king of the Brits, the castell was named the castell of Spaidens, for that the daughters of the Britis kings were there kept under strait custodie, appointed to learne to sow & worke, till they came to yeeres of marriage.

But now to returne to the Scottis men. After the death of Fergus, the nobles of the realme assembled together, to take counsell whome they might chuse to succeed in his place. Spaine of them, in respect of the high benefits which their nation had receiued by the politike gouernement of king Fergus, would not in anie wise that his sonnes, though young of yeeres, should be forgotten; but that according to reason and equitie, the eldest of them should be elected, sith they might not otherwise deliuer them selues of the note of ingratitude towards his father, vnto whome they were more bound than with long can be well expressed.

Other hauing a speciall regard to the quiet of their commonwealth, doubted least if they crowned a child to their king, during his minority, it could not be but that there should follow strife, enuie, and contention for the gouernance of his person and realme amongst the nobles; and that in such wise, as the people being diuided into sundrie factions, the due administration of iustice should be neglected,

the nobles bearing and bolstering vp all kinds of iniuries done or committed by anie of their partakers.

And though it might so happen that they agreed vpon one speciall gouernor, as reason was they should; yet should he seeke to aduance his kinfolks more than reason happilie required, and peradventure do things otherwaies much displeasing to no small number of them by that his private authoritie. And againe, the king should no sooner come to yeeres of anie discretion, but one or other would put him in mind to take vpon him to rule the whole him selfe, before he understood what charge he had in hand: and by reason of his fraile youth he lightlie would not follow the counsell of anie, but such as consented vnto him in his sensuall lusts and inordinate fantasies, which commonlie reigne in such princes as take vpon them gouernance of realmes, before they know (through want of sufficient yeeres) how to gouerne themselves.

For these and the like considerations, alledged by some of no small authoritie amongst them, it was agreed in the end, that one Feritharis the brother of the late deceased Fergus should be crowned king, and haue the gouernance of the realme during his life: and herewith in the meane time to see his nephues king Fergus his sons brought vp in princelie nurture and discipline, as appertained to the sons of a king: that after his deceasse, if he liued till anie of them were come to ripe yeeres, they might succeed him in the estate and kingdome.

This ordinance also they decreed to be obserued as a law from thenceforth euer after, that if the king died leauing no issue, but such as were vnder age to succeed him, then should one of his nextest consins, such as was thought meetest to occupie the roime, be chosen to reigne as king during his life, and after his deceasse the crowne to reuert vnto his predecesors issue without controuersie, if the same were once crowne vp to lawfull age.

By this meanes then were children excluded from obtaining the crowne, least the publike libertie of the realme might chance to be put in danger. But yet was it afterwards perceiued that this deuisse for choosing of kings, ministred occasion sometimes to the vnkle to seeke the destruction of the nephue, and likewise to the nephue to procure the dispatch of the vnkle and vncles sonnes, with the committing of manie heinous murders of right worthy princes, to the no small danger of ouerthrowing the whole state of the commonwealth, so that finally that ordinance was clearely abrogated, as you shall heare hereafter.

But now to my purpose. After Feritharis with the full consent of all the people was thus elected king, he was inthronized with all solemnitie in receiuing his kinglie ornaments, as his two edged sword, his scepter roiall, and his crowne of gold fashioned in forme of a rampire made for defense of a towne or fortreffe, signifying that he took vpon him to preserve the libertie of his countrie, to see offenders duly punished, and the execution of lawes with equall punishment trulie ministred.

These ornaments of inuesture remained vnto the Scottis kings, without being in anie point changed, till the daies of Achaius king of Scotland, who establishing a perpetuall league with Charles the great, emperor and king of France, to indure for euer betwene the Scots and Frenchmen, added vnto the crowne four flower de lices, together with four crosselets, diuided in sunder with equall spaces, rising somewhat higher than the flower de lices: that thereby the obseruing of the christian religion, and sincere faith, maintained by the Scottis nation, might

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chosen king.

The choosing  
of kings was  
not allowed.

Feritharis

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might be the more euidet to all men that beheld it. But now as touching Feritharis, shortly after he was thus inuested king, he came to an interuiew with the king of the Picts, where manie things being communed of touching the wealth of both nations, the league was in solempne wise confirmed, and such punished as had done anie thing sounding to the breach of the same.

After this, being returned home, he ordered himselfe in the administration of his charge verie vprightlie, without giving iust occasion vnto anie to find himselfe grieved: and thus continued he certeine yeeres in such loue of all the estates of the realme, that afterwards when his nephew Ferlegus the eldest sonne of king Fergus, being now come to full age, through instigation of some insolent persons, and such as by alteration hoped for advancement, required (contrarie to the ordinance before established) to haue of him the crowne: the matter was taken in such ill part, that where before the same Ferlegus was highlie beloued and honored of all the people, they were now readie (if Feritharis had not with authoritie and gentle persuasions staied them) to haue torne him all in peeces: but although their rage was somewhat appeased by Feritharis, as is said, yet would they not be pacified throughlie, till that all such as had bene of counsell with him in that practise, had suffered death, and new gouernors appointed to haue the ouersight of him.

Feritharis liued not passing thre moneths after this businesse, but died suddenlie in the night, the truth not being knowne whether by naturall death, or through treason of Ferlegus and certeine of his complices (whereof there was no small suspicion) for that he together with them found meanes to sle first to the Picts, and after to the Britains, where he passed the residue of his life in great shame and ignominy. Feritharis being thus dead in the 15 yeere of his reigne, the nobles assembled together for the election of a new king, and in the end they agreed vpon Maxinus the yonger sonne of king Fergus, as then being about 24 yeeres of age.

**Maxinus.** This Maxinus being of contrarie conditions to his brother Ferlegus, was thus aduanced to the crowne by the whole consent of the nobles and commons, who yet kept in fresh memoire the noble gouernement of his father Fergus. He therefore studieng to answer the peoples expectation in following his said fathers worthe acts, mainteined iustice in all points, without suffering anie bearing or bolstering of wrong. If there were anie controuersie risen betwixt neighbour and neighbour within one hundred or centred, he willed that the same might be taken vp and ended amongst them at home by order of some authorized court there. But if the matter were of such importance, as that it could not well be decided without authoritie of some higher court, he would then haue the hearing thereof, at such time as he vsed euerie yeere once to haue a publicklie out of all parts of his realme, to conferre together for such purposes; at what time also such as were notorious offenders were arreigned and punished by death or otherwise, according to the fault which they earli had committed.

Also for the more quiet of his subjects, he confirmed the ancient league with the Picts, their king named Maxinus requiring the same by his ambassadors sent vnto him. Moreover this Maxinus vpon a religious deuotion toward the gods, hauing an assured belief, that without their fauours all worldly policies were but vaine, deuised sundrie new ceremonies to be added vnto the old: and also caused certeine places in sundrie parts of his dominion to be appointed out, and compassed about with great huge

stones round like a ring; but towards the south was one mightie stone farre greater than all the rest, pitched vp in manner of an altar, whereon their priests might make their sacrifices in honor of their gods.

In witnes of the thing, there remaineth vnto this day certeine of those great stones standing round ringwise, which places are called by the common people, The old chappels of the gods. A man would maruell by what shift, policie, or strength such mightie stones were raised in that manner. Amongst other the gods also, which the Scottis men had in most reuerence, Diana was chiefe, whome they accounted as their peculiar patronesse, for that she was taken to be the goddesse of hunting, wherein consisted their chiefest exercise, pastime and delite. Vnto hir therefore he instituted monethlie sacrifice, by reason whereof this vse was taken vp, that so soone as anie of them got sight of the new mone next after hir change, he saluted hir with certeine praises or salutations most reuerentlie. Which custome indured amongst them manie hundred yeeres after. Maxinus did also appoint forty livings for the priests to be taken of such sacrifice as was offered vp to the gods. Finally, when he had thus instructed his people in lawes and ordinances, as well touching the religious seruice of the gods, as also for politike gouernment of his countrie, he ended his life, after he had reigned about 29 yeeres, leaving the estate to his sonne Doquidille, Elidurus reigning at the same time in Britaine, and Maxara amongst the Picts.

**Doquidille.** Doquidille being crowned king of the Scots, by establishing a new league with the Britains, by sending his ambassadors vnto them: and with the Picts he renewed & confirmed the ancient alliance. He set all his pleasure on hunting and keeping of hounds & greyhounds, ordaining that euerie holder should haue him two henns and one greyhound. If a hunter chanced in following the game to lose an eye or a lim, so that he were not able to helpe himselfe after that time, he made a statute that he should be found of the common treasure. He that killed a wolfe should haue an ore for his paines. This beast in dew the Scottis men, euen from the beginning, vsed to pursue in all they might deuile, because the fane is such an enimie to cattell, wherein consisted the chiefest portion of all their wealth and substance.

Thus the Scottis men in this season, setting all their delite on hunting, began also to vse lawes and statutes in proces of time concerning the same. And first it was ordained, that he whose dog did teise and go through to the end of the course with the deare, so that he were seene to be at the fall, should haue the skin; the head & hornes to remaine to him whose dog did best next. The body being dyest & broken vp, should be distributed at the pleasure & discretion of the master of the game. The bowels and panch were cast to the dogs as the case required. And if there rose anie doubt in anie of these points, they should chole by common consent, a sudge to determine of the matter. But whether these deuises were lawes made by the king as then for the further advancement of his pleasure, or rather customes growne and ratified by long continuall vse, I cannot tell, but certeine it is, they were obserued through all the Scottis regions, as hauing the force of lawes, and so are vsed euen vnto these daies.

Beside these ordinances for hunting, Doquidille commanded also, that all such statutes as Fergus had made, should be kept and obserued: wherevnto he added certeine new, namely diuerse sorts of punishments for sundrie kinds of transgressions, according to the qualities of the same: which he caused to be ingrossed in books of record, and committed to the

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Doquidille.

the custodie of a graue counsellor, who by a common consent should haue the interpretation of those lawes if anie doubt arose, and that when anie offender should come before the iudge, and heare the sentence read by him, the same offender might understand that he receiued nothing but right at the iudges hands: by reason whereof it came to passe, that such offenders without repining willinglie were contented to suffer anie punishment whatsoeuer it was that the law did so appoint them. This custome grew into such force, that it neuer might yet be abrogated amongst them of the westerne Isles, but that euen vnto this day they haue their lawiers amongst them, without whose denuntiation or decree taken out of the register, no iudgement is reputed lawfull.

These were the acts and doings of king Doual, who in the 28 yere of his reigne departed this world at Beregontum, now called Dunstaffe, leaving behind him a sonne called Keuther as yet not of sufficient age to succeed in the estate. By reason whereof Rostatus the brother of Doual, a man of comelie personage and wit, apt (as was thought) to haue a realme in gouernance, was crowned king by force of law above remembred, debarring children vnder age to inherit the succession of the crowne.

When all the people began to crie out vpon him, for such tyrannicall parts as he practised as well against the meane estates as the high. And for so much as he being admonished of his ductie, and required to reforme certeine dishonorable vsages by him exercised, he would giue no eare thereto: therefore one Doualus gouernor of Bizgantia, conspiring with other nobles of the realme to depose him, inticed Keuther king Douals sonne, to take part with them, and to claime the crowne as due to him by descent from his father. And so assembling a companie of their faction sufficient for their enterprise, they entered the palace where Rostatus lay, and after reasoning with him of certeine points touching his misgouernment in the estate, diuers of their companie not tarrying till they were commanded, rashlie fell vpon him, and murdered him together with diuers of such nobles and gentlemen, as they knew to be enemies to Doualus and his friends.

After this they proclaimed Keuther king, and crowned him with all due solemnitie, diuers of the nobles of the realme being highlie displeased therewith, for that they iudged it not onelie a great offense to haue the king thus traitorously murdered, but also saw hereby the ancient ordinance of choosing their king through consent of the people, to be broken by the wicked attempt of a priuat person, & an vnskillfull young man advanced to the crowne, contrarie to the decree of an autentike law. Among other one Ferquhard the sonne in law of Rostatus gouernor of Lozne and Cantir, called an assemblee of the people, and began to declare what enormities were like to insue through this tyrannicall attempt of Doualus. Doualus hearing whereabout Ferquhard went, hastilie came to the place where this assemblee was made, and there slaing diuers of the chiefe, he did put Ferquhard also in great hazard of his life, who by fleeing yet escaped his hands, and got him ouer into the Ile of Ila, whither retired vnto him diuers of the nobles (that fauored not Douale) with a great number of the commons.

In the end, Ferquhard persuaded his companions to set all feare apart, and to returne with him into Scotland to take reuenge of Douale and his complices, being traitors and enemies to the realme and common-wealth, so that first joining hands, which they did wet in mans blood (according to the

custome then vsed) they promised one to another to liue and die in the quarell, and after imbarcking themselves in certeine vessels, they entered the sea, and passed ouer into Scotland, where gathering together no small number of such as willinglie resorted vnto them to their aid, they encountered with Douale in battell, whose host twice in one daie was put to flight nere to the citie Beregontum with the losse of eight thousand men.

The night parted the fraie, but in the next morning, Douale and his partakers through great indignation conceiued, for that they were so beaten backe by Ferquhard (hauing in all his host not past 10000 persons) fiercelie came forth of their tents to giue battell afresh, and finding their enemies ready to receiue them, there was fought so cruell a battell betwixt them, that in the end either part being sore trauelled with slaughter and long fight, was glad to giue place to the other, not passing an eight hundred of all those that were present that daie in the field as then being left aliue. Upon Douales part there was Raine Gethus king of Pits, whose daughter king Keuther had married, with a great number of his people: also Douale himselfe with diuers of the nobles of Scotland, beside gentlemen & commons that took part with him. On the contrarie side there died also Ferquhard himselfe with diuers gouernors of tribes, beside the residue of the nobles, gentlemen & commons of Rosse, Cathenesse, Harne, Argile, Cantire, and Lozne, with them of the westerne Isles which were there with him.

Keuther escaping with life from this bloudie encounter, in the night following departed his waies with such of his people as were left aliue. Whereof his enemies being aduertised in the next morning, pursued after him with such diligence, that in the end they took him within a castell in Cathenesse whither he was fled for succor: he was pardoned of his life, partly in respect of his fathers merits, and partly againe for that it was knowne how his tender youth was such as had not deserued death by any fact, otherwise than in that he had followed the counsel of malicious persons. By this cruell murder and huge slaughter thus committed betwixt these two nations of Scottishmen and Pits, both their forces were so greatlie infeebled, that they became an easie prey to their ancient and common enemies the Britains, who in such oportunitie of occasion thought not to sit still till the same might happlie be past and gone.

First therefore with a mightie armie the Britains invaded the Pits: the nobles of which nation perceiving themselves not able to make resistance, fled with their wiues, their children, and the most part of their goods, ouer into the Isles of Orkenie, and there assembling together, they created them a new king to haue the gouernance ouer them, who was also named Gethus, and brother to the other Gethus a little before mentioned. Here also they remained certeine yeares after, liuing in peaceable manner with the former inhabitants, whom they found there, wronging them by no inturious dealing at all (if the Scottish historie be true.) Whereof moreover as some suppose it came to passe, that these Islands of Orkenie are named by diuers writers the ancient kingdome of the Pits.

In the meane while the Britains seising vpon such countries as these Pits had forsaken, that is to saie, the Pers, Louthian, and others, they left in diuers places where they thought expedient, garrisons of men of war, to keepe the same in due subiection: and after entred into the confines of the Scottish kingdome, burning & waiking all afoze them, where with such Scots as yet remained aliue, being high-

D. J. lie

Douale is slain.

Ferquhard is slain.

Keuther the king fled.

Keuther pursued & taken. He is pardoned of his life.

Gethus king.

Why Orkenie was called Pictland as some suppose, but the truth should seme to be that they were so called because the Picts inhabited there before they set foot in Britaine.

The Scots  
overthrew.

He moved to indignation, came stoutlie into the field to defend their countrie, and encountering with their enemies nere to Balender wood, they lost two thousand of their companie: the residue also being soe chased, fled into sundrie parties for safegard of their liues.

This discomfiture put the Scottish nation into such feare and terror, that they utterlie despaired of all recouerie, where contrariwise the Britains were so aduanced (in hope utterlie to expell all aliens out of their Ile) that pursuing the victorie in most earnest wise, they forced Keuther and all the nobilitie of the Scottish nation that was yet left aliue, to flee for safegard of their liues into the castell of Berekonium, where they held themselves as in the surest held. The Britains being certified of the repaire of their enemies to Berekonium, cruellied the castell with a strong and vehement siege, untill that the Scots within were constrained through want of vittells to eate each other, according as the lots fell by a common agreement made amongst them.

Scots besieged  
one another.

But when it came to passe, that euen those that were reputed as heads and gouernors, and in whom consisted the hope of their whole defense, did now and then come to the shambles as well as other of lesse reputation, they thought it best to trie by issuing forth, if any of their haps might be so good as to escape the danger present, whereas by tarrying still within the fortreffe, they should but deuoure one another without any reuenge for losse of their liues had vpon their fierce and cruell enemies. Wherevpon by their common consent there issued forth, first one Colane lord of Cantire with an hundred of his owne souldiours, and fiercelie skirmishing with the Britains, defended himselfe a good space right manfully, though in the end both he and his whole band were bozne downe and slaine with preece and multitude of his enemies that assailed him on each side. In the meane season, whilst he thus occupied the Britains in fight on one side, Keuther with the residue of his people brake forth by another waie, and escaping to the sea side, got ships and fled ouer into the westerne Isles, where he found a great number of other Scottishmen that were gotten thither, being compelled by Denus king of the Britains to auoid forth of the countries, which they before inhabited.

The Scots  
come forth  
and fight.

Keuther escape.

Keuther passed  
into Ireland.

They inhabit  
the mountains.

Keuther is  
sent for out  
of Ireland.

Keuther remained not long in the Isles, but passed ouer into Ireland. The Britains not a little moued for his escape with the other of the Scottish lords, reuenged their displeasure on such commons and other meane people as fell into their hands, so that such as might escape, got them into the mountains, and liued there by roots, berries, & other wild fruits in summer, and in winter by such benefon and fleshy of wild beasts as they killed in the wilderness: and sometimes they came downe and made raikes vpon the Britains that occupied their houses and lands, fetching great booties verie often from amongst them.

This cruell warre lasted twelue yeeres, untill in manner all such Scots and Picts as remained in Albion were brought vnder seruitude to the Britains. In which meane while, Cethus king of the Picts kept his siege totall in Domonia the chiefe Isle of the Orkenies. Keuther also begot of his wife a sonne named Thereus, and shortly after being procured by letters and messengers sent vnto him from the foresaid Cethus and such Scots as were yet remaining in Albion, he assembled a number of ships togither, and first with a chosen power of warriors sailed to the westerne Isles, where increasing his numbers, he passed ouer into Albion, landing on the west halfe of Rosse at Lough Bannum, and there

comming on land, the first person that they met with (according to a custome vsed amongst them in those daies) they slue, and wetting the points of their weapons in his blood, they first talked thereof after their maner, then holding vp their weapons into the aere, they desired of the gods that they might reuenge the blood of their elders with happie battell against the Britains their enemies. After this, hearing that Cethus king of the Picts was also entred the land with a mightie power of Germans, which were come to his aid, and was not past thirtie miles off, he staied there abiding for his comming, to the intent that joining their powers togither, they might be the better able to furnish their enterprise.

The third daie after they met togither with great joy and congratulations, vnto whom with all speed a great number also of those Scottishmen and Picts that had still continued in the countrie (during the time of the persecution by the Britains) dailely resorted and came flocking in from each side vnto them. Stillicus king of the Britains, who succeeded after Denus, as then latelie deceased, hauing knowledge hereof, assembled a great armie of his subiects, and hearing that the Scots and Picts were entred into the borders of his realme, he hasted forth to encounter with their powers, and so joining with them in battell, after long and cruell fight, in the end the victorie remained with the Scottishmen and Picts, by the great balancie and manfull prowesse of Keuther: wherevpon the place where that battell was fought hath bene ever since called Keuthirdale, as ye would say Keuthers ballie.

This victorie was not very pleasant to any of the parties, by reason of the great numbers of men slaine on both sides, insomuch that they were glad to fall to agreement immediatlie after, and concluded a peace, with conditions that the Scottishmen and Picts should be restored againe vnto their ancient possessions and lands in Albion. This peace continued a long time after inuoluate betwixt these nations. The yeare that Keuther returned thus into Albion, was before the birth of Christ 216, after the building of Rome 529, and from the creation of the world 3750. Keuther by Beda in his ecclesiasticall historie of England is named Keuda, who also supposeth him to be the first of all the Scottish princes, that set any foot in Britaine there to inhabit: his comming thither was (as seemeth to some) long after the supposed time here before alleged. And verelie there is great cause to moue a doubt of the truth of that which Hector Boetius hath written, in following (as he saith) other authors, touching the first comming into Britaine, as well of the Scots and Picts. For if it were true, that so long before the comming of the Romans into this Ile, they were here planted and growne to such puissance; it is strange that no mention is made of them in any of their writings, till about the yeare 360 after Christ; as in place conuenient it shall more plainelie appere. Keuther passed the residue of his daies without any further warres, foren and ciuill, and so departed this world at Berekonium, in the 26 yeare of his reigne.

After Keuther his deceasse, his nieces son called Keutha succeeded in the kingdome, chosen thereto by the common agreement of all the states, because that Thereus sonne to Keuther vnderneath come to the age of ten yeeres, was thought unable to take the charge vpon him. Keutha the fore being thus elected to reigne as king ouer the Scottishmen, ordeined that such noblemen as had atchured any notable exploit in defense of their countrie, should be had in perpetuall memorie, and buried in soleme wise in sepulchres aloft vpon hills or mounteins,

The Scots  
man in  
of the Picts.

Keuther and  
Cethus met  
and wonne  
their power  
togither.

The Picts  
are  
discomfited  
by the Scots  
and Picts.

whereof  
this daie  
is the name.

A peace  
was  
concluded.

240 H.B.  
499 H.B.  
Keuther  
Beda is  
named Keuda.

499 H.B.

Keutha.

An opinion  
for buriall  
of their  
ancestors  
in the  
pointed daies.

The nobles  
conspire  
against  
Keutha.

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warre: when  
to this daie.

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Justice neg  
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embayed.

The nobles  
conspire  
against  
Keutha.

upon the which were set so manie obelisks or long pointed stones, as they had slaine enemies in the wars: whereof some remaine there to be seene even to this daie.

This Reutha also understanding of the lacke of all manner of craftsmen in his realme, and of such as were expert in the liberall sciences, caused a great number of most perfect artificers to be sent for, to inhabit amongst his people, the better to instruct them in their occupations. Unto these also as unto other professing anie liberall art, were appointed honest livings; by way of fees, assigned to be received of such oren and boeces as were killed, to euerie man of science and artifice his part. And further, each of them had certeine measures of otes and barlie in stead of yearelie annuities. For as yet the use of coine was not knowen amongst the Scottishmen. The which custome of distributing their beastes, which they killed in this wise, is still used in the westerne Isles even to these our daies.

Reutha perceiuing furthermore that through vnskilfull surgians and physicians manie wounded and diseased persons were oftentimes cast awaie, ordeined by the aduise and consent of his counsell, that none should take vpon them as a surgion or physician, vntill they were by long experience well practised aforesaid in those sciences. For before that time they used to carie forth such persons as were sicke or otherwise hurt, and to lay them in some open place in the streets or market sted, that all such as came by, might according to their knowledge declare their aduise, and shew (if they had bene vered with the like disease) by what means they had escaped the danger, and recovered againe their health. For no man might without the note of high reproch passe by, keeping silence in this behalfe. And this was according to the custome of the old Egyptians.

Reutha thus studing for the advancement of the commonwealth of his subiects, continued in the estate with great prosperitie, till finally perceiuing himselfe farre growen in age, and not so able to trauell in the affaires of the realme as he was before, he caused a parlement to be assembled, and there in presence of all the estates, required to be discharged of the gouernement: and that the same might be committed vnto his cousin Thereus, who as then was not onelie of sufficient age to take it vpon him, but also of such towardnesse, as that in each mans opinion he was thought likelie to attaine vnto the probesse of anie of his noble progenitors. Thus Reutha, after he had reigned 17 yeares, returned to a priuat life, resigning the whole rule of his realme vnto the aforesaid Thereus, being through his persuasion receiued as king of all estates by common consent there in that present assemblee.

This Thereus for the first six yeares was equall in all points of princelie gouernement to anie of his predecessors, but afterward he changed his copie in such manner, that iustice and all other kinds of vertue being set apart, he neither regarded the lawes of the gods, nor yet of men; but gaue himselfe to all sorts of filthinesse and most detestable vices, so farre forth, that his subiects (as their custome is in following the maners and vsages of their princes) became so outrageous in their licentious livings, and namelie the nobles and gentlemen, that thereof ensued theft, murder, rape, spoiling, and all kinds of oppression of those fillic soules that had no meanes to resist, so as in fine, diuers gouernours of the tribes perceiuing no hope of amendment while Thereus should reigne, conspired together, deuising meanes how to depose him of all kinglie authoritie. But he hauing notice of their purposed intentions, and doubting the sequele thereof, conuised himselfe

out of the way in most secret wise, fleeing for succour vnto the Britains, vnto whome though he made earnest sute for aid to be restored home againe, yet could he purchase no such fauour amongst them: so that leding a miserable life a long time after within the citie of Poike, he finally there ended his daies. He reigned in Scotland about 12 yeares or more.

Immediatlie after this his auoiding the realme, the Nobles and peeres chose one Conanus lord of Gal loway to rule the estate as gouernour, whose authoritie had bene euer great amongst the people. His studie was chieflie imploted how to reduce the lords and nobles of the realme into concord and friendlie amitie, where before through the negligence of Thereus each sought others destructions. Also he caused due punishment to be executed vpon all such as liued by robbing and reuing; of whome in the beginning of his gouernement there was no small number: but he wooded them forth, in such wise that per he left off, there was not one of them to be found. At length, after it was understood that Thereus was dead, this Conanus renounced the administration in presence of all the estates assembled in parlement at Berregonium, where by common consent, Iosina brother of Thereus was chosen to reigne as king, for that Thereus had left no issue behind him to succeed.

This Iosina being proclaimed king, renewed the ancient leagues with the Brits and Britains. He had physicians in great estimation; for that during his abode in Ireland, he was nourished of a child amongst them, and by reason thereof had some knowledge in the facultie, speciallie he understood the vertues and properties of herbes, where with in those daies the Scots used to heale and remedie all manner of sores and diseases, which as then were few in number, in respect of the sundrie kinds which are now knowen amongst vs; and all by reason of the superfluous feeding and excesse of meats and drinks used in our time, whereas our elders suffered with a little, liued without surfeiting, the chiefest breeder of such strange and manifold sicknesses. In this Iosina his daies it chanced that a Portugale ship was driuen and drowned by force of a streimable tempest nere vnto the shore of one of the Scottish Isles, where diuerse of those that were within the same ship, mariners and other escaped to land, amongst whome were two ancient and fatherlie old men of right reuerend aspect and countenance.

These two in companie with some of the inhabitants of that Ile came ouer into Berregonium, where the king as then sojourned. They were Spanish priests of the pagane religion, whose purpose was to haue gone vnto Athens in Grecia (as some write) but whence soeuer they were, and what purpose soeuer they had, certeine it is they were philosophers; and therefore the king receiued them most iofullie, doing them all the honoz he could deuise, and commanding that they should be lodged within his owne palace, where they had all things needfull, and accordingly ministered vnto them.

These philosophers, after they had refreshed themselves at their ease for the space of 14 daies, the king caused them to come before him, requiring them to shew their opinion what they thought by the nature of the soile, the maners and customs of his people, so far forth as they had seene and heard. They without pausing for answer declared, that as yet they had not had time to learne those things, but onelie thus far by coniecture they supposed, that the ground was more like to be fruitfull of mettall mines, than of coine and graine, as containing far more riches vnderneath the earth than aboue; this they said that

D. y. they

Thereus fled to the Britains.

Conanus.

Conanus is chosen king.

Conanus persecuteth offenders.

He renounceth the estate.

Iosina elected king.

Iosina.

Surfeiting the cause of strange diseases, which is commonie now reigne.

Two ancient philosophers through shipwreck arrive in Scotland, and are iofullie receiued of the king.

The Scottish  
religion re-  
proued.

Upright li-  
ving well re-  
warded at  
Gods hands.

Florus depar-  
ted this life.

Finna-  
mus.

Druides ordi-  
ned in reli-  
gion.  
Druides in  
the old Sco-  
tish tongue cal-  
led Druceglis.

The Scots  
mistake Man  
for Angleleic.

The authori-  
tie of the  
Druides in-  
creased.

they gathered by the influence of the heauens vnder the which it late. And as for the rites and blages of the people, in one point they could in no wise com- mend them, for that in religion they followed the superstitious rites of the Egyptians, worshipping the immortall gods in the shape of beastes and fowls; whereas God was euen the same that did comprehend both heauen and earth, with the waters and all things in them contained, whome they named nature, and as it were the primordiall cause or begin- ning of all things, vnto whome it was not possible to deuise anie similitude of liuing thing that might in anie wise represent him. Therefore (said they) men ought to worship the liuing God with fire and deuout praier, building him a temple for that pur- pose, and onelie vnto him to burne incense, and to performe holmes: at whose hands such as liued chast- lie, vprightlie, and according to the rules of iustice, ought euer to looke for some high benefit, where other that liued contrarie might euer stand in doubt of contrarie reward.

With these their sensible instructions they per- suaded manie of the Scottish nation vnto their opi- nion, though the greatest part would by no means follow anie other kind of religion, than that which they had receiued from their elders: neither could anie of them be brought to thinke otherwise of the sun, the mone, and stars, but that there was a cer- teine diuine power or godhead in euerie one of them. And thus much of these strangers blesse and by the way, who came into Scotland at this present: but now to proceed with our purpose. When Florus had reigned 24 yeares, he departed out of this world at Berregonium, being a man of verie great age. He left behind him a sonne named Finnanus, who a little before his fathers decesse was by consent of the people proclaimed king of Scotland.

This Finnanus had the nobles of his realme in such estimation, that he ordeined that nothing should be decreed or practised touching the publike af- faires of the realme, except they were first made pri- uie and of counsell in the same. He sought also to win the fauour of his people by mekenesse and gen- tle intreating of them, insomuch that though he went about to restore the old religion somewhat defa- ced by his father through information (as is said) of the two aboue mentioned sage philosophers, yet did he not constrain anie man to worship the gods, otherwise than his fantasie serued him. He was the first that instituted those prelates, which gouerned af- ter the manner of bishops, in all matters pertaining to religion, and were called in the Scottish tongue Duceglis in Latine Druides. These Druides were appointed to be resident within the Ile of Man, as the Scottishmen hold opinion: but other thinke ra- ther that they were resident in Angleleic, in the Bri- tish tongue called Mon. Vnto these also hauing great livings assigned them, were the inferiour priests subiect, as receiuing at their hands all intunations and orders for the vse of their sacrifices and other ce- remonies.

These Druides afterwards applied themselves so earnestlie to the studie of philosophie, as well natu- rall as morall, that they were had in no small re- uerence of the people, as they that were both ac- counted and knowne to be men of most perfect life and innocencie: by meanes whereof their authoritie daillie so far forth increased, that finally iudge- ments in most doubtfull matters were committed vnto their determinations, offenders by their dis- cretion punished, and such as had well deserued ac- cordinglie by their appointments rewarded. More- ouer such as refused to obeye their decrees and ordi- nances, were by them excommunicated, so that no

creature durst once keepe companie with such, till they were reconciled againe, and cleared by the same Druides absolved.

Plinie, Cornelius Tacitus, Strabo, and Iulius Ce- sar, with diuers other approued authors, make men- tion of these Druides, signifying how the first begin- ning of their religion was in Britaine (which some comprehend all whole vnder the name of Albion) and from thence was the same religion brought ouer into France. Finnanus was not onelie praised for his setting forth of that heathen religion, but also for his politike gouernement of the estate in so full rest and quietnesse. Neither was his fame a lit- tle advanced for the marriage concluded and made betwixt his sonne Durstus and Agasia daughter to the king of Britains, for by that alliance he wan- diuers of the British nation vnto his friendship. Fi- nallie, this Finnanus died at Camelon, being come thither to visit the king of Brits as then soe disca- sed, after he had reigned about the space of thirtie yeares. His bodie was conueied vnto Berregonium, and there buried amongst his predecessors.

After him succeeded his sonne the forenamed Durstus, farre differing from his noble father in all vertuous demeanour, as he that was altoget- her giuen to banquetting and excessive drunken- nesse. Such of the nobles as his father had in high reuerence he made light account of; accepting onelie those that of their wicked deulces could find out new kinds of voluptuous pleasures, through whose persuasions some of his peres he confined, some he spoiled of all their substance & inheritance, other he put to death without iust cause or anie kind of lawfull means. Furthermore he forsooke the com- panie of his lawfull wife Agasia, causing hir to be forced and abused by diuers vile persons in most villanous manner.

With these and the semblable inordinat praides he procured the indignation of his people so far forth against him, that those of the western Isles with them of Cantire, Lozne, Argile, and Kosse, conspi- red together in the reformation of such disorders as were daillie vsed in the administration of iustice, by the wicked suggestion of euill disposed coun- cellors, against whome they pretended to make their war, and not against their king. There were also so manie that fauoured them in this quarrell, and so few that leaned to the king to aid him against them, that he was constrained to dissemble with them for a time, in promising not onelie to remoue from him such as they would appoint, but also to be ordered in all things according as they should thinke good. And to put them in beleefe that he ment as he spake, he committed some such counsellors as he had about him vnto ward, and other some (of whom he little passed) he sent vnto them as prisoners, to receiue such punishment by death or otherwise, as they should thinke conuenient.

He further also in presence of Doro the gouer- nour of Cantire, sent to him for that purpose, swore in solemne wise afore the image of Diana, to per- forme all such promises and couenants as he was a- greed vpon, and had made vnto the conspirators. With which cloked dissimulation they being decei- ued, came without suspect of further guile vnto Be- regonium, where at their first comming he was readie to receiue them (as seemed by his seined cour- tenance) with glad some hart and most friendlie meaning; but they were no sooner entred the castell, but that a number of armed men appointed for the purpose fell vpon them, and slue them all without mercie.

This heinous act being once signified abroad in their countries amongst their friends and kinsfolke,

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king Dur-  
dus belied.

Durstus is  
slaine.

Edwin is cho-  
sen king.

Edwin.

Shewing of  
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caused a new commotion, so that within a few daies  
after, manie thousands of men in furious rage  
came before the castell, and besieged the king most  
straighthe therein. Wha perceiving himselfe in such  
danger as he knew not well how to escape, came  
forth with such companie as he had about him, and  
incountring with his enimies, was straightwaies  
beaten downe among them, and so at once lost there  
both kingdome and life in the ninth yeare of his  
reigne. Durstus being thus dispatched, his children  
doubting the indignation of the people conceived a-  
gainst them for their fathers fault, to avoid the  
perill fled ouer into Ireland, and immediatlie the  
nobles of the realme assembled themselves together  
for the choosing of a new king, in no wise minding  
to haue anie of Durstus his race to reigne ouer  
them, least they would seeke by some means to re-  
uenge his death: howbeit at length when they were  
at point to haue fallen at variance in sustaining of  
contrarie opinions about the election of their prince,  
through a iustitie oration made by Cozanus gouer-  
nour of Argyle, who alledged manie weightie rea-  
sons for the avoiding of sedition, they all agreed to  
commit the free election vnto the same Cozanus,  
promisinge firmitie to accept whome soeuer he should  
name. Here vpon Cozanus consulting a little with  
the peeres of the realme, named one Ewin the bre-  
thesonne of Durstus, who as then remained in  
Dialind, whither he had withdrawen himselfe in  
Durstus his daies, being banished the realme by  
him, for that he could not abide with his corrupt  
maners. This election was acceptable to all estates,  
for that thereby the administration of the kingdome  
continued in the line of their former kings.

**A**nd Ewin shortly after was brought forth of  
Dialind with all regall solemnitie, and at Ber-  
regonium placed vpon the stone of marble, to the  
great reioysing of the people there assembled. Here-  
with also the nobles of the realme, putting their  
hands in his, bound themselves by oth to be loiall  
and faithfull subiects vnto him in all points, which  
custome of swearing fealtie then first by Ewins  
commandement, begun and continued manie hun-  
dred yeares after amongst his and their posteritie;  
in somuch that the capitaine of the tribes also requi-  
red the same kind of oth of them that inhabited with-  
in their liberties, which in part remaineth yet vnto  
this day amongst those of the wessterne Isles, and  
such as inhabit in the mounteins. For at the crea-  
tion of a new gouernour, whome they name their  
capitaine, they vse the like ceremonies; which being  
ended, at the next faire kept within that countrie,  
proclamation is made, that no man inhabiting with-  
in his iurisdiction, shall name this new gouernour  
by anie other name from thenceforth, than by the  
ancient & accustomed name as such rulers sometime  
haue bene called by. And that so oft as they heare  
him named, they shall put off their caps or hats, and  
make a certeine courtesie in signe of honour due to  
him, in such maner as we vse in hearing diuine ser-  
vice, when anie holie mysterie is in doing, or anie  
sacred name of the almightie creator recited.

But now touching king Ewin, his chiefest stu-  
die was to mainteine iustice throughout his domi-  
nion, and to weed out such transgressours as went  
about to trouble the quiet estate of his subiects. Fur-  
thermore, considering what inconueniencies proce-  
ded through the vse of voluptuous pleasures & wan-  
ton belittes, he ordeined that the youth of his realme  
should be trained to endure hardnesse, paine, and  
trauell, as to lie vpon hard boards without anie sea-  
therbeds or pillows vnder them. Also to exercise  
themselves to throw the dart, to shot, to wrestle,  
and to beate armour aswell in time of peace as of

warre; that when need required, trauell and such  
kind of exercises should be no paine but pleasure  
vnto them; where otherwaies lacke of vse might  
make the same intollerable. Whilest Ewin is thus  
occupied about the setting forth of necessarie ordi-  
nances for the wealth of his realme, the king of the  
Picts did send vnto him ambassadours to require  
his aid against the Britains, who were entred his  
countrie in robbing and spoiling the same.

Ewin consenting quicklie to that request, lent  
an armie forthwith, and with all speed passed forward  
to ioine with the Picts, in purpose to reuenge the  
old iniuries done to his nation by the Britains, who  
likewise were as readie to receiue battell, as the  
Scots and Picts were desirous to giue it, so that  
both the armies incountring together (the Scots  
and Picts on the one side, and the Britains on the o-  
ther) there ensued a fore conflict betwixt them, con-  
tinued with vnumerfull slaughter till night parted  
them in sunder; no man as then able to iudge who  
had the better, but either part being priuie to their  
owne losses, withdrew themselves further off from  
the place of the battell, so that the Scots and Picts  
the same night got them into the mounteins of Pict-  
land, and the Britains so lone as it was day made  
homewards with all speed towards their countrie,  
leaving no small prete and botie behind them, which  
the Scottishmen and the Picts recovered, comming  
downe with all speed from the mounteins, when  
they once heard that their enimies were departed.

King Ewin being returned from this iourne,  
determined to passe the residue of his life in rest and  
quietnesse, appointing iudges in euerie part of his  
realme, for the ministring of iustice and executing of  
lawes, according to the due forme and ordinance of  
the same. He appointed also such as should watch for  
the apprehension of theues and robbers by the high  
waies, assigning them liuings of the common trea-  
surie to liue by. And there he enen vnto this day that  
hold still such liuings, though the office be become out  
of vse and forgotten.

After this, he builded a castell not farre distant  
from Berregonium, which he named after his owne  
name Quonium: but afterwards it was called  
Dunstaffage, which is as much to say, as Steuens  
castell, which name it beareth at this present. Final-  
lic, this Ewin, after he had reigned to the great  
weale of the realme, about 100 yeares, he departed  
this life, leaving behind him a son bafe begotten, na-  
med Gillus, who causing his fathers funerals to be  
executed with all solempne pompe and ceremonies,  
raised by some after sundry obelisks about his graue  
nere vnto Dunstaffage, where he was buried.

There were present also at the buriall, two of  
Durstus his sonnes, whome Ewin in his life time  
had reuoked home out of Ireland, where they were  
in exile. Both these, as well the one as the other, be-  
cause they were twins, and not knowne whether of  
them came first into the world, looked to be king af-  
ter Ewin: their names were Dathan and Dorgall.  
And such malicious emulation and enuious spite  
rose betwixt the two brethren, for the attaining of  
their purpose, that greater could not be desired, which  
Gillus, like a craftie & subtil for, by couert means  
sought still to augment; and in the end causing them  
to come together for some conclusion of agreement,  
at length when he had set them further at odds than  
they were before, he procured a number of souldiers  
appointed for the purpose to raise a tumult (as  
though it had bene in taking of contrarie parts) and  
there to slaue them both.

Thus Gillus hauing brought to purpose that he  
came for, shewed in countenance as though he had  
bene much offended therewith, and done what he  
could.

A doubtfull  
battell.

Dunstaffage  
is builded.

The craftie  
working of  
Gillus.

Durstus two  
sonnes are  
slaine.

could to haue appeased the matter; and herewith he cometh running forth with a high voice, declaring to his companie, that if he had not made good shift for himselfe, he had bene slaine by the hands of Douthan and Doggall, who fell into such mischance themselves, as they had prepared for other. Whereupon also he requited his friends and seruants most earnestlie to conueie him into some sure place, where he might be out of danger, and in better securitie: in somuch that manie of those that heard him, giuing credit to his words, went with him with all speed vnto Dunstaffage, where being receiued into the castle with diuers of the nobles that followed him, he got him into a gallerie, and there making an inuectiue oration against the sonnes of Durstus, and touching by the way what perill might insue to the commonwealth by ciuill diuision, he perswaded them to commit the rule into his hands, vntill it might be certaine knothen, vnto whome the same of right appertained.

The nobles that were there, perceiving to what issue his painted processe tended, and doubting lest if they should seeme to stand against him at that instant in this his demand, they might haplie be the first that should repent the bargaine, consented to proclaim him king; whereupon he required all such as were present, to swear vnto him fealtie, and to do him homage according to the custome. And herewith agreable as he had before promised, and according to his fathers will (as he alledged) he distributed among them all such cattell as belonged to his said father. Whereby he won the greater fauour of manie, but yet not indging himselfe altogether in lucke, by reason that Douthan had left behind him three sonnes, as then remaining in the Ile of Man, in the bringing by of the Wyndes, he purposed therefore to dispatch them also for the better assurance of his estate, and thereupon he made a iourne thither himselfe, feigning as though he meant nothing but all lone and frendlie affection towards the children, by which meane he gat two of them into his hands, the one named Lismozus, being about twelue yerres of age, and the other Cosmacus that was two yerres younger. The youngest of the three named Ederus, being about seuen yerres old, as his better hap was, chanced to be sicke at that time, by reason whereof he escaped his hands: Gyllus feigning as though he wished to haue the other two brought by like the children of a prince, he led them away with him into Scotland, leaving certaine of his seruants behind him, to rid Ederus the youngest out of the way at leisure; and as for the other twaine, the night following after his coming home to Dunstaffage, he caused them to be murdered, even in their tutors armes, whose aid most pitifullie they besought and required. But the woman that had the keeping of Ederus now in his sicknesse, provided more warlike for his safeguard, for she smelling out what was the kings purpose, in the dead of the night got hir selfe together with Ederus into a ship, and passed ouer into Argile, where being set on land, she caried him on hir shoulders by into the mountains, and there with in a secret den susteined his languishing life for certeine moneths in great care and miserie.

Gyllus goeth about to murder Douthans sonnes also.

A detestable murder.

Gyllus cometh to Dunstaffage.

Gyllus cometh to Dunstaffage, and causeth a scale to inslice.

Those that were present, perceiving to what issue his painted processe tended, and doubting lest if they should seeme to stand against him at that instant in this his demand, they might haplie be the first that should repent the bargaine, consented to proclaim him king; whereupon he required all such as were present, to swear vnto him fealtie, and to do him homage according to the custome. And herewith agreable as he had before promised, and according to his fathers will (as he alledged) he distributed among them all such cattell as belonged to his said father. Whereby he won the greater fauour of manie, but yet not indging himselfe altogether in lucke, by reason that Douthan had left behind him three sonnes, as then remaining in the Ile of Man, in the bringing by of the Wyndes, he purposed therefore to dispatch them also for the better assurance of his estate, and thereupon he made a iourne thither himselfe, feigning as though he meant nothing but all lone and frendlie affection towards the children, by which meane he gat two of them into his hands, the one named Lismozus, being about twelue yerres of age, and the other Cosmacus that was two yerres younger. The youngest of the three named Ederus, being about seuen yerres old, as his better hap was, chanced to be sicke at that time, by reason whereof he escaped his hands: Gyllus feigning as though he wished to haue the other two brought by like the children of a prince, he led them away with him into Scotland, leaving certaine of his seruants behind him, to rid Ederus the youngest out of the way at leisure; and as for the other twaine, the night following after his coming home to Dunstaffage, he caused them to be murdered, even in their tutors armes, whose aid most pitifullie they besought and required. But the woman that had the keeping of Ederus now in his sicknesse, provided more warlike for his safeguard, for she smelling out what was the kings purpose, in the dead of the night got hir selfe together with Ederus into a ship, and passed ouer into Argile, where being set on land, she caried him on hir shoulders by into the mountains, and there with in a secret den susteined his languishing life for certeine moneths in great care and miserie.

Gyllus notwithstanding these his cruell acts, shewed yet in outward apperance that no man was more desirous of the quiet state and prosperous successe of the commonwealth than he: ever reasoning among his nobles, and that in the presence of his commons touching the maintenance of iustice, & punishment of misdoers, whereas he himselfe thirsted continuallie, and most of all after the blood of those whom he doubted anie thing likelie to attempt the reuenge of his wicked misgouernance: insomuch that he caused in one place and other, all such to be murdered and slaine as bare anie good will toward the lawfull line of Durstus.

sed in one place and other, all such to be murdered and slaine as bare anie good will toward the lawfull line of Durstus.

So the people seeing the daillie slaughter of the nobilitie, and at the last growing to be verie sore moued against him, namelie those of Galloway, Baile, Carrike, and Coningham, with them of Cantire, Loane, and Argile, they assembled their powers together, and with all speed marched forth towards the place where they thought to find the tyrant: who hearing of this their conspiracie, assembled such assistance as he could make, & hauing no other refuge but to trie the matter by battell, made towards his enemies with more speed than good successe: for per the two armies came to joining, a great number of Gyllus his friends fled to the contrarie part, so that hereupon doubting the issue if he were constrained to fight, he stole priuilie from amongst the residue of his folks, and getting into a fishers bote, conueied himselfe ouer into Ireland: whose departure being once knowne, his souldiours yeldd themselves vnto Cadall gouernoz of Galloway, who was capitaine generall of all the conspirators, and nobly by the consent of all the estates created gouernoz of the realme till they had chosen a king.

This Cadall, immediatlie vpon the great authoritie giuen him, gat first all the best fortresses into his hands, as Berregonium, Dunstaffage, and other: then he passed ouer into the Ile of Zla, to prouide the better for the resisting of Gyllus, if he should attempt anie thing by purchasing aid amongst them of the westerne Isles. Whither was brought vnhim also, the yong Ederus (by such of Durstus his friends as had escaped the cruell hands of Gyllus) whome Cadall caused to be honorablie conueied vnto Epilacke the chiefest citie of Galloway, there to be brought vp in princelie nurture, that comming to full age, he might the better be able to take vpon him the gouernance.

In which meane while Gyllus made all the friends in Ireland that he could, insomuch that vpon such golden promises as he made vnto the chiefest gouernozs there, they consented to aid him with all their forces. Whereof Cadall being aduertised, he thought it best that a king should be chosen, and thereby an unitie to be framed amongst all the estates of the realme, whereupon causing a counsell to be assembled for the same intent, by common agreement, one Ewin, a man of worthie fame, nephew to king Jfinnan by his brother Douall, was in the end proclaimed king: who was latelie come from the Ile of Cowere into Albion, in companie with Cadall, and kept himselfe close hitherto within the said Ile, for doubt of Gyllus that sought amongst other to haue destroyed him also.

This Ewin, being the second of that name, made great prouision in the beginning of his reigne to resist the said Gyllus his enimie. And hearing that he had bene in the Ile of Zla, and put the same to fire and sword, he prepared an armie and ships also, to transport therewith ouer into Ireland, there to reuenge that iniurie vpon such as had aided Gyllus therein to the hinderance of his countrie. The forenamed Cadall gouernoz of Galloway, was appointed also to haue the leading of this armie: who taking the sea at Dunstaffage, directed his course straight ouer vnto the coasts of Ireland, where taking land and encountering with his enemies, he put them to the worse, insomuch that Gyllus fearing to fall into his aduersaries hands, fled out of the field into the next wood, where he thought to haue saved himselfe. His souldiours also perceiving him to be fled, gaue ouer the field, and yeldd themselves vnto Cadall, who took them to grace, and forthwith sent

The Scots rise against Gyllus.

Gyllus departs secretly, and getting into a bote, conueied himselfe into Ireland.

Ireland and other take Cadall to be for their king.

Gyllus proclaimes himselfe king in Ireland.

Ewin the second of that name proclaimed king.

Ewin.

Cadall taketh an armie and sent into Ireland.

Gyllus taken.

Gyllus beheaded.

A ship drach by a tempest.

Cadall for his good & faithful seruice is rewarded.

An interview betwixt the kings of Scots and Wales. The people of Wales in the name of Cadwallader.

Wyllus king of Wales.

Emmett's story is built on.

Emmett's story is built on.

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sent out certaine companions to seeke Gillus, who found him in a den closed about with thicke woods and bushes, where he had lien his certaine daies, and was almost starued for hunger. Those that found him immediatlie strooke off his head, and presented the same vnto Cadall, to the great reioicing of all the companie.

Thus after that Cadall had atchiued his enterprise with good successe, he took the sea againe to returne into Scotland, but by meanes of a greuous tempest, he lost the greatest part of his armie, with all the spoile and riches that they had gotten in that voyage. Which mischance fore blemished the glorie of so famous a victorie, so that the reioicing of manie was turned into dolefull mourning for the losse of their friends and kinsfolke, but namelie Cadall took it to greivouslie, that nothing could be more offensive vnto him. Howbeit, after he was come on land, the king and other of the nobles recomforted him in all that they might, and the king gaue him also much faire lands, with diuers castles in Galloway, in recompense of his god faithfull seruice at sundrie times shewed in defense of his countrie, and made him gouernor of Galloway also, which he verie thankfullie accepted.

After this king Ewin came to an interuiew with the king of Picts in the borders of Galloway, and there renewed th' ancient league betwixt the Scottish men and the Picts. For more corroboration wherof Sutoria the daughter of Cethus the third king of the Picts, was ioined in marriage with Ederus, the solemnization being kept at Cpiake. These things thus accomplished, Ewin returned to Dunfalsage, where being certified by letters from the lieutenant of Rosse, that the Islanders of Dikeney had passed Ibel and firth, and were entred into Cathnessle, robbing and spoiling that countrie with a great part of Rosse, he leuied an armie with all speed, and hastid towards the enimies, confreining them by his sudden coming to fight whether they would or not, hauing no leisure to get awaie, so that with small resistance they were vanquished and chased, some into the mounteins, and other to the sea side: of whom part escaped by boates ouer into their countries, the residue of them in this their sudden overthrow being either slaine, drowned, or taken. But Blasius the king of Dikeney, for that he would not come into his enimies hands, slue himselfe. And thus ended this enterprise against the enimies of Dikeney: greatlie to the increase of Ewins fame amongst the Scottish nation.

After this he visited the west parts of his realme, and at the mouth of the riuer of Lochtey he builded a citie which he named Enuerlochtey, instantiating the same with a sanctuarie for the refuge of offenders. This citie afterwards was much frequented with merchants of France and Spaine, by reason of the great abundance of samons, herrings, and other fish which was taken there. The old ruines of this citie in part remaine to be seene in that place where it stood, euen to this day. He likewise built an other citie in the east part of the realme nere to the water called Lochnessle, which he named Enuernessle, after the name of the water. Withther in times past there reioyced manie merchants of Germanie, with such merchandize as the inhabitants of the countrie there stood in need of, exchanging the same with them for marterne skins, and other such fures, wherewith they made their returne. This citie is as yet remaining, and beareth the old name, rich and well stored with diuers kinds of merchandize, so that this Ewin proued a most famous prince for his warlike exploits right fortunatelic atchiued both in peace and warre. And finallie vnderstan-

ding the death of his verie deere and intirelie beloued friend Cadall, he repaired vnto Cpiake, as well to giue order for the pacifieng of his sonnes being at variance for their fathers inheritance, as also to doe the more honor to his friend now deceased, by erecting some monument nere vnto his sepulchre. Comming therefore to Cpiake, and setting an accord betwixt the young men, he caused an image to be made in all points resembling the personage of Cadall, as nere as might be: which he placed in the midst of the market stee, commanding the same to be honored with burning of incense and other diuine ceremonies. Within a few daies also, through inward sorrow, as was thought, for the losse of so deere a friend, he began to war sicke himselfe, and at length perceiuing he should not escape present death, he caused Ederus (of whom before mention is made) to be brought vnto him, into whose hands with manie wholesome aduertisements how to use himselfe in gouernement of his subjects, he wholie resigned the estate, the which after his deceasse he knew to be due vnto him without all question and controuersie: and afterward departed this world, when he had reigned seventene yeares continuallie for the most part in high wealth and felicitie.

After the deceasse of Ewin, Ederus was, in manner before exprest, receiued for king by the whole assent of all the Scottishmen. Whose chiefe delight was altogether in hunting and keeping of hounds and greihounds, to chase and pursue wild beasts, and namelie the wolfe the hearomans so, by meanes wherof his aduancement was much more acceptable amongst the nobles, who in those daies were wholy giuen to that kind of pleasure and pastime. In the beginning of his reigne there was no trouble towards, the publike state of the realme being maintained by vpright iustice, and all transgressions through terror of due punishment politike lie repressed.

The first that went about to put him to any notable trouble, was one Blasius of the Isles, nere of kin to Gillus that vsurper and murderer, who with a power of Irishmen, and other of the westerne Isles landed in Argile, waisting & spoiling the countrie with fire & sword, wherof Ederus being aduertised (who was at the same time in those parts hunting amongst the mounteins) gathered an armie with all speed, and hastening to the place where his enimies ships lay at anchor, he first burned the same, to take awaie all meanes from them to escape by flight. The morning next following he did set vpon them also at vnwares: of whom some he slue, and the residue being taken, either in the fight or chase by his commandement were hanged, and cruellie executed to the example of all others.

After this, he passed ouer into the westerne Isles, where he did execution vpon such as had aided Blasius, putting some to death, and causing other to fine at his pleasure, and depriuing some vnto all that euer they had. At his returne againe into Scotland, there met him ambassadoys sent from Cassibilane kings of the Britains, requiring him of aid against Julius Cesar, who (as the same king had perfect vnderstanding) was appointed verie hostile to passe the seas from France, ouer into this Ile, with a mightie power of Romans, to subdue the inhabitants vnto the seignorie and iurisdiction of Rome.

Ederus receiued these ambassadoys verie courteously: and forsomuch as their maisters request required counsell, he caused his lords which were then present, to assemble together the next daie, afore whom he willed that Androgeus, chiefe of the British ambassadoys, should declare the effect of his message,

Cadall deceased.

Ewin resigneth the estate.

Ewins deceasse.

Ederus.

Blasius invaded the Scots.

Ederus burnt his enimies ships.

Cassibilane king of the Britains requirith of the Scottishmen aid against the Romans.

Androgeus chiefe ambassadoy of the Britains declared the effect of his message.

Scots against him.

Cadall.

Cadall.

Cadall.

Cadall.

Illus depose by secretis & getteth on into Jreid, aduall of Galloway is chosen gouernor the realme.

Interuiew betwixt the king of Picts and Ewin. The people of Dikeney in the Cathnessle.

eland and her take Cathnessle into the same oyle.

Blasius pursued safely and in Ireland.

Ewin king of Dikeney.

Ewin the son of the same Ewin.

Ewin.

Ewin.

Cadall with in armie sent into Jreid and.

The Scots  
grant to aid  
the Britains  
against the  
Romans.

sage, which he did so eloquentlie, and uttering such sensible matter, how it stood the Scottishmen upon to aid the Britains against such common enemies to all nations as the Romans were, that in the end it was concluded by the king with the advice of his nobles, that he should not onlie send a power to aid the Britains against the Romans, but also send some of his lords with Androgeus and his associates unto Cethus king of the Picts, to moue him to doe the like: who hearing how reasonable their demands were, promised further to accomplish the same.

Cadallane &  
Donald with  
ten thousand  
Scottishmen  
send to aid  
the Britains.

Thus the British ambassadoys hauing sped according to their desires, repaired homewards: immediately upon whose departure, both the kings Ederus & Cethus leued their armies, & sent them forth towards London, whereas then Cassibilane sojourne. I find that the Scots were ten thousand men under the leading of Cadallane gouernor of Galloway, the sonne of Cadall before remembred, and one Donald gouernor of Argile. But what successe followed of this first iourne which Cesar made into Britaine, ye shall find the same in the historie of England more at length expressed. The yere that Julius Cesar came to invade Britaine, was the fourth of Ederus his reigne, from the creation of the world 3912 complet, which is after spaisier Harlons account 54 before the conning of our Saviour, and 692 after the building of Rome.

1129 H.B.  
60 H.B.

The Scottishmen and Picts hauing their part of the spoile which the Romans at their departure left behind them, were sent home to their countries with great thanks and rewards for their pains, but the Britains were so exalted in pride by the departure of the Romans, that they beleued verelie they should haue no more to doe with those enemies, or if they had they thought themselves strong enough to repell them without aid of other. By meanes wherof when king Ederus was informed how the Romans prepared to invade them afresh, and had sent them word thereof, offering to them his aid: they made no account of that offer, but answered that it was not necessarie, for euerie light inuasion of foreign enemies, to seeke helpe at other mens hands, being of puissance sufficient of themselves to resist the same well enough.

The Brit-  
tains refuse  
aid being of-  
fered them.

Julius Cesar  
inuaedeth this  
land the se-  
cond time.

But of this refusal of so friendlie an offer, it was not long per the Britains fore repented them. For shortly after Julius Cesar with a farre greater power than that which he brought with him at the first time, landed here in this Ile amongst them againe: and being at three sundrie times fiercelie incountred by king Cassibilane, at length he put the same Cassibilane with his Britains to flight, slaying and taking a great number of them. Amongst other of the prisoners were three of their chiefe captiues, Androgeus, Cilentoriges, and Tenantius. By reason of which ouerthrow Cassibilane was so discouraged, that doubting further mischance, he yielded himselfe unto Cesar, accepting such conditions of peace as were appointed him, and for performance of covenants, belicured sufficient pledges.

The Brit-  
tains are ouer-  
throwne.

Julius Cesar  
his message  
to the Scots  
and Picts.

Cesar hauing thus conquered the Britains, sent his ambassadoys vnto the kings of the Scottishmen and Picts, requiring them to submit themselves as Cassibilane had done, or else he had them loke for open warres at the Romans hands, which they might assure themselves they should in no wise be able to susteine, considering their mightie and huge puissance, hauing the most part of the whole world at their commandement already. Wherevnto aswell the one king as the other made this or much what the like answer, that they were bent sooner to lose their liues than their libertie. Which their resolution, if they were put to the trial, should be euidentlie

The answer  
of the Scots  
and Picts vnto  
Cesar his  
ambassadoys.

proued by the deed it selfe.

Cesar hauing receiued this answer from these two nations, he sendeth new messengers vnto them with a more rough message, who not onlie by threats but also by great reasons went about to persuade them vnto submission. But they persisting in their former opinion for defense of their liberties, and verelie refusing all manner of bondage, would incline by no meanes to come in any bond of friendship with the Romans. After the returne of these last messengers, Cesar was fullie resolved to enter into their countries, to force them vnto that by dint of sword, therewith to treatie he might not induce them: and had set forward on that iourne shortly after indee, if he had not bene called backe into France, to pacifie sundrie commotions there raised by the reuolting of the people inhabiting in those countries, where the Picts and Romans, with other the inhabitants nere about Chartres do now dwell.

The common Scottish chronicles record, how Julius Cesar came as far as Kalendar wood, and there wan by force the citie of Camelon, where the Pictish kings used most to sojourne. Herevnto the same chronicles adde, that Cesar builded a great stone house of 24 cubits in height, & of 12 cubits in breadth, of square hewen stones, right workmanlie framed, which house they saie Cesar caused to be used in stead of a iudgement hall, and here placed it nere the river of Caron, ouer against the forenamed citie of Camelon, as a witnesse that the Romans armie had bene so far forward within that countrie. Such an house there remaineth to be seene euen vnto this daie, and is called Julius hof, that is Julius hall, or Julius court. Howbeit, other more agreeable to the likelihood of a truth, write that this house was sometimes a temple builded to the honor of Claudius Cesar, and of the goddess Victoria, by the Romane capteine Vespasian, at such time as he made wars in that countrie, before his advancement to the empire.

But to returne vnto Ederus. About the same time, in which he looked to be inuaded by Julius Cesar and the Romans, and for that purpose had sent for them of the westerne Isles to reinforce his host, he was now informed to conuert it another waie, for there was one Burketus, nephue vnto the aboue remembred Gilius, that came with a nauie out of Ireland to rob and spoile those Isles, being destitute as then of men to resist him. But Ederus hearing thereof, dispatched Cadallanus with an armie into those parties for defense of his subiects: which Cadallanus behaued himselfe so politikelie in this exploit, that setting vpon the enemies as they laie at anchor, he took them in the night season, without making any great defense, and after hanged them vp along the shore side within the Ile of Galloway: Burket himselfe being honored with an higher place to hang in than all the rest, as due to him that was their chiefe head and leader in that voyage. The remnant of Ederus his reigne passed without any other notable trouble: and so after he had reigned 38 yeres, he deceased a verie old man, about the 23 yere of the empire of Augustus Cesar. He was buried also at Dunstaffage with all due pompe & solemnitie, hauing diuers obelisks (as the custome then was) erected and set vp about the place where he was so intumulate.

After him reigned his sonne Ewin, the third of that name, nothing like in any princelie qualitie vnto his noble progenitors, but contrariwise infamed by all kind of vices. In the first yeres of his reigne he was wholly drownd in lasciuious lecherie, abandoning himselfe altogether to lie weltering

Cesar sendeth  
new messen-  
gers vnto the  
Scots and  
Picts, but  
they persist  
much like to  
the former.

Julius Cesar

Ewin is pur-  
sued and for-  
saken by his  
subjects.

Ewin con-  
demned to per-  
petual prison

Ewin is  
strangled.

32 H.B.

Metella-  
nus.

Calpurnia  
king of the  
Britains.

Metellanus  
commeth  
vnto the  
king.

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amongst a sort of vile strumpets, his lust being neuer thoroughlie satisfied, though neuer so often wearied. The nobles of the realme he had in no regard at all, of whom some he confined, and some he caused to be murdered, onlie because he might the more freely without gainesaying haue his vile trade of leuening with their wiues and cosins. Such delight he had also in his filthy and abhominable ribaldrie, that he made lawes for maintenance of the like amongst his subiects, as thus: That it might be lawful for euerie man to marie diuers & sundrie wiues, some six, some ten, according to their substance and qualities. And as for poore mens wiues, they were appointed to be common vnto the lords of the soile: and further, that the same lords should first deflowre the bride after his marriage: which last ordinance took such effect, that of manie hundred yeeres after it could by no meanes be abrogated, though the two former liberties were by authoritie of the kings succeeding, shortly after this Elwin decessed, taken awaie and reuoked.

But now to conclude touching the doings of this Elwin, ye shall vnderstand, that at length such lords as greatlie abhorred his vile conditions & vices, conspired against him, and raising an armie of their friends and partakers, incountred with him in the field, and there took him prisoner, being destitute of all aid and succors: for such as he brought with him, not once offered to strike one stroke in his quarrell. Elwin being thus taken, was by and by condemned to perpetuall prison; and Cadallan, of whom ye haue heard before, immediatlie proclaimed gouernor of the realme. Whosoeuer the night following, after that Elwin (according to the iudgement pronounced against him) was committed vnto ward, a presumptuous yong man, in hope to haue thanks of Cadallan, entred into the chamber where he was inclosed, and there strangled him. But in stead of thanks he was recompensed with death: for Cadallan detesting such a wicked deed, caused him to be hanged in open sight of all men. Such was the end of Elwin, being thus dispatched in prison, in the seuenth yeere after he began his reigne ouer the Scottishmen, being the 9 yeere of Augustus Cesar his gouernment of the Romane empire.

After Elwin succeeded Metellanus, son to one Carren, the brother of Ederus a prince of most gentle behaviour. This Metellanus maintained his subiects in great quietnesse and rest, without anie manner of wars, either forren or ciuill. Such wicked lawes as his predecessour had established, he did what he could to abollish. But such yong gentlemen as delighted in sensuall lust, and licentious libertie, stood so stiffly therein against him, that in the end he was glad to leaue off his purpose. About the same time also there came vnto Rimbaline king of the Britains an ambassadoz from Augustus the emperor, with thanks, for that entring into the gouernment of the British state, he had kept his allegiance toward the Romane empire: exhorting him to keepe his subiects in peace with all their neighbors, with the whole world, through meanes of the same Augustus, was now in quiet, without all warres or troublesome tumults.

These ambassadozs went also vnto Metellanus the R. of the Scottishmen, exhorting him to acknowledge a superiortie in the Romane emperor, vnto whome the people inhabiting in the furthest parts of the east, had sent their ambassadozs with rich iewels to present his person withall. Wherewith Metellanus being partly moued to haue a frendlie amitie with the Romans, he sent vnto Rome certeine rich presents to the emperor, and to the gods in the capitoll, in signe of honour, by which meanes he obtained an

amitie with the Romans, which continued betwixt them and his kingdom for a long time after.

Thus a generall peace as then reigning thoroughout the whole world, it pleased the giuer and author of all peace to be borne at the same time, of that blessed virgin Marie, in the citie of Bethleim in the tribe of Juda. Which most blessed and salutiferous birth did come to passe in the 12 yeere of Metellanus reigne, and in the 42 of Augustus his empire: from the first establishing of the Scottish kingdom by Fergusius 324 yeeres, and after the creation of the world 3966, as Harison in his chronologie doth manifestlie conclude. After this, Metellanus reigned certeine yeeres in continuall peace and quietnes, neuer more readie to doe the thing that might be to the contentation and the weale of his people. Finally, he passed out of this life in the 29 yeere of his reigne, which was the 28 after the birth of our Sauour, and 13 of Tiberius the emperor. Whosoeuer he left no issue alieue behind him to succeed in the gouernment of the kingdom: for those children which he had begotten, he buried in his life time, by meanes whereof, one Caratake, sonne to Cadallan, and nephew to king Metellanus by his sister Eupoceta, was proclaimed king; as he that excelled in riches and puissant authoritie aboue all other the peeres and high estates of the realme, and had not a litle to doe in the administration of publike affaires in the latter daies of his vncle Metellanus.

The first thing he did after he was established in the estate, he sailed into the westerne Isles, to appease a rebellion moued by the gouernour there. Which done, and the authors punished, he returned into Albion, and came into Carictonium, which was sometimes a famous citie, and metropolitane of Scotland, situat within the countrie cleped Carrike, as it appeareth by the ruines there remaining euen vnto this day. In this citie was Caratake borne, & therefore fauouring it the more, he lay there most commonlie, and did what he could to aduance the wealth and state thereof. Whilst these things were a doing in Scotland, Rimbaline king of the Britains died, who for that he had bene brought vp in Rome, obserued his promised obedience towards the empire; but Cusidius succeeding, disdained to see the libertie of his countrie oppressed by the Romans, and therefore procuring the Britains to assist him, assembled a power, and invaded the Romans with such violence, that none escaped with life; but such as saved themselves within castles & fortresses.

The emperor Claudius that then gouerned the Romane empire, aduertised hercof, sent two capteins, Aulus Plautius, and Cneus Sueticius to appease that rebellion. They landing in Britaine with their armie, vanquished Cusidius in battell, so that he was constrained to send to Caratake king of Scots for aid against the common enemies of both nations. Caratake hauing considered the effect of this message, gaue counsell to the Britains to send into France then called Gallia, to practise with the people there to moue some rebellion against the Romans, in hope of helpe, which they were assured to haue by the Britains. This counsell was followed, for immediatlie vpon the ambassadozs returne, there were sent ouer into France certeine intelligenciers to moue some conspiracie which had taken effect (by reason of the generall hate of seruitude, wherein the Romans kept the people subiect to them in those daies) if Cusidius had not bene constrained to giue battell, and chanced to be slaine in the same, yet the Galls could be resolved vpon anie determinat purpose.

This ouerthrow being reported in France, caused the Galls to staie their intended rebellion. Shortly

The birth of our Sauour Christ.

10 H.B.  
320 H.B.  
5109 H.B.

Metellanus departeth this world.  
29 H.B.  
14 H.B.  
Caratake proclaimed R.  
Caratake take all the British and English writers take to be a Britaine, and inhabiting within that portion of the Ile now called England.

Caratake.

Caratake was borne in Carrike.

Rimbaline king of the Britains died.

Cusidius the British king rebelled against the Romans.

Plautius & Sueticius ther wife Plautius.

Cusidius sendeth to Caratake for aid.

France in those daies Gallia.

Cusidius slaine.

or sendeth metellanus vnto the westerne Isles.

gentle James

Mender of albedon would his cannot true, for car come n near shot no, as in the storie of England it appeareth.

Julius Bell.

Caratake was borne in Carrike.

Elwin committed to prison.

Elwin was hanged.

9 H.B.

Metellanus.

Metellanus was borne in the westerne Isles.

Metellanus was borne in the westerne Isles.  
48 H.B.  
26 H.B.  
Cusidius departed this life.

Enin.

licentious king.

The emperour Claudius cometh into Britaine.

Claudius saileth into the Dykenies.

How Kirke-Wale.

Claudius taketh the king of the Dykenies.

The doubt of Claudius going into the Dykenies. Dion Cassius.

Arutragus forsaketh his lawfull wife.

Moada imprisoned.

Moada is delivered out of prison, and conuied into Wales.

Arutragus giveth his enemies an overthrow.

lie after Claudius himselfe came ouer into Britaine, and receiuing the Britains vnder his obedience, ordered things among them at his pleasure. And after preparing his nauie and armie with all purueiance conuenient, he set forward towards the Isles of Dykenie, purposing to conquere the same, for that they had aided the Britains in these last warres against the Romans. But approaching nere to those Isles, he was in danger to haue bene cast awaie by a tempest rising by chance, euen as he was entered the streit betwixt the Dykenies and Dungisbie head in Cathnesse called Pictland frith; yet at length getting to land, he found in that Ile where he first arrived, no bodie at home, all the people through feare vpon the first sight of the great multitude of ships being fled to hide themselves in caues and dens amongst the rocks & mountains.

Claudius therefore leauing this Ile, passed into Bomonia the chiefe of all the Dykenies, where discomfiting such as appeared abroad to make resistance, he besieged the king of those Isles named Caranus, within a castell where he was withdrawen, and finally causing him to yeld himselfe prisoner, led him with other nobles of Britaine (whome he had for pledges) vnto Rome, the more to set forth the glorie of his triumph at his returne vnto the citie. ¶ But whatsoeuer Hector Boetius and others write of this passage of Claudius into the Dykenies, it is not like that he came there at all, for if he staied not past 16 daies in Britaine, as by Dion Cassius it appeareth that he did not in deed; how should we imagine that he could both pacifie the south parts of Britaine, and after go into Dykenie and conquere the same within so small a time, being readie to returne towards Rome at the end of those 16 daies, as the said Dion affirmeth? But this discourse haue I made according to their owne histories, least I should seeme to defraud them of whatsoeuer glorie is to be gotten by errors, as the maner is of them as well as of other nations, which to aduance their antiquities and glorie of their ancestors, take the aduantage oftentimes of writers scant worthy of credit.

But now againe to our purpose. Arutragus being established in the kingdome of Britaine, vpon some priuat displeasure forsoke his wife named Moada, the sister of Caratake king of the Scottis men, and married Genissa a Romane ladie, which act manie of the Britains disallowed; the more in deed, because he had faire issue already by Moada, as a son and two daughters. But this was done, as all men iudged, by the counsell of Aulus Plancius, thereby to breake all friendship and alliance betwixt the Britains and the Scots, to the end that in no case of rebellion they should ioine their powers together. Neither did he onelie refuse Moada, whome all men knew to be his lawfull wife, but also caused hir to be kept in prison, till that the Britains (hauing indignation thereat) got hir out of the place where she was kept, and conuied hir into Wales together with hir children.

With which dealing Arutragus being highlie moued, determined with force of armes to punish them that had thus misused him: but perceiuing that not onelie those people which inhabited the countrie, now called Wales, and other that abioined on the north marches thereof were readie to defend the quene against his malice, he was faine to require aid of the Romans, who with their capteine Aulus Plancius assembling together with such of the Britains as toke part with Arutragus, set forward toward the enemies, and ioining with them in battell, did giue them the ouerthrow. The next day after this victorie thus gotten, word was brought that

the people inhabiting in the countries which we now call Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Darbshire, were by in armour against the king and the Romans, by reason whereof Arutragus and Aulus Plancius withdrew towards London, that defending the sea coasts towards France, they might yet haue the sea open at all times whatsoeuer they pleased. And to reeferce their power, Aulus Plancius sent ouer for two legions of souldiers into France, to come with all speed to his aid.

The Britains, who had gone so farre in the matter that they could not well withdraw themselves, now being certified of all their enemies doings, thought best to make themselves so strong as was possible. And to the end that they might proceed in some orderlie meane, all the greatest lords and estates assembled together at Shrewsburie, in those daies called Conimium, where they concluded vpon a league to aid one another with all their might and maine against the Romans & Arutragus, who went about to bring them wholie vnder seruile subiection and thraldome of the same Romans. They being thus agreed to make warres in this quarrell, and for the same purpose to ioine their whole puissance together, there rose a doubt whome they might chose for their generall capteine, for that it was feared least there might grow some secret enuie amongst the nobles being of equall power, if one should be in this case preferred before an other. For the auoiding of which mischiefe, by the graue admonition of one Cornus a noble man of the parties of Wales, they accorded to send messengers vnto Caratake the king of Scotland, requiring him to aid them in their right and iust quarrell against Arutragus and the Romans, whereby he might reuenge the iniurie done to his sister quene Moada and hir issue, whome the father through counsell of the Romans purposed to disherit, to the end such children as he had by Genissa (for that they were of the Romane blood) might inioy the kingdome. They further declared, that all the British lords which were confederat in this enterprize, had chosen him by common assent to be their generall and chiefe leader, if it might so please him to take it vpon him, as their trust was he would: considering the iust causes of their warre, and the suertie which by victorie gotten might insue vnto all the inhabitants of the whole Ile of Albion.

Caratake hauing heard the summe of their request, and thoughtlie weighing the same, promised them to be readie with his whole puissance in the beginning of the next spring, to come to their aid, vnto that place soeuer they should thinke expedient: and thereof he told them they might be most assured, willing them in the meane time so to provide for themselves, as their enemies might haue no advantage at their hands. With this agreeable answer the British messengers returned to Shrewsburie to the confederats, who reioicing at the newes, made provision against the next spring to go against the Romans, in hope of good successe, speciallie through aid of the Scots and Picts, who also with their king called Conkist were willing to helpe towards the deliuering of the land from bondage of the Romans, whose nestling so nere their noses they were loth to see or heare of. So some therefore as the spring approached, all those three people, Britains, Scots, and Picts, gathered their powers together, and met in Yorkshire, in purpose to incounter with their enemies in battell, wheresoeuer they found them.

Arutragus and Aulus Plancius hauing knowledge of all the doings of the confederats, likewise assembled their power, & comming towards them,

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for a while forbare to ioin in battell, through coun-  
sell of Plautius, who perceiuing the most part of  
the Britains and Scots to be but new souldiers,  
taken vp of late to fill the numbers, knew that by  
protracting time they would be some out of heart,  
through watching and euill harbozough, in such sort  
that in the end they should be easie enough to deale  
with; and euen so it came to passe. For the Romans  
refusing to fight a generall battell, yet scoured so the  
fields on eith side abroad, that neither the Britains  
nor Scots could go forth anie waies for forage or  
vittels, but they were still snatched by, so that what  
through hunger, lacke of sleepe, and other diseases,  
manie of the Britains began to conueie themselves  
from the campe home to their houses, of whome some  
being taken by the enemies; declared that the whole  
armie of the confederats was in great distresse, and  
sore infiebled by such vnaccustomed trauell and dis-  
eases as they were enforced vnto in the campe.  
Whereupon Aruiragus and Aulus Plautius deter-  
mined the next day to giue battell. And so in the  
morning they arraied their people, & marched forth  
betwixt towards the campe of the confederats.

Caratake, who (as ye haue heard) was generall of  
all the confederates, vnderstanding the enemies in-  
tent, was as readie to receiue batell as they were  
to offer it; whereupon there ensued right great and  
vnmerefull slaughter betwixt them on both parts,  
without sparing any at all, till such time as the night  
parted the fraie, with such losse on either side, that af-  
ter they were once got in lunder, neither part had a-  
nie haile afterwards to ioin againe: so that in the  
morning there appeared none in the field but onelie  
the dead bodies, those that were left alieue as well on  
the one part as the other being fled and scattered in-  
to the woods and mounteins. Aruiragus and Plau-  
tius got them vnto London: and Caratake com-  
manding his people home each man into his coun-  
trie, he himselfe withdrew first towards Powke, and  
after vnto the citie of Carrike; whither shortly af-  
ter there came vnto him ambassadoz from Aulus  
Plautius, sent to know vpon what occasion he did  
aid the Britith rebels against the Romane empire,  
declaring that if he would not be conformable to  
make a worthie amends for so presumptuous an en-  
terprise, he should be sure to haue the Romans his  
enemies; and that in such wise, as he should perceiue  
it were much better for him to seeke their friendship,  
than to abide their enmitie.

Wherevnto Caratake answered, that he had iust  
cause to doe that which he did, considering the iniu-  
ries which his sister Gloada with hir sonne Guide-  
tius had and were like to receiue by their counsell  
and meanes: and therefore he was so little minded  
to make anie amends for that was done, that he  
thought it more reason that the Romans should  
clearlie auid out of the whole possession of Bri-  
taine, either else they might assure themselves to  
haue aswell the Britains, as also the Scots & Picts  
to be their perpetuall enemies, and that onelie for  
the chalenge of their ancient liberties and freedom.  
The Romane ambassadoz being returned with this  
answer, Plautius tooke no small indignation there-  
at, fore menacing to be reuenged of so high and con-  
tumelious words pronounced against the maiestie  
of the Romane empire.

About the same time Aruiragus, vpon trust con-  
fused by ioining his power with the other confede-  
rate Britains, to expell the Romans quite out of the  
realme, and so to recouer the intire estate, resolting  
from them, fled into Shyewburie, where, at the same  
time such Britith lords as were enemies to the Ro-  
mans, were assembled againe in counsell, by whom  
Aruiragus was receiued with great gladnesse (ye

maie be sure) of those lords, trusting by his meanes  
to haue their force in maner doubled. His wife Ce-  
nistia being at the same season great with child, tooke  
such thought for this resolting of hir husband, that  
trauelling before hir time, she immediately died ther-  
with. But Aulus Plautius, perceiuing now tho-  
roughlie how litlle trust there was to be put in the  
Britains, dispatched a messenger in all hast with  
letters vnto Claudius the emperor, who as then so-  
lourned at Rome, signifieng vnto him in what dan-  
ger the state of Britaine stood, if timelie prouision  
were not the sooner made.

Claudius weicng the matter by god aduise of  
counsell, ordeined by decre of the senate, that Cef-  
pasian (of whome ye haue heard before) should be sent  
higher with an armie, to tame the proud and losse  
stomachs of the Britains, with their confederats  
the Scots & Picts. Celpasian herevpon departing  
from Rome, came into France, & increasing his le-  
gions, with a supplie of such souldiers as he found  
there, passed ouer into this our Britaine, where con-  
trarie to the report which he had heard afore his com-  
ming, he found euerie fortresse so well furnished af-  
ter the warlike order of the Romane vfrage, and  
moreouer all such companies of men of warre as  
kept the field so well appointed and ordered, that he  
could not but much praise the great diligence and  
politike gouernement of Plautius.

Now when Celpasian had a little refreshed his  
men, and taken order how to proceed in the reducing  
of the Britains to their former obedience, he set for-  
ward toward Aruiragus & other the enemies, whom  
he vnderstood as then to be at Powke, making their  
assemblie, not generallie of all that were able to  
beare a club, as they did the yere before; but out of  
all parties a chosen number of piket men were sent  
for, as out of Denonshire & Cornwell there came  
6000, forth of Wales and the marches 12000,  
and the like number out of Wendall, Westmerland,  
and Cumberland. Out of Dyfordshire and other the  
parties of Britaine subiect vnto Aruiragus, there  
came 35000. All which numbers assembled nere vnto  
Powke, euerie man bzinging his prouision with  
him to serue him for two moneths space. Vnto the  
same place came also Caratake with 30000 Scotish  
men: and Alithara otherwile called Charan, king  
of the Picts, with almost as manie of his subiects.

Celpasian being certified still from time to time  
of all the doings of his enemies, hastied with all speed  
towards them; and by the leading of trustie guides  
comming to the place where they were incamped  
within a marish ground not passing 12 miles from  
Powke, he fiercelie vpon a sudden setteth vpon them  
within their campe, yer they thought he had bene  
nere them. But yet notwithstanding they manful-  
lie stood to their defense: insomuch that those in the  
right wing of the Romans armie were like to haue  
bene idrestressed, if Celpasian perceiuing the dan-  
ger, had not sent a legion to their aid in time, wherby  
the battell was newlie in that part restored. The cap-  
teins on either side did what they could to incourage  
their folkes to stick to their tackle, without giuing  
ouer by anie meanes, considering what gaine came  
by victorie, and what losse ensued by receiuing the o-  
uerthrow.

The Britains, Scots, and Picts, like enraged li-  
ons, ran vpon the Romans, with such cruell desire  
of rekeuge, that euen when they were thrust through  
vpon the point of any weapon, they would run still  
vpon the same, to come vnto him that held it, that  
they might requite him with the like againe. But  
yet would not all that their fierce and desperate har-  
dinelle preuaile, for fortune by fatall appointment  
being bent to aduance the Romans vnto the domi-  
nion

Genista the  
wife of Arui-  
ragus d. etc.

A messenger  
sent vnto  
Claudius the  
emperor from  
Plautius.

Celpasian  
commeth into  
Britaine.

The Bri-  
tains gather  
an armie.

Acnt.

The Scots &  
Picts come  
to aid the  
Britains.  
Alithara or  
Charan king  
of Picts.

Celpasian  
assailth the  
Britains in  
their campe.

The desperate  
hardinelle of  
the Britains  
and Scotish-  
men.

Fortune fa-  
uoureth the  
Romans.

A conuention  
against Arui-  
ragus.

The Bri-  
tains make  
themselves  
strong.

The Bri-  
tains alle-  
ge them-  
selves at  
Shyewburie.

They conse-  
derat them-  
selves togi-  
ther.

Caratake  
chosen to be  
captaine of the  
Britains.

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The Brit-  
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the overthrow

Caratake  
escapeth.  
Charan king  
of the Picts  
is slain.

Messengers  
sent by Aru-  
ragus unto  
Vespasian  
with sub-  
mission.

Arutragus  
cometh in  
unto Vespasian.  
Arutragus  
restored again  
to his former  
dignitie.  
The Brit-  
tains are par-  
doned, but yet  
deliuer new  
hostages.  
Their lawes  
abrogated.  
New lawes.

Camelon be-  
sieged by  
Vespasian.

Camelon  
surrendered.  
The kings  
regall orna-  
ments taken.

Camelon peo-  
pled with  
Romans.

mon of the whole world, shewed his selfe so fauourable vnto them in this battell, that in the end, though the Britains with the confederats did what lay in men to do for attaining of victorie, yet were they beaten downe and slaine euerie mothers sonne, a few onelie excepted, which escaped by flight.

Arutragus seeing the slaughter of his people, would haue slaine himselfe, but that some of his seruants caried him by force out of the field, that he might be reserved yet vnto some better fortune. Caratake escaping by flight, fled into his countrie, but Charan king of the Picts, not counting to liue after such losse of his people, threw away his armor with all his kingle ornaments, and sitting downe vpon a stone, as a man past himselfe, was there slaine by such as followed in the chase. Arutragus being conueied out of danger, and gotten into Forke, considered how by reason of this great discomforture, it was impossible to resist the Romane puissance, and therefore with consent of the residue of his nobles that were escaped from the battell, he sent an herald vnto Vespasian, offering to submit himselfe in most humble wise vnto anie reasonable conditions of peace and agreement. Whereupon Vespasian commanded that Arutragus should in priuate apparell come in vnto him, for he would not talke of anie peace, except he had Arutragus present, and therefore he sent vnto him his safe conduct to assure him safetie both to come and go.

Arutragus seeing no other remedie, came in vnto Vespasian, according to his appointment, and vpon his submission was pardoned of all his trespasses, and placed againe in the kingdome. The cities and good townes also that were partakers in the rebellion, were in semblable wise forgiven without fining or other indemnitie, and so likewise were all the nobles of the countrie. Holowest, for the better assurance of their loialtie in time to come, they deliuered new hostages. Their ancient lawes also were abrogated, and the Romane lawes in their place established. For the administration of the which, in euerie prouince was appointed a Romane iudge to see good orders obserued according to the forme thereof. By which means the British nation establisht returned vnto his former obedience of the Romane empire. All the winter following, Vespasian late at Forke, making his apperis against the next spring to go against the Scots and Picts. So some therefore as the summer was come, Vespasian set forth forward with his armie, and entering into the marches of his enemies, he did put them in such feare that the Picts were glad to yeld themselves vnto him, a few of the nobles & some other excepted, which were withdrawne into Camelon, in hope through strength of that towne to defend themselves from all assaults. Vespasian being certified thereof, came & besieged them within the same citie, not minding to depart till he had them at his pleasure. This siege continued till they within, being in danger to famish through want of vittels, surrendered themselves with the towne into Vespasians hands. In this towne were found all the regall ornaments, as the crowne & sword, with other iewels belonging to the kings of the Picts. The sword hauing the hilt of gold, & a purple scabbard very finely wrought & trimmed, Vespasian used to weare in all the warres wherein he afterwards chanced to be, in hope (I wot not) of what good successe and lucke to follow therof. The British lords which were within Camelon, were commanded to deliuer pledges: and after licensed to depart with, vnto anie other damage. Vespasian himselfe remaining at Camelon, take order for the peopling of the towne with Romans, granting them the vse of the liberties and priuileges which the Romans inhabi-

ting in Rome intioled. Also ouer against the towne vpon the bankes of the riuer of Caron, he builded a temple in honor of the emperor Claudius, wherein he set by two images, the one representing Claudius, and the other the goddess Victoria.

Whilest he was thus occupied, tidings came to him, that Caratake king of the Scottishmen had assembled in Galloway a great army of Scots Picts and Britains, in purpose against the Romans, to reuenge the last overthrow. Whereupon Vespasian with all speed sent forth a strong power vnder the leading of Aulus Plautius to encounter the enemies. Plautius being approached within foure miles of them, incamped himselfe in a strong place, as though he minded not to passe further, till Vespasian with the rest of his whole puissance were come to his aid. Fewer thelesse, night was no longer come on, but that he gaue generall commandement through his host, that euerie man should make him ready to depart at a certaine houre vnder the standards of their captains in order of battell.

Then in the second watch of the night he set forward, following certeine guides (which knew all the straits and passages of the countrie) till he came to the place where Caratake with his armie was lodged: and first killing the watch which stood to defend his entrance, till the armie was raised, he set vpon the whole campe, and though he found such resistance that the battell continued right fierce & cruell from the dawning of the day, till it was his none, yet in the end the victorie remained with the Romans; and the Scots with the Picts, & such Britains as were on their part, put to flight and chased. Caratake escaping out of the battell, fled into Argile, and got him to the castell of Dunstaffage. Diuerse of the Britains & Picts, which as yet had not submitted themselves, were put in such dread through byte of this overthrow, that immediatlie thereupon they came in and yelded themselves vnto Vespasian. And in semblable wise the people of Galloway bitterlie despairing any longer to defend their countrie against Plautius (who was now entred into their confines, and had taken the citie of Carrike) offered to become subiects vnto the Romans, which they might neuer be brought vnto before that time.

These newes being certified vnto Vespasian by a purcuant, he rode straightwaies vnto Carrike, & there receiued the oths of the nobles, and other the inhabitants of the countrie. That done, he sent ambassadors vnto Caratake, to trie if he might by anie means to become friend vnto the Romane empire, in acknowledging some manner of subiection therevnto: but this denise was to small purpose, for Caratake was determined rather to end his life as a free Scottishman in defense of libertie, than to become thrall vnto anie forreine nation, in hope to liue long time in seruitude, doubting least if he came anie waies forth into danger of the Romans, they would vsurpe the whole dominion vnto themselves. Whose mind when Vespasian vnderstood by his answer he was minded to haue gone with an armie vnto Dunstaffage where Caratake lay, but that he was informed what dangerous passages he must march thorough, all full of desert mounteins, bogs, and quauemires, without anie prouision of vittels or forrage to be found by all the way as the armie should passe.

Leauing therefore this enterprisse, he caused to himnie vessels to be assembled, as could be prouided of all parts, purposing to haue passed ouer into the Ile of Man, into the which there were gotten together a great sort of Britains and Picts, that had escaped the Romans hands. But this iourne also was broken

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Caratake  
semblable  
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Plautius  
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Caratake.

Plautius  
sent forth  
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Caratake.

Caratake  
city was  
Dunstaffage.

The people  
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Romans.

Caratake  
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Caratake  
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ken by another incident, for even at the same time,  
newes were brought that the Britains of the Ile of  
Wight, with the Kentishmen, and diuerse others  
the inhabitants upon the south coast, were revolted,  
and had slain diuerse Romans, which lay in gar-  
isons in those parts. Nepasian therefore, minding to  
cure this wound per it should through the fester, ha-  
sing this with all speed; and with little doo pacifi-  
eng the rebels, caused the chiefe offenders to be pu-  
nished according to their deserts.

Shortlie after, being sent for by the emperor  
Claudius, he returned vnto Rome with great glo-  
rie for his noble and high achieved victories. Aulus  
Plautius was left at Wargoe with the gouernment  
of Britaine after Nepasians departure. Whi hearing  
that Caratake had assembled a great armie of  
Scots, and other such Britains and Pits as had  
not yet submitted themselves vnto the Romans, in  
purpose to recover againe those countries which  
Nepasian had lately conquered, he likewise prepa-  
red to meet them, so that both the armies incounter-  
ring together, there was fought a right terrible bat-  
tell with great slaughter on both parties, till finally  
the victorie inclining to the Romans, more through  
skillfull policie than puissant force, the Scots, Pits,  
and Britains were discomfited and chased into the  
bogs and marshes; the common refuge in those  
daies for the Scots; when by anie aduenture they  
chanced to be put to flight.

After this overthrow the warre was continued  
for two yers space, by rodes and incursions made  
one vpon another in the confines of Hile and Gal-  
loway. In which meane while Plautius fell sicke  
of the flux, which still continuing with him; brought  
him at length in such case, that he was not able to  
trauell at all in the publike affaires of his office. So  
that he wrote his letters vnto the emperor Clau-  
dius, signifieng vnto him in what case he stood, and  
thereupon required that some sufficient personage  
might be sent to occupie his roome. Claudius hauing  
received his letters, and vnderstanding the effect of  
the same, sent one Drorzius Scapula, a man of high  
linage, and of good experience both in peace and war,  
to haue the gouernance in Britaine.

About the time of whose arrivall into Britaine,  
Aulus Plautius departed out of this world at Ca-  
melon, where he then sojourned. His bodie was bur-  
ned, and according to the vsage of the Romans in  
those daies, the ashes were closed in a chest, and bur-  
ied within the church of Claudius and Victoria, which  
(as is said) Nepasian builded nere vnto Camelon,  
vpon the riuers side there. Hereof was a custome  
taken vp amongst both Scots and Pits (as some  
thinke) to burne the bodie of the dead, and to burie  
the ashes; whereof there haue bene found diuerse to-  
kens and monuments in this our age. As in the pere  
1521 at Findoz, a village in Perne, five miles distant  
from Aberdine, there were found in an old graue  
two chests of a strange making full of ashes, either  
of them being ingrauen with Romane letters,  
which so sone as they were brought into the aire, fell  
to dust. Likewise in the fields of another towne  
called Benbaten in Parre, ten miles distant from  
Aberdine, about the same time were found by cer-  
taine plowmen two sepulchres made of cut and  
squared stones, wherein were foure chests, of woike-  
manship, bignesse and inscription like to the other  
two. Anie the semblable monuments haue bene  
found in diuerse places in Scotland in times past:  
but it is to be thought, that in these sepulchres there  
were Romans buried, and neither Scots nor  
Pits.

But now to our purpose. Immediatlie vpon  
the coming of Drorzius into Britaine, the people

of the west countries rebelled, procuring the no-  
therne men with the Scots of Galloway, and all the  
Pits to do the like. They sent also vnto Caratake,  
requiring him in this common quarell against the  
Romans to put to his helping hand for recouerie of  
the ancient libertie of the whole land of Albion,  
considering it was like they should match well to-  
gether with this new Romane capteine Drorzius  
Scapula, that vnderstood little of the maners and  
vsages of the Britains. But this notwithstanding,  
Drorzius being informed of all these practises, and  
remembering that furtherance it were for a cap-  
teine in the beginning to win a name by some praise-  
worthy enterpryse, he made first towards the we-  
sterne Britains, whome he thought to surpise per  
they should assemble with the other rebels, and so  
meeting with them, he chased and took a great num-  
ber of them, as they fled here and there out of all  
order.

After this, he went against the people called Jec-  
ent, which (as some thinke) inhabited the countrie now  
called Drfordshire, but other take them to be North-  
folke men, who being gathered together, were gotten  
into a strong place, inclosed about with a great ditch  
as they vse to fence pasture grounds, that no horse-  
men should breake in vpon them: yet this notwith-  
standing, Drorzius assailed them within their  
strength, & in the end breaking downe the rampire,  
with such aid as he had, burst in at length amongst  
them, sleaing and taking the most part of them: for  
few or none escaped, they were so kept in on ech side.  
But of this battell, and likewise of other enterpri-  
ses, which Drorzius and other of the Romane lieute-  
nants achieved here in Britaine, ye shall find more  
thereof in the historie of England according to the  
true report of the Romane writers, the which herelic  
make no mention either of Scots or Pits till the  
yere of our Lord 320, at the sonest. And as for the  
Silures and Brigants remoued by Hector Boetius  
so farre northward, it is euidentlie proued by Hum-  
frey Llhoide, and others, that they inhabited coun-  
tries contained now within the limits of England:  
The like ye haue to vnderstand of the Drdouices  
where Caratake gouerned as king, and not in Car-  
rike, as to the well aduised reader I doubt not but  
it may sufficientlie appeare, as well in the descrip-  
tion as in the historie of England aforesaid.

But now to returne where we left: the brute of  
this late victorie quieted the buisie minds of such o-  
ther of the Britains, as were ready to haue reuol-  
ted. But they of Galloway would not at the first  
giue ouer, but in trust of aid at the hands of Cara-  
take continued in their rebellion, till Drorzius came  
thither, and beate downe such as made resistance,  
whereby the other were sone pacified. After this he  
entred into the confines of Hile and Cantire, spoi-  
ling and wastling those countries, and brought from  
thence a great number of captiues. With which in-  
surie Caratake being not a little kindled, he assem-  
bled a mightie armie, wherein he had at the least 40  
thousand men, what of his owne subjects and other  
such as came to his aid. For after he was entred in-  
to Dialand, there came vnto him out of all parties  
no small number, of such as desired either to be re-  
uenged on the Romans, either else to lose life and  
libertie both at once, for the tall of bondage was so  
bitter vnto all the inhabitants of Albion in this sea-  
son, that they in maner were wholie conspired toge-  
ther to remoue that yoke of thraldome from their  
shoulders which so painefullie pinched them.

Caratake thus furnished with an armie, chose  
somewhat strong place to lodge in, fenced on the one  
side with the course of a deepe swiftest riuer, and on  
the other sides it might not be approached vnto for the  
steepnesse

The Brit-  
tains yet eff-  
siones rebell.  
The Brit-  
tains requite  
aid of Cara-  
take.

The Brit-  
tains yet eff-  
siones rebell.  
The Brit-  
tains requite  
aid of Cara-  
take.

Jecent.  
Drfordshire  
to assailed.  
Some take  
the Jecent to  
be the North-  
folke men.

They of Gal-  
loway are bea-  
ten and paci-  
fied.

Hile and Can-  
tire wastled  
and spoiled.  
Caratake as-  
sembled an  
armie.

The strength  
of the place  
where Cara-  
take was in-  
camped.

Of this mat-  
ter ye may  
read more in  
England.  
Women in  
camped.

Women plac-  
ed in order  
of battell.  
Caratake and  
his captains  
exhort their  
men to fight.

Ofhorius in-  
courageth his  
Romans.

Caratake  
ouerthrowne  
by the Ro-  
mans.  
His quene  
taken.

Caratake be-  
trayed by his  
stepmother.

Caratake is  
sent to Rome.

He is shew-  
ed to the people in  
triumph.

Caratake  
departeth this  
life.

54  
Strange  
lights seene.

skæpnesse of the crags and such senting as they had made with great stones, in places where there was any wate to enter. All such women as were some- what steep in age, and came thither with them, in great numbers, were by Caratake placed on either side his battels, both as well to incourage the men to do valiantlie with shouting and hallowing unto them, as also to assaile the Romans with stones as they should approach. Other such as were young and lustie, were appointed to keepe arate amongst the men to fight in the battell.

Caratake hauing thus ordered his field, and hear- ing that Ofhorius was come to giue battell, ex- horteth his people to stick to it like men, and so in- semblable wise did all his captains and sergeants of the bands, going from ranke to ranke to incourage their souldiours, declaring how that this was the ar- mie that must either bring libertie or thraldome to them and their posteritie for euer. On the other part Ofhorius minding to trie the matter by battell, set his people in arate after the ancient maner of the Romans, willing them to consider that they were descended of those parents and ancestors which had subdued the whole world: and againe, that those with whom they should now match, were but naked people, fighting more with a certeine maner of a fu- rious rage and disordered violence, than with any politike discretion or constancie.

Herewith vpon commandement giuen on both parts, the battell began right hot, & for a god space berie doubtfull, till the practised knowledge of the Romans vanquished the furious violence of the Scots, Britains, and Britains: who being put to flight fled into the mounteins to escape the enemies hands who pursued them most egerlie. Amongst other of the prisoners there was taken Caratakes wiife, with his daughter & brethren. He himselfe fled for succor unto his stepmother Cartimandua: but as aduer- tie findeth few friends, she caused him to be taken and deliuered unto Ofhorius. This was in the ninth yeare after the beginning of the warres. Ofhorius vied him verie honorablie, according to the degree of a king: finally he sent him unto Rome, together with his wiife, his daughter, and brethren. His name was such through all places, that where he passed by, the people came flocking in on each side to see him, of whom they had heard so much report for his stout resistance made so long a time against the Romanes puissance.

At his coming to Rome he was shewed in tri- umph, all the people being called to the sight: for the victorie and apprehension of him was iudged equall with anie other atchieued enterprise against whatso- ever the most puissant enemies of former time. The Emperour Claudius vpon respect as was thought of his princelie behauior and notified valiancie, restored him to libertie, and reteining his daughter and el- dest brother at Rome as pledges, vpon his oth re- ceived to be a true subiect unto the empire, he sent him home into his countrie againe, assigning unto him the gouernance of Galloway, with Aile, Car- rike, and Coningham. He liued not passing two yeeres after his returne into Scotland, studieng most cheeflie during that time how to preferue his people in peace and quietnesse. He departed this world one and twentie yeeres after the decesse of his uncle Artellan, in the yeere of our Lord 54.

A little before his falling into the hands of the Ro- mans, there were sundrie strange sights seene in Albion, as fighting of hostlemen abroad in the fields, with great slaughter, as seemed on both parts: and forthwith the same so vanished awate, that no apper- rance of them could any where be perceiued. Also a sort of wolues in the night season set vpon such as

were keeping of cattell abroad in the fields, and carried awate one of them to the woods, and in the morning suffered him to escape from amongst them againe. Moreover, at Carrike there was a child bozne, perfect in all his limbs saving the head, which was like unto a rauen. These vniuersal signes and monstrosities put the people in no small feare: but after that Caratake was restored to his libertie & coun- trie, all was interpreted to the best.

After Caratakes decesse, his yongest brother Corbield was chosen to succeed in his place, in the fiftie and eighth yeare after Christ, for his elder brother was departed at Rome through change of aire not agreeable to his nature. This Corbield was a stout man of stomack, much resembling his brother Caratake. In the first beginning of his reigne, he did his indeuor to purge his dominion of such as troubled the quiet state thereof, by robbing and spol- ling the husbandmen and other the meaner people of the countrie, of the which robbers there was no small number in those daies, speciallie in the we- sterne Isles, also in Koller & Cathnes. In the meane time the Brits hauing created there a now king called Conist, gouernour of Pers and Louth- an, they set vpon the Romans being about to make fortresses in those parties. And but that succours came in time from the next towncs and castles ad- ioining, they had slaine all the whole number of them, & yet aided as they were, the master of the campe, and eight other of the captains, with diuers offi- cers of bands, besides common souldiours, lost their liues there.

Shortly after also, the same Brits ouerthrew a number of forragers, with such companies of hostle- men as came to defend them. Herewith Ofhorius being not a little moued, made readie his bands, and fiercelie incourted with the Brits, who defen- ded themselves so biggonlie, that the fore ward of the Romans was nere hand discomfited. Which danger Ofhorius perceiuing, speedilie came to re- lieue the same, but preasing too farre amongst his enemies, he was sore wounded, and in great danger to haue bene slaine. The night coming vpon par- ted the frate, not without huge slaughter on both parts. After this, the warre continued still betwixt them with often incursions and skirmishes. At the length the Brits with such other Britains as were come unto them out of the Ile of Span and other parties, incourted with the Romans in battell, and vpon the first ioining, of purpose gaue backe, training some of the Romans to pursue them unto such places, where they had laid their ambushes, and so compassing them about, slue a great number of them, and chased the residue into the streits of the mounteins, where they were also surprised by such of the Brits as returned from the battell.

Ofhorius vnderstanding how the matter went, withdrew with the rest of his people to his campe, and shortly after sent a pursuant unto Rome, to informe the emperour in what state things stood in Britaine, by reason of this rebellion of the Brits, who neither by force nor gentle persuasions could be pacified. The emperour determining to provide re- medie therefore, sent word againe that he would not that the Brits should be estons receiued vpon their submission, if they were giuen to make late for pardon, but utterlie to be destroyed and extermina- ted. For the accomplishment wherof he appoint- ed two legions of such men of warre, as sojourned in France to passe ouer into Britaine. But in the meane while Ofhorius departed this world, whe- ther of his hurts (as the Scottish chronicles make mention) or through sickness (as should rather seeme by Cornelius Tacitus) it forth not. After whose

Ofhorius  
decesse  
the Brits.

The Ro-  
mans are dis-  
comfited by  
the Brits.

Julius Didus  
is cometh  
into Britaine.

Corbield

The Brits  
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manus.

The Brits  
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the Romanes  
foragers.

Ofhorius  
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The Romans  
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Carimius the  
husband of  
Cartimandua

Ofhorius re-  
sisteth.

Cartimandua  
is killed.

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Corbreid

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ragers.Marcius was  
wounded.The Romane  
trained into ambu  
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mended by  
the Britains.The Picts  
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wounded.The Romane  
trained into ambu  
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battell.The Picts  
were in the  
battell.The Picts  
were in the  
battell.

whose dectasse Marcius Valens had the chiefest  
charge, who bringing his armie forth to encounter  
the Picts that came to seek battell, was fiercelie  
fought withall, notwithstanding the victorie had a  
bidden on his side, if at the verie point there had not  
come succours to the Picts (that is to wit) 400  
hoxmen out of the countrie of Kendall, by whose  
fresh onfet the Romans were discomfited and cha  
sed vnto their campe, there being slaine about 3000  
of them at that ouerthrow, and on the Picts side  
there wanted 2000 of their number at the least.

About the same time there arrived in Britaine an  
other Romane captaine to be generall in place of  
Marcius now deceased, his name was Aulus Di  
dus, with him came the two legions afore remem  
bered. At his first comming ouer he mustered the  
old crewes of the Romane souldiers first, much  
blaming them for their negligence, in suffering the  
enimies so to increase vpon them, to the great dan  
ger of losing all that (through sloth and faintnesse  
of courage) which latelie before in Britaine had been  
swone and conquered by high prowes and ballant  
coudit of his predecessours. In the end he exhorted  
them to put away all feare, and fullie to determine  
with themselves to recouer againe the honor which  
they had latelie lost, which he said would easilie be  
brought to passe, if they would take vnto them man  
full stomachs, and obeie him and such other as had the  
gouernance and leading of them. The Picts being  
informed that this Aulus Didus was arrived with  
this new supplie of men, & prepared to come against  
them, they thought good to send vnto Corbreid king  
of Scotland, to require his aid against the Romans,  
reputed as common enimies to all such as loued li  
bertie, and hated to liue in seruile bondage. For  
which respect Corbreid was the sooner moued to con  
descend vnto the request of the Picts; and there vpon  
assembling an armie entred into Galloway. Where  
of Aulus Didus being certified, sent an herald vnto  
him with all speed, commanding that he should  
depart out of those quarters, sith he had no right  
there, considering that Galloway was assigned  
vnto Caratake but for tearme of his owne life, by  
force of the emperours grant, and now by the death  
of the same Caratake was reuerfed againe vnto the  
empire.

The herald had vnnearth done his message, when  
word came vnto Corbreid how an armie of the Ro  
mans under the guiding of Caesius Bassica was  
entred into the marches of Galloway, to the great  
terror of all the inhabitants, doubting to be spoiled  
and robbed on ech hand. These newes put the herald  
in danger of his life, had not Corbreid vpon regard  
to the law of armes licenced him to depart. The  
host which Corbreid brought with him into Gallo  
way, he bestowed in castles and fortresses abroad in  
the countrie for more safegard, but he himselfe rode  
in all hast vnto Eptake, to haue the aduise and aid of  
one Vennusius that had married the forenamed Car  
timandua that unkind stepmother of Caratake, as  
ye haue heard before. This Vennusius was of coun  
sell with his wife Cartimandua in the betrailing of  
king Caratake, and therefore was growne into  
much hatred of the people for that fact, but through  
support of the Romans he was for a time defended  
from all their malices. Notwithstanding in the end  
being wearied of the proud government of the Ro  
mans, he revolted from them vnto Corbreid. Where  
with his wife being offended, found means to ap  
prehend both him and his brethren with certaine of  
his kinsfolks, and laied them fast in prison.

But now Corbreid at his comming thither, did  
not onlie set them at libertie, but also take & cau  
sed Cartimandua to be buried quickie. In the meane

while a certaine number of Scots distressed a few  
foragers of the Romans, but following the chase  
somewhat rashlie, they were inclosed by the enimies  
and slaine. This mishance put the Scots in great  
feare, and the Romans in good successe, so that Pa  
fica was in purpose to haue assailed a certaine  
strong place, wherein a number of the Scottishmen  
were gotten, and had fortified the entrees, had not  
other newes altered his purpose, for hearing how an  
other armie of the Scots was ioined with the Picts,  
and were approached within three miles of him, he  
brought his host forth into a plaine where he ordered  
his battels readie to receiue them. Whereof the  
Scottishmen hauing knowledge, hastied forth to  
wards him, and were no sooner come in sight of the  
Romans, but that with great violence they gaue  
the onfet, most fierclie beginning the battell, which  
continued till sun-setting with great laughter on  
both sides; at what time the Romans were at the  
point to haue discomfited their enimies, had not  
those Scottishmen which were left in fortresses (as  
is said) abroad in the countrie, come at that selfe  
instant to the aid of their fellowes, by whose means  
the battell was renewed againe, which lasted till the  
mirke night parted them in sunder. The Romans  
withdrew to their campe, and the Scots and Picts  
got by into the mountains.

Shortlie after a peace was concluded betwixt the  
parties, with these conditions; that the Romans  
should content themselves with that which they had  
in possession before the beginning of these last wars,  
and suffer Corbreid to inioy all such countries as his  
brother Caratake held. And likewise the Picts pay  
eng their former tribut for the finding of such gar  
isons of Romans as late at Camelon, they should  
be no further charged with anie other exactions.  
Moreover it was agreed, that neither the Scots nor  
Picts from thenceforth should receiue or succour a  
nie rebels of Frenchmen or Britains, nor should  
aid by anie maner of means the inhabitants of the  
Ile of Man, who had done manie notable displea  
sures to the Romans during the last warres. This  
peace continued a six peares during the life of Aulus  
Didus, who at the end of those six peares, depar  
ted this life at London, leauing behind him all  
things in good quiet.

After his deceasse the emperour Nero, who succe  
ded Claudius, appointed one Verraninus to be  
lieutenant of Britaine, a man verie ambitious and  
much desirous of honor, by means whereof, in hope  
to aduance his name, he sought occasions to haue  
warres with the Scottishmen; and at length hearing  
that certaine of them being borderers had fetched  
booties out of Ireland, he did send a great power of  
Romans to make a rode into the next marches of  
the Scots, from whence they brought a great spoile,  
both of men and of goods. With which iniuries the  
Scots being moued, fought daillie in semblable sort  
to be reuenged, so that by such means the warre  
was renewed. But before anie notable encounter  
chanced betwixt them, Verraninus died. His last  
wordes were full of ambitious boasts, wishing to  
haue liued but two peares longer, that he might  
haue subdued the whole Ile of Albion vnto the Ro  
mane empire, as if he might haue had so much time  
he doubted not to haue done.

Paulinus Suetonius succeeded in his place, a  
man of an excellent wit, and verie desirous of peace.  
He first confirmed the ancient league with Cor  
breid king of Scotland: a recompense being made  
in euerie behalfe for all wrongs & iniuries done on  
euerie part. After this (as Hector Boetius hath ga  
thered) he conquered the Ile of Man; but for so much  
as by probable reasons it is apparant inough, that

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life.Paulinus  
Suetonius  
conquered  
the Ile of Man  
but for so much  
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that

it was not Span, but the Ile of Angleſeic which the Britains name Môn, and at this time was subdued by Suetonius, we haue here omitted to make report thereof, referring you to the place in the English chronicle, where we haue spoken sufficientlie after that ſort Suetonius both attempted & attempted this enterpriſe, which being brought to end, he was ſent for into Gallia, to reſpeſſe certaine tumults raiſed among the people there. In whoſe abſence the Britains thinking to haue a meet time for their purpoſe, moued a new rebellion. But by the relation of Cornelius Tacitus, this chanced whileſt Suetonius was buſie in requiring the Ile of Angleſeic, as in the English chronicle it likewiſe appeareth, with the ſtrange fights and wonders which happened about the ſame time, whereupon the ſoutherly ſailers (as Hecſtor Boetius ſaith) declared that the Romans ſhould receiue a great ouerthrow. Upon truſt of whoſe words the Picts and other Britains inhabiting Camelon and in the marches thereof, ſet upon ſuch Romans as inhabited there, and ſlew a great number of them per they were in doubt of anie rebellion. The reſidue which eſcaped, got them into an old church, where they were ſlaine echm others ſonne.

The Scots and Picts kill the Romans.

Petilius Cerealis his men being ſlaine returned.

Catus the procurator of Britaine fled into France.

Quene Moada deſireth aid of hir brother Corbreid.

Charanach king of the Picts.

The Romans ſlaine.

Dutchmen arrive in Scotland.

Also Petilius Cerealis comming with a legion of footmen and a troope of horſemen to their ſuccours, was incountered by the Picts, & being put to flight, loſt all his footmen, hardlie eſcaping himſelfe with the horſemen to the campe. Shortly after he toke vp his tents and returned towards Kent, where Catus the procurator or receiuer (as I may call him) of Britaine as then ſoiourned, who vnderſtanding how the whole Ile was on ech ſide in an vprore, fled ouer into France then called Gallia. This meane while quene Moada ſent vnto hir brother Corbreid king of Scotland, requiring his aid againſt the Romans, who had ſo vſlie ſlew hir and hir daughters, to the great diſhonour of hir and all hir linage, and now was the time to be reuenged of ſuch injuries, the whole nation of the Britains through the conſent dealing of the procurator Catus, being riſen in armes to recouer their ancient liberties.

Corbreid being highlie diſpleaſed towards the Romans for the euill intreating of his ſiſter, determined either to ſee hir ſatiſfied by worthy recompence, or elſe to be reuenged on them that had miſuſed hir: and hereof gaue ſignification vnto Catus the procurator that was as then returned into Britaine with a power of men of warre. Corbreid receiving but a ſcornfull anſwere from him, found meane to ioin in league with Charanach king of the Picts, and gathering together a mightie armie of one & other, purſued the Romans and their associates, ſlaing downe a wonderfull number of them. He alſo burned and deſtroyed diuers towneſ, ſuch as in keeping their allegiance to the Romans ſtood earneſtly to their deſe, as Beruicke and Carleill with others. About the ſame ſeaſon there arrived in the ſouth a number of Dutch ſhips, fraught with people of Herherne or Polonia, a region in Germany ſituate betwixt Bohemia and Hungarie. They were driuen out of their owne countrie by the Romans, and aſſembling together vnder a famous capteine named Roderike, came down to the mouth of the Rhene, where making ſhift for veſſels, they toke the ſeaſ to ſeeke them ſome new habitations; and thus arriving in Iſeland, were ſoſullie receiued of the Picts and Scots, for that they were reputed right valiant men, and glad to reuenge their owne injuries againſt the Romans. ſpecially with the Picts they were much eſtimated, for that they came forth of the ſame countrie from whence their anceſtors were deſcended.

Their huge bodies and mightie limbs did greatly commend them in the ſight of all men before whom they moſtered, ſo that comming to the place where the kings of Scots and Picts were incamped with their people readie to march forth towards the enemies, they were highlie welcomed, and upon their offer receiued into companie, and appointed to go forth in that iournie, in aid of quene Moada againſt the Romans. With this Moada was aſſembled a mightie hoſt of the Britains, amongſt whom were ſix thousand women, whole bent to reuenge the villanies done to their perſons by the Romans, or to die in the paine. And for this purpoſe were they come well appointed with armour and weapons, to be the firſt that ſhould giue the onſet. Moada hearing of hir brothers approach with the king of Picts and their armies, met them on the waie accompanied with a great number of the nobles of Britaine, and brought them to hir campe with great joy and triumph.

After taking aduiſe how to behaue themſelues in their enterpriſe, they thought it good to make haſt to fight with the procurator Catus, yer anie new power of men of warre might come to his aid forth of Gallia now called France. Whereupon marching towards him, they met together in the field, where betwixt them was ſtriken a right ſierce and cruell battell; but in the end the horſemen of the Romans part being put to flight, the footmen were beaten downe on ech ſide; Catus himſelfe being wounded, eſcaped verie hardlie by flight, and ſhortly after got him ouer into France. The Scots and Picts with other the Britains, hauing atchieued this victorie, purſued their enemies from place to place, ſo that there died by the ſword, what in the battell and elſewhere in the chaſe, ſeuente hundred Romans and other ſtrangers, which ſerued amongſt them; and of Scots, Picts, and other Britains, were ſlaine thirtie thouſand.

The gouernour Suetonius being then in Gallia, hearing of this ouerthrow, & in what danger things ſtood in Britaine, by reaſon of the ſame, came ouer with two legions of ſouldiers, and ten thouſand of other Britains as aides to thoſe legions. Moada the quene vnderſtanding of his arrival, aſſembled againe hir people, and ſent vnto the Scots and Picts to come to hir aid: who together with the Pictians came with all ſpeed vnto hir. When they were thus aſſembled, Britains, Scots, Picts, & Pictians on one part, and Romans with their aides on the other, they marched forth to incounter together with deliberat minds to trie the matter by dint of ſword, being earneſtly exhorted thereto by their gouernours on either ſide. So that ioining puſſance againſt puſſance, they fought a right cruell battell, manie in the beginning being ſlaine and borne downe on both ſides. But in the end the victorie abode with the Romans, the Britains with other the Albans were chaſed out of the field. There were ſlaine of them at the point of foure ſcore thouſand perſons, as Tacitus writeth. The more part of the Pictians, together with their capteine Roderike, were in that number. Moada the quene, doubting to come into the hands of hir enemies, ſlew hir ſelfe. Two of hir daughters were taken priſoners, and brought armed, euen as they were found fighting in the battell, vnto Suetonius.

The eldeſt of them within a ſew moneths after was married vnto a noble Roman named Arius, who had beſloured hir before time. He was alſo created king of Britaine by the emperours authoritie, that thereby the ſtate of the countrie might be reduced vnto a better quiet. He ſe to lie moſt an end in the parties of Berdalc, and named a part thereof

Quene Moada deſireth aid of hir brother Corbreid.

Women come with the quene in aid.

The Romans are put to flight and overthrown.

Catus was ſlaine.

70000 Romans ſlaine, and 30000 Britains.

Moada aſſembled an armie againſt the Romans.

The Romanes overthrew the Scots and Picts.

The Pictians ſlaine all Moada ſlew hir ſelfe.

The Romans were made king.

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(where he passed the most part of his time altogether in hunting) Williamland, after his owne name, though afterwards, when the Romans were expelled, a portion of the same adjoining next unto the Scots was called Cumberland. The Pozauians which escaped from the discomfiture, had that portion of Scotland assigned forth unto them to inhabit in, that lieth betwixt the rivers of Forne and Speie, called euen vnto this day Murray land. Corbzeid being thus ouerthrowne, and hauing his power greatlie infeebled thereby, passed the residue of his life in quietnesse. For the Romans being troubled with ciuill warres, needed neither with the Scots nor Pias, but onlie studied to keepe the south parts of Britaine in due obedience. Finallie Corbzeid departed this world, after he had reigned 34 yeares, and was buried amongst his elders nere vnto Dunstaffage, with manie obelisks set by about him.

After Corbzeid succeeded one Dardan, which for his huge stature was afterward surnamed the great. He was lineally descended fro Metellane, who was his great grandfather. The nobles and commons of the realme chose him to be their king, onlie for the good opinion they had conceived of him in his predecessors daies, by whome he was had in great estimation, and had atchiued vnder him manie woorthie enterprises, so that he was thought most meetest for the roime, considering the sonnes of Corbzeid were not as yet come vnto ripe yeares to insup the same. For the said Corbzeid had three sons in all, Corbzeid, Tulcane, and Wzæke. The eldest had bene brought by with Moada, quene of the Britains, whereby he had learned the maners and vices of the British nation, and thereupon was surnamed Wzæke; for so do the Scottishmen vse euen vnto this day to name anie of their owne countreymen that hath learned the courtelie and maners of strange countries.

But to returne to Dardan, in the beginning of his reigne he gouerned the estate by good indifferent iustice, but after he had continued therein by the space of two yeares, he began to fall into all kinds of vices, removing from offices such as were upright bearers of themselves in the same, and aduancing to their places bzibers and extortioners. The nobles he had in suspect, fauoring onlie such as though flatterie were by him preferred. And where he was browened beyond all the terms of honestie in fleshlie and sinfull lust, yet was his countenance so great, that all was to little which he might lay hands vpon. He also put to death diuers honorable personages, such as he perceived to grudge at his doings. He likewise purposed to haue made away the sonnes of his predecessor Corbzeid, but his traitorous practise being disclosed, the most part of the nobles and commons of the realme rebelled against him, and sending for Corbzeid Wzæke the eldest sonne of the former Corbzeid, remaining as then in the Ile of Man (where he should haue bene murdered) they chose him to their king. And at length beating do wne all such as made resistance, they got that cruell tyrant Dardan into their hands, & bringing him forth before the multitude, they caused his head to be openlie stricken off. This was the 81 yeare after the birth of our Saviour, being the first of the emperor Domitian, & the fourth complet of his owne reigne ouer the Scottishmen.

Corbzeid Wzæke being thus chosen (as I haue said) to succeed in the government of Scotland after Dardan, is called by Cornelius Tacitus Calgacus, a prince of comelie personage, and of right noble port. In the first beginning of his reigne he punished such as had bene furtherers of his predecessors mis

gouernement, and afterwards he passed over into the westerne Isles, where he appeased certeine rebels, which went about to disquiet the state of the common-wealth there. From thence he sailed vnto the Isles of Lewis and Skie, and put to death certeine offenders that would not be obedient vnto their gouernors and iudges. After this he returned by Kofse, and set a stay also in that countrie, touching certeine misdoers of the people there. To be short, he purged the whole realme of all such robbers, theues, and other the like offenders against the quiet peace of his subiects, as were hugelie increased by the licentious rule of his predecessor Dardan, and here vnto he was mightilie aided by the Pozauians, who pursued such offenders most earnestlie, and brought in vnto him no small number of them, euer as they caught them.

By this meanes was the state of the common-wealth brought into better quiet, and the yeare next ensuing, being the third of Wzæke his reigne, he called a councell at Dunstaffage, wherein he laboured much for the abrogating of the wicked lawes instituted by king Ewin, as before is partly specified; but he could not obtaine more, than that poxe men from thenceforth should haue their wiues free vnto themselves, without being abused from time to time indifferently by their landlords, as heretofore they had bene. Whilest he was thus buised about the establishing of holsonne orders & statutes for the welth of his subiects, word was brought him that Petilius Cerealis a Romane capteine, being sent from Cæsar, the emperor to haue the gouernment of Britaine, was landed with a puissant armie in the countrie, and minded shortly to inuade the borders of his realme, as Annandale and Galloway.

With these newes Wzæke being somewhat afflicted, thought good to vnderstand the certentie of the enimies doings, befoze he made anie sturre for the leuening of his people, and therefore appointed certeine light horsemen to ride forth, and to bring certeine newes of that which they might heare or see: who at their returne declared that the enimies armie was abroad in the fields, vpon the borders of Wzæke land, and had giuen the Pias already a great ouerthrow; and further, how they were turned westward on the left hand, in purpose to enter into Galloway. Wzæke being thus certified of the Romans approach towards his countrie, determined to giue them battell, befoze they entered into the inner parts of his realme, and therefore with all speed he assembled his people, to the number of fiftie thousand men, all such as were able to beare armor, being ready to repaire vnto him in such present necessitie for defense of their countrie.

It hath bene reported, that as he marched forth towards his enimies, sundrie strange sights appeared by the way. An eagle was scene almost all a whole day, flying vp and downe ouer the Scottish armie, euen as though she had laboured hir selfe wearie. Also an armed man was scene flying round about the armie, and suddenlie vanished away. There fell in like manner out of a darke cloud in the fields, through the which the armie should passe, diuerse kinds of birds that were spotted with blood. These monstrous sights troubled mens minds diuerslie, some construing the same to signifie god successe, and some otherwise. Also the chiefest captains amongst the Scots were not all of one opinion, for some of them weleng the great force of the Romane armie, being the greatest that euer had bene brought into their countrie befoze that day, counselled that they shuld in no wise be fought with, all, but rather to suffer them to wearte themselves, till bittels and other prouision should faile them, and then

See more of him in England.

Wald punieth such as disturb the quiet state of his subiects.

The Pozauians help to apprehend tyuens and offenders.

Wald laboureth to abrogate wicked lawes.

Petilius Cerealis a Romane capteine sent by Cæsar into Britaine.

The Ordnances and Wzækes mistaken by the Scottish writers.

The Pias ouerthrowne by the Romans.

The Romans purpose to enter into Galloway. Wzæke determineth to fight with the Romans.

Strange sights appere to the Scottish armie.

The Scots not all of one mind.

then to take the aduantage of them, as occasion serued.

Other were of a contrarie mind, iudging it best (with the puillance of the whole realme was assembled) to giue battell, least by deferring time, the courage and great desire, which the people had to fight, should waxe faint and decaye: so that all things considered, it was generallie in the end agreed vpon to giue battell, and so coming within sight of the enemies host, they made readie to encounter them. At the first the Scots were somewhat amazed with the great multitude of their aduersaries, but through the cherefull exhortations of their king, and other their captains, their stomachs began to reuiue, so that they boldlie set vpon the Romans, whereof ensued betwixt them a right fierce and cruell battell, howbeit in the end the victorie inclined to the Romans, and the Scots were chased out of the field. Wald himselfe was wounded in the face, yet escaped he out of the battell, but not without great danger in deed, by reason the Romans pursued most egerlie in the chase.

There were slaine of the Scottishmen (as their chronicles report) above twelue thousand, and of the Romans about six thousand. This victorie being thus atchiued, the Romans got possession of Epiake with the greatest part of all Galloway, and passed the residue of that yere without anie other notable exploit: but in the summer following, Petilius the Romane gouernor, went about to subdue the rest of the countrey, the Scots oftentimes making diuerse skirmishes with him, but in no wise durst ioine with them, puillance against puillance, least they should haue put their countrey into further danger, if they had chanced effionces to haue received the ouerthrow.

¶ Here haue we thought good to aduertise the reader, that although the Scottish writers impute all the trauels, which Petilius spent in subduing the Brigants, and Frontinus in conquering the Silures, to be imployed chiefe against Scots & Picts: the opinion of the best learned is wholie contrarie thereto, affirming the same Brigants & Silures not to be so far north by the distance of manie miles, as Hector Boetius and other his countenmen doe place them, which thing in the historie of England we haue also noted, where ye may read more of all the doings of the Romans here in Britaine, as in their writers we find the same recorded. But neuertheless we haue here followed the course of the Scottish historie, in manner as it is written by the Scots themselves, not binding anie man more in this place than in other to credit them further than by conference of authors it shall seeme to them expedient.

In the meane time then, whilst Petilius was occupied (as before ye haue hard) in the conquest of Galloway, Moadicia the daughter of Arutragus (whom the Romans had before time misused, as before in this treatise is partly touched) gathered together a crew of souldiours within the Ile of Man, partie of the inhabitants, and partie of such Scottishmen of Galloway as were fled thither for succor: with these she toke the seas, and landing in Galloway, vpon purpose to reuenge hir iniuries in times past received at the Romans hands, she set vpon their tents in the night season, when they looked for nothing lesse than to be disquieted, by reason whereof they were brought into such disorder, that if Petilius had not caused such fierbrands to be kindled as he had prepared and dressed with pitch, rosen and tallois, for the like purpose, the whole campe had bene in great danger: but these torches or fierbrands gaue not onlie light to see where to make resistance, but also being cast in the faces of the enemies, staked their har-

dic for wardnesse, whereby the Romans hauing leasure to place themselves in arrais, defended the entries of their campe, till the day was spung, and then giuing a full onset vpon their enemies, they put them quite to flight.

But Moadicia not herewith discouraged, hasted with all speed vnto Epiake, and taking that citie she set fire on it, and slue such Romans as she found there, whereof Petilius being certified, sent forth a legion against hir to withstand hir attempts. Those that had the charge of them that were thus sent, used such diligence, that lateng an ambush for hir in a place fit for that purpose, they so inclosed hir, that slaieng the most part of hir company, she was taken prisoner hir selfe, and being brought aliuie vnto Petilius, vpon hir stout answer made vnto him, as he questioned with hir about hir bold enterprises, she was presentlie slaine by the souldiours.

Anon after Petilius was certified, that the inhabitants of the Ile of Wight, with other southerne Britains, had raised a commotion against king Marius, so that without speedie succors they were like to driue him out of his kingdome: wherevpon he hasted thither with all conuenient speed, and subduing the rebels, set all things there in good order and staie, and so remaining there till the next yere after, he fell sicke of the flux and died. Immediatlie wherevpon the emperour sent one Julius Frontinus to succeed in his place. This Frontinus brought with him two legions of souldiours, and after he had taken order with king Marius for the keeping of the Britains in due subiection of the empire, he purposed to bring such vnto obedience, as inhabited within and beyond the woods of Calidon, and as yet not banquished by anie man.

Therefore entring first into Galloway, and bisseting such garrisons of the Romans, as Petilius had left there for the keeping of that quarter, he commended their loialtie and diligence, in that they had looked so well to their charge, that the enimie had gained no aduantage at their hands, whilst the armie was occupied in the south parts about other affaires there. He also sent an herald vnto the king of the Picts with letters, requiring him to renew by confirmation the former league betwixt his people & the Romans, & not by any means to aid the Scots as before they had done to their great losse & hindrance. Herunto the king of Picts mudy suspecting the matter, made a direct answer, that he saw no cause why he should in fauor of the Romans suffer his confederates the Scots to be subdued, and brought to destruction without all reason or equitie: and therefore he was determined by the aduise of his peeres & counsellors, to aid the Scots against such as sought nothing but the meanes how to bring the whole Ile of Albion into thraldome and serule bondage.

Frontinus little regarding this vntowardlie answer, set forward to subdue such Scots as were yet disobedient. And so entring into the borders of Aile, Carrike, and Coningham, had diuers skirmishes with such as king Wald had assembled to defend his countrey, but forsomuch as he was diseased with sickness, he was at length constrained to withdraue himselfe into Argile, leauing his poluer behind him to resist the enemies attempts: but shortly after his departure from amongst them, they were fought withall by the Romans, and discomfited, three thousand of them being slaine in the field. By reason of which overthrow those countreies submitted themselves to the Romans, perceiuing no hope otherwise how to escape that present danger.

These Scots of Carrike, Aile, and Coningham, being thus brought into subiection, the armie was licenced to withdraue to their lodgings for the winter

The Scots agree to fight with the Romans.

The Scots are discomfited.

The citie called Epiake is won by the Romans.

The Scots durst not fight any field with the Romans.

Touching all the doings of the Romans in Britaine ye shall find sufficientie in the historie of England.

Moadicia reuenged wars with the Romans.

The Romane campe assailed in the night by Moadicia.

Epiake is taken & burned by Moadicia.

Moadicia is slaine.

The Britains rebel.

The Britains are appeased.

Petilius the Romane is gat death.

Julius Frontinus sent into Britaine.

The Silures mistaken for Scottishmen.

Frontinus purpoeth to pursue the conquest of the Silures who the Scots mistake for Gallowaymen.

Frontinus requireth to ioine in arms with the Picts.

The Picts being refused to be in league with the Romans.

Gold refines the Romans.

By reason of sickness he withdraueth to Argile.

They laboure themselves to the Romans.

Agicola is sent into Britaine.

Agicola is sent into Britaine.

Agicola is sent into Britaine.

Agicola is sent into Britaine.

Agicola is sent into Britaine.

Agicola is sent into Britaine.

Agicola is sent into Britaine.

Frontinus being bereaved with sickness returneth to Rome.

Julius Agri-

cola is sent into Britaine.

The Scots of Annandale meet to ouer-

the Romans.

Agicola perceiveth to go against the Scots.

Barraich & the Picts are committed by the Romans.

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the Ile of Argile is

subdued by Agicola.

Agicola is sent into Britaine.

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Coningham,  
e armie was  
s for the win-  
ter

Epiake to ta-  
hen a burned  
by Alodicia.

Monobela is  
laine.

The Wi-  
tains rebell.

The Wi-  
tains are  
appealed.

Detilius the  
Romane la-  
gat dieth.

Julius Fron-  
tinus sent into  
Britaine.

The Silures  
mistaken for  
Scottishmen.

Frontinus  
purposeth to  
pursue the con-  
quest of the  
Silures who  
the Scots mis-  
take for Gal-  
loway men.

Frontinus  
requereth to  
come in amitt  
with the  
Picts.  
The Pictish  
king refuseth  
to be in league  
with the Ro-  
mans.

Gold resi-  
steth the Ro-  
mans.

By reason of  
sickness he  
withdrew  
to Argile.

They submit  
themselves  
to the Ro-  
mans.

Frontinus  
was sent  
to Britain  
to suppress  
the rebellion  
of the  
Picts.

Julius Agri-  
cola sent  
into Britain  
to suppress  
the rebellion  
of the  
Picts.

Marcellus  
was sent  
to Britain  
to suppress  
the rebellion  
of the  
Picts.

By Scots  
misunder-  
standing  
they were  
mistaken  
for Gal-  
loway men.

Frontinus  
was sent  
to Britain  
to suppress  
the rebellion  
of the  
Picts.

The Isle of  
Argile was  
conquered  
by Agri-  
cola.

They submit  
themselves  
to the Ro-  
mans.

ter season, during the which, Frontinus fell sicke of  
superfluous abundance of flegme, which bereed him in  
such sort, that the emperor Domitian, who as then  
gouverned the Romane empire, sent for him home to  
Rome, and appointed a right ballant personage, one  
Julius Agricola to succed as lieutenant of Bri-  
taine in his come. About the time of whose arrivall  
there, the Scots of Annandale slue a great number  
of the Romans, with which successe they procured al-  
so the Picts with the inhabitants of Galloway, Kile,  
Carrike, and Coningham to rebell.

These newes being reported unto Agricola, he  
made his prouision with all speed to go against them,  
and first entring into the borders of Pictland, he re-  
duced such as inhabited about the confines of Ber-  
wikke to their former subiection, and after marching  
towards the citie of Camelon, Karanach king of the  
Picts incountred him by the waie, but being fierce-  
lie beaten off by the Romans, he fled backe into the  
citie, and within three daies after hauing reinforced  
his power, he effrones gaue battell againe to his e-  
nemies; but then also being vanquished, he lost the  
most part of all his men, and so immediatlie there-  
upon was Camelon towne by force, & a great num-  
ber of the citizens slaine.

Agricola caused it to be newlie fortified, and fur-  
ther through fame of this victorious beginning, he  
recovered the most part of all the castles and fortres-  
ses of Pictland. The forenamed Karanach escaping  
out of that present danger, got him beyond the wa-  
ter of Firth, for the more suertie of his owne person.  
Agricola hauing sped thus in Pictland, marched  
south against them of Annandale, who at the first ma-  
king resistance for a time, at length were confreie-  
ned to giue backe, and so fled to their houses, where  
in the night following by their owne wines they  
were murdered each mothers sonne: for so the wo-  
men of that nation used to put awaie the shame of  
their husbands, when they at any time had fled out of  
the field from their enemies.

Agricola understanding that by winning him  
fame in the beginning, it should be no small further-  
rance unto him for the atching of other enterpri-  
ses in time to come, determined to pursue his good  
fortune, and thereupon prepared to subdue the Ile  
of Man; but wanting vessels to conuey his armie  
ouer, he found meanes that such as could swim, and  
knew the shallow places of that coast, made shift to  
passe the golfe, and so got on land, to the great won-  
der and amazing of the inhabitants, who watched the  
sea coasts, to resist such ships as they looked for,  
to haue arrived upon their shore: but now despairing to  
resist such kind of warriors as endangered them-  
selves to passe the seas in that manner of wise, they  
submitted themselves unto Agricola.

Who taking pledges of them, and appointing cer-  
teine garisons to keepe diuers holds and places of  
defense within that Ile, passed ouer with the residue  
of his people into Galloway, where he sojourned all  
the winter following: which being passed, and sum-  
mer once come, he assembled his men of warre a-  
gaine, and visited a great part of that countrie with  
Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, the inhabitants  
whereof he put in such feare with the onelie sight of  
his warlike armie, disposed in such polittike order  
and wise conduct, that there was none to be found  
that durst aduance themselves to incountre him, so  
that he spent that summers season in keeping safe of  
the Scots as had bene aforetime subdued, from at-  
tempting any commotion. And when winter was  
come, he assembled the nobles of the countie, ex-  
horting them by gentle perswasions, to frame them-  
selves to a ciuill trade of living, as well in building  
of temples, houses, and other edifices after the Ro-

man maner, as also in wearing of comelie and de-  
cent apparell; and about all things to set their chil-  
dren to schoole, to be brought up in eloquence and  
god nurture. By this meanes he thought to traine  
them from their accustomed fiercenesse, and to win  
them the sooner to be content with bondage, though  
he coloured it with neuer so faire a glose of huma-  
nitie.

The third winter being thus spent, and the next  
summer commen vpon, Agricola inuaded such coun-  
tries as were yet vndiscovered by the Romans, en-  
tring by the nether side of Calidon wood, euen unto  
the dolorous mountaine, which afterwards by the  
Scots was cleped Sterling. It was called the do-  
lorous mountaine, for that in the night season there  
was heard right lamentable noise & cries, as though  
the same had bene of some creatures that had be-  
wailed their miserable cases: which vndoubtedlie  
was the craftie illusions of wicked spirits, to keepe  
mens minds still oppressed in blind errors and su-  
perstitious fantasies.

Agricola considering the naturall strength of this  
mountaine, with the site of an old ruinous castell  
that stood thereon, he caused the same with all dili-  
gence to be repaired, and a bidge to be made ouer  
the forth there, by the which he passed with his whole  
armie ouer into Fife: and the date after, hearing  
that the king of the Picts was withdrawne into a  
castell thereby, standing vpon an high mountaine  
cleped Benart, he inuironed the same with a strong  
siege, but he it his hoped prey was not as then with-  
in it, for Karanach king of the Picts, informed of  
the Romans approach, got him forth abroad into the  
fields, and assembling his power, purposed by night  
to haue broken the bidge, which Agricola had made  
ouer the forth at Sterling, but being repelled by  
such as were set there to defend the same, in his re-  
turne from thence he was incountred by Agricola  
himselfe, who being certified of this attempt of his  
enemies, had leuied his siege, and was comming to-  
wards them, so that both the hostes meeting together  
in the fields, there was fought a forebattell betwixt  
them, though in the end the Picts were discomfited,  
and their king the foresaid Karanach chased unto the  
riuer of Tay, where he got a bote, and escaped to the  
further side of that water. By reason of this ouer-  
throw, Agricola brought in subiection those coun-  
tries, which lie betwene the waters of forth and  
Tay, as Fife, Forthlike, and Ernedall, and so iour-  
ning there all the winter following, he built sundrie  
fortresses in places most conuenient for the keeping  
of the inhabitants in their covenanted obedience, af-  
ter his departure from amongst them.

In the meane while, the king of the Picts kept  
him at Dundee, whither resorted unto him a great  
number of the Pictish nobilitie, such as had escaped  
the Romans hands. These comforted their king in  
all that they might, willing him to be of good cheere,  
and to hope well of the recouerie of his losses againe  
by some good fortune, and meanes that might happen  
to come ver ought long, promising to the furtherance  
thereof all that in them late, as well for counsell as  
aid of hand: and hereupon they take aduise which  
waie to worke, in somuch that at length it was by  
great deliberation thought good to seeke for succor at  
the hands of their ancient confederats the Scots,  
and so incontinentlie there were certeine messen-  
gers dispatched with all speed unto Gald the Scottish  
king, requiting him in that common leopordie to  
come in league with his ancient friends the Picts,  
against the ambitious and most cruell Romans, who  
sought nothing else but the utter subiection of the  
whole land of Albion, as manifestlie appeared by their  
proceedings, hauing already occupied and wrong-  
fultie

Kalendar  
wood.  
Agrico-  
la commeth  
to Sterling.

Agricola build-  
eth the castle  
of Sterling  
with the  
bidge.

About  
Benart.

Karanach as-  
saileth Ster-  
ling bidge,  
whiche the Ro-  
mans defend-  
ed.

Karanach is  
effrones  
chased.  
Fife with o-  
ther countries  
brought into  
subiection of  
the Romans.

Karanach  
comforted by  
his nobles.

The Picts  
send for aid to  
king Gald.

Gald prom-  
ised to loine in  
league with  
the Picts  
against the  
Romans.

The Scots  
sea the Ro-  
man souldiers  
lieng in cer-  
teine garisons  
The river of  
Clide, others  
wile called  
Clide.  
Agricola re-  
pelling the  
Scots, could  
not yet win  
the castell of  
Dunbjeton,  
ancientlie  
called Dun-  
cluch, or Al-  
clach.

Agricola  
inmadeth  
Lennor.

Agricola re-  
turneth into  
Pictland, to  
appease a re-  
bellion of the  
people there.  
He returneth  
vnto Clide.

Agricola per-  
sueth his en-  
terprize  
against the  
Scots.

All the Scots  
assemble.

fullie surprised a great part not onlie of the Pictish kingdome, but also of the Scotch dominions, minding still to go forward in such unrighteous conquests, if by timely resistance they were not staied. Gald vpon this request and motion of the Picts gladly consented to ioine his power with theirs, in common defense of both the realmes (against such common enemies as the Romans were esteemed) hauing herewith the assent of all his peers and chiefest counsellors.

Thus whilst the kings of the Scots and Picts were concluding a league together for defense of themselves and their countries, certaine Scots entered into the confines of Bile, Carrike, and Coninghain, and wan diuers fortresses, wherein certaine garisons of Romane souldiers sojourned, whom they slue downe right without all mercie, spoiling the whole countrie. Agricola hauing knowledge hereof, went straightwaies thither with a power, and pursuing them that had done those injuries, some he took amongst the hills and mounteines, whither they fled; and the residue he chased beyond the river of Clide, but the castell of Dunbjeton he could not by any means obtaine, though he assaied to win it euen to the bittermost of his power. It was called in those daies Alcluth, that is to meane: All stone. The Scottishmen being thus driuen backe, Agricola repaired such castles and fortresses as they had ouerthrowne and beaten downe.

In the yeare following, being the first after the first comming of Agricola into Britaine, he caused his ships to be brought about fro the Ile of Wight into the water of Lochfine in Argile, thereby to put his enemies in utter despair of escaping his hands either by water or land: and there vpon passing ouer the river of Clide with his armie, and finding his naue there, he set vpon the countrie of Lennor, in purpose to subdue the same. But after he had made sundrie skirmishes with the inhabitants, he was certified by letters from the gouernor of Camelon, that the Picts were ready to rebell, by reason whereof he left off this enterprize against the Scots, and dreyd backe into Pictland, leauing a part of his armie to keepe possession of the water of Clide, till his returne againe into those parties. At his comming into Pictland, he appeased the rebels with small adoe, punishing the chiefe authors according to their demerits. This done, he returned vnto the water of Clide, lieng all that winter beyond the same, taking order for the gouernment of those parties, in due obedience of the Romane empire.

The summer following he appointed his naue to search alongst by the coast all the hauens and creeks of Argile, and of the Ilands nere to the same. Whilst he by land passing ouer the water of Leuine, went about to conquer townes and castles, though halfe discouraged at the first, by reason of the rough waies, streit passages, high mounteines, craggy rocks, thicke woods, deepe marshes, fens and moles, with the great riuers which with his armie he must needs passe, if he minded to attaine his purpose: but the old souldiers being inured with paines and trauell, ouercame all these difficulties by the wise conduct of their worthy generall and other the capitains and so inuading the countrie took townes and castles, of the which some they beat downe and rased, and some they fortified and trusted with garisons of men of warre.

About the same time by commandement of King Gald, and other the gouernors of Scotland, all the able men of Cantire, Lorne, Murray land, Rugemarch, also those of the western Iles, & of all other parties belonging to the Scottish dominions, were appointed to assemble and come together in Atholl, at

a place not passing five miles distant from the castell of Calidon now cleped Dunkeld, there to abide the comming of Karanach king of the Picts, to the end that joining together in one armie, they might work some high exploit. But he hauing assembled fiftie thousand of his men of war, as he marched alongst by the mounteine of Granzbene, in times past cleped Mons Crampius, there chanced a mutinie amongst his people, so that falling together by the

10 eares, Karanach himselfe comming amongst them unarmed as he was to part the fraie, was slaine presently at vnwares, by one that knew not what he was. By reason of which mischance that iourne was broken, for the Picts being utterly amazed and discomforted herewith, slaked and departed asunder.

Gald with his Scots now being thus disappointed of the Picts his chiefe aid, durst not leopord to trie the chance of battell with the enemies, but determined with light skirmishes, and by withholding of 20 vittels out of their walke, to stop them from further proceeding in conquest of the countrie, & in the mean time to provide against the next summer new aid and succors to keepe the field, and so to encounter with them, puissance against puissance, if they remained so long in the countrie. The Scots resting vpon this resolution, thought good to send some honorable ambassage vnto the Picts to moue them vnto mutuall agreement & concord amongst themselves, whereby they might be able to resist the common ruine of their countrie as then in present danger to be oppressed by the Romans.

Those that were sent on this message, did so diligently behaue themselves, in bringing the purpose to passe, that the Picts in the end agreed to ioine in friendlie amitie one with another, and to chuse one 40 Carnard to their king to succede in the roome of Karanach. They also confirmed the former league with the Scots, and by their procurement sent messengers vnto the Postwegians and Danes, requiring them of aid against the Romans the common enemies of all such nations as loued to liue in libertie, wherefore the same were inhabiting in anie part on the whole face of the earth. There were also sent 50 ambassadors vnto the Irishmen from the Scots for the same intent, and from both those places there was great aid promised, as fro them that esteemed themselves halfe bound by a naturall respect, to succor such as were descended of the same ancestors and countries that they were of, and now like to be expelled out of the seats which their forefathers had got possession in by iust title of conquest, and left the same vnto their posteritie to enjoy for ever.

Whilst these things were thus in doing, Galdus diuiding his armie into sundrie parts, did what was possible to resist all the attempts of the Romans. 60 Who standing in doubt of his puissance, rather through fame thereof, than for anie apparant sight or other knowledge had, durst not put themselves in danger to enter into Calidon wood, of all that summer; and the winter following was so extreame, by reason of frost, snow, and coldnesse of aire, that they were not able to enterprize anie exploit on neither part: howbeit the summer was no longer come (being the seauenth after the comming of Agricola into Britaine) but that they prepared to inuade one another againe with all their forces.

Joseph of Ireland there came (according as was promised) a great power of men of warre, and loined with an armie of Scottishmen in Atholl, being there already assembled in great numbers out of all the quarters of the Scottish dominions. Thither came also Carnard king of the Picts with his power. All which forces being thus assembled together by common agreement amongst them, Gald king of the

Karanach  
king of the  
Picts  
slaine by  
one of his  
owne  
soldiers.

An ambassa-  
dor sent  
fro the  
Picts  
to the Scots.

The Picts  
brought  
agreement  
amongst  
themselves.

Agricola dis-  
cusseth his  
enemies.

Ambassadors  
sent vnto the  
Danes and  
Irishmen  
for aid.

The Ro-  
mans passe  
through Cal-  
idon wood ouer  
the river of  
Atholl.

The Scots  
burne the  
line of  
Caline.

The place  
where Ca-  
line stood is  
called by the  
inhabitants  
of this date  
Inchtyhill.

An aid of  
Irishmen  
came  
to the  
assistance  
of the Scots.

Gald chosen  
to be generall  
against the  
Romans.

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thos  
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den

Gald setteth  
vpon one part  
of his enemies  
with night.

Agricola com-  
meth to the  
succors of his  
men.

Agricola dis-  
cusseth his  
enemies.

Ambassadors  
sent vnto the  
Danes and  
Irishmen  
for aid.

The Ro-  
mans passe  
through Cal-  
idon wood ouer  
the river of  
Atholl.

The Scots  
burne the  
line of  
Caline.

The place  
where Ca-  
line stood is  
called by the  
inhabitants  
of this date  
Inchtyhill.

An aid of  
Irishmen  
came  
to the  
assistance  
of the Scots.

Gald chosen  
to be generall  
against the  
Romans.

The Ger-  
mans coming  
to relieve the  
Romans re-  
sist against  
their captain  
and leaders.

the castell abide the to the end night work ed fifteen past cle mutinie a her by the right them Name pre ot what he urnie was ed and dis d asunder. disappointed ard to trie it determini- zing of om further a the mean r new aid encounter if they re its resting some hono- them into hemfelves, unmon ru- inger to be

e, did so dif- eir purpose to soine in o chose one ome of ka- leage with nt messen- , requiring unmon en- in libertie, n anie part re also sent e Scots for laces there at esteemed spect, to suc- e ancestors w like to be fathers had , and lest the

ing, Calbus d what was e Romans. nce, rather ant fight o emfelves in all that sum- tream, by e, that they t on neither er come (be Agricola in uade one an

ding as was arre, and lo- tholl, being hers out of ns. Whither uth his pow- d together by Cald king of the

Karanach h, of the Idias Name by mif, fortune of one of his owne subiecs.

In umbelags fro the Scots to the Idias.

The Idias brought to agreement amongst them selves.

Indubitable sent unto the Danes and Brits.

The same of Cald buter- fance putter the Romans in feare.

An aid of Brits men com- to the succor of the Scots.

Caldo setteth upon one part of the enemies with might.

Agriola comes with the lumps of his men.

Agriola de- clareth his names.

The Ro- mans passe through Cal- idon wood over the river of Dundee.

The Idias comes the day of Cald, and the day of the Idias is called by the Romans the day of the Idias.

The Ger- mans coming to the Idias, and the Idias coming to the Ger- mans.

the Scots was chosen to be their generall, who hearing that Agricola with his host was entered into Kalendar wood, divided the whole armie into three battels, and so marched forth towards the enemies in purpose to encounter them. Agricola being of this advertised by spies, parted his people also into three wards, doubting to be inclosed within some comber some place by reason of the great multitude of his enemies, that were esteemed to be in number about 50000 of one and other.

Cald on the other side understanding by spies this order of the Romans, in the dead of the night setteth upon one of those legions, which was lodged next unto him, and finding meanes to clea the watch, was entered into the enemies lodgings, before they had any knowledge of his coming, so that the fight was right fierce & cruell even among the Romans tents and lodgings. But Agricola being certified of this enterprise of the Scots, sent forth with all speed a certaine number of light horsemen and footmen to assaile them on the backs, & so to keepe them occupied, till he might come with all the residue of his people to the rescue. They that were thus sent, accomplishing their enterprise according to the devise in that behalfe appointed, gave a right fierce & stout charge upon the Scots and Idias, greatlie to the reliefe of those that were by them assailed, and withall fore- amazed and disordered by reason of the enemies sudden invasion.

By this meanes the fight continued right fierce and cruell on all sides, till at length the daie beginning to apere, shewed to the Scots and Idias the plaine view of the whole Romane armie, approaching under the conduct of Agricola, to the succour of his people, being thus in danger to be distressed. Herewith were the Scots and Idias put in such feare, that immediatlie they fell to running awaie towards the woods and bogs, the accustomed places of their refuge. This overthrow did so abash both the Scots and Idias, that they durst attempt no more the fortune of battell, till they had some aid out of Denmarke, but onelie did what they could to defend their towncs and countrie, by making sundrie raifes upon their enemies, as occasion and oportunitie served. But the Romans, supposing nothing to be hard for their undaunted valiancie, but that they were able to overcome whatsoeuer should stand at defiance against them, determined at length to find an end of the Isle of Albion, and so passing thorough Kalendar wood, and over the river of Almond, they pitched their field nere to the river of Taie, not far from the castell named Calidon or Kalendar.

The Idias, by reason that their enemies were lodged so nere to the confines of their countrie, doubting what might follow thereof, burned the citie of Tuline, least the same enemies chancing to take it, should furnish it with some garrison of men, to the great danger of the whole Idias kingdome. This citie stood upon the banke of Taie, right beautifullie built, with many faire castles and towres, as may appere even unto this daie by the old ruines thereof, strong rather by the workemans hands, than by nature. The Scottishmen in our time call the place Induthill. All their wives and children they removed unto the mountains of Gransbene for their more securitie and safegard.

About the same time the Romans were not a little disquieted, by reason of a mutinie which chanced amongst such Germans as were appointed to come over to Agricola, as a new supplie to furnish by such numbers as were decayed in his armie. These slauing their capteine, and such other Romans as were appointed to haue the order of them for their training in warlike feats at the beginning, as the ma-

ner was, got certeine pinnesses which they happened upon in the river of Thames, and sailing about the east and north coasts of this Ile, arrived in Taie water, offering themselves to the Scots and Idias to serue against the Romans, whose malice they deead for their offense committed if they should returne into their owne countries, which laie about the mouth of the Rhene, and was as then subiect to the Romane empire, the inhabitants in those daies being cloyed Idipites, the which (as some suppose) inhabited Cleueland and Gullie.

Their offer was accepted most thankesfullie, and places appointed for them to inhabit amongst the Burraies, because they were defended as it were of one nation. Whilst these things were thus a doing, there came also the long wished aid from the Danes and Norwegians, to the number of ten thousand men, under the leading of one Gildo. This Gildo with his name first arrived in the frith betwixt Hfe and Louthian, but for that the Romans kept him off from landing there, he cast about and came into the river of Taie, where he landed all his people, for provision whereof he had good store both of vittels and armour. Carnard king of the Idias hearing of their arrivall there, forthwith upon the newes departed from Dundee, accompanied with a great number of his nobles, and comming to the place where Gildo with his armie was lodged, received him in most ioyfull wise, feasted and banqueted him and his people, and shewed them all the tokens of most hartie love and friendship that could be devised. Gildo himselfe was led by the king unto Dundee, and lodged with him there in the castell, his people were prouided for abroad in the countrie in places most for their ease, to refresh themselves the better after their painfull iourne by the seas.

Shortlie after there came unto Dundee the Scottish king Cald, who for his part did all the honour that in him lay unto Gildo, shewing himselfe most ioyfull and glad of his coming, yielding unto him and his people such thanks and congratulations as served best to the purpose, and received no lesse at his and their hands againe. After they had remained thus certeine daies together at Dundee, both the kings Cald & Carnard, together with this Gildo, went unto the castell of Fofare, there to consult with their capteins and gouernours of their men of warre, how to mainteine themselves in their enterprise against the enimie. At length they resolved not to go forth into the field till the winter season were past, for doubt of the inconuenience that might insue, by reason of the extreme cold intemperance of the aire, whereto that countrie is greatlie subiect.

In the meane time they took order for the furniture of all things necessarie for the wars, to haue the same in a perfect readines against the next spring, and till then they did appoint onelie to keepe frontier warre, that the Romans should not strae abroad to fetch in vittels and other provisions to their owne gains, and to the vndoing of the poore inhabitants. Upon this determination when the counsell was broken by, Cald withdrew into Atholl, to defend those parties; and Carnard with the Danish general Gildo, furnished all the castles and holds in Angus over against the river of Taie, to stop the passages of the same, that the enemies should enter no further on that side. Thus passed the winter for that yeare, without any great exploit on either part achieved.

In the beginning of the next summer, Agricola appointed his name of ships to saile about the coasts of the furthest parts of Albion, making diligent search of euerie creeke & haven along by the same. The mariners, executing his commandement, sailed

These Idipites first inhabited the parties betwixt the mountains of Hellen and the Rhene, now called Hochtrag, from whence they removed into the nether countries. Danes, and Norwegians, come to aid the Scots and Idias. Gildo is kept off from landing by the Romans. Gildo arriveth in Taie water.

Cornelius Tacitus maketh no mention of any foraine aid to come to the succours of his enemies comprehending them all under the name of Britains.

Carnard the king of Idias ioyfully received Gildo. Cald commeth into Dundee to welcome Gildo.

Cald & Carnard and Gildo assemble a council at Fofare, where they devise how to proceed in their warre.

They determine to rest all the winter, and make frontier warre onelie.

Agricola sendeth forth his name of ships, to discover the furthest points of Britaine northward.

ailed round about the north coast, discovering manie of the wessterne Isles, and likewise those of Orkney, till at length they found out Orkney, being a streit of the sea of twentie miles in breadth, which separateth the Isles of Orkney from the point of Cathness, passing with so swift a course, that without an expert pilot the ships that shall passe the same are oftentimes in great danger, by reason of the contrarie course of the tides. The Romane mariners therefore, finding certeine husbandmen in the north Isles, constrained them to go a shipboard, & to guide them through that streit, promising them high rewards for their labour; but they upon a malicious intent not passing for their owne lives, so they might be reuenged of their enemies in casting away such a notable number of them together with their vessels, entred the streit at such an inconvenient time, that the ships were bozne with violence of the streame against the rocks and shels, in such wise that a number of the same were broken and lost without recouerie.

The Romane ships though want of pilots are lost in Orkney frith.

Agricola making a bridge over Tay water, passeth by the same with his host, and encampeth nere to the foot of the mountaine of Granzbene.

Some of them that were not ouer-hastie to follow the first, seeing the present losse of their fellows, returned by the same way they came vnto Agricola, who in this meane time had caused a bridge to be made over the riuer of Tay, by the which he passed with his whole armie, and incamped on the further side thereof nere to the roots of the mountaine of Granzbene, leaving the bridge garnished with a competent number of souldiers to defend it against the enemies. The Picts being not a little troubled herewith, dispatched forth a messenger with all hast vnto Cald the Scottish king, signifieng vnto him the whole matter, and therupon requied of him aid.

Cald hauing mustered his people aswell Scottish as Irish, assembled them together to the number of fortie thousand persons, what of one and other, and incontinentlie with all speed marcheth forth to come vnto the aid of the Picts, and so within a few daies passing over the mountaine of Granzbene, he arriveth in a ballie beyond the same mountaine, where he findeth the Picts, Danes, and Norwegians incamped together not far off from the host of the Romans. Here taking aduise together, & in the end determining to giue battell, king Cald (vnto whome as before is exprest, the gouernance of the whole was committed) assembling together all the number of the confederats, made vnto them a long and pithie oration, exhorting them in defense of libertie (the most pretious ieuell that man might inioy) to shew their manlie stomachs against them that sought onlie to deprive them of that so great a benefit. And sith they were diuised to the uttermost bounds of their countrie, he perswaded them to make vertue of necessitie, and rather chose to die with honor, than to liue in perpetuall shame & ignominie, which must needs inue to their whole nation, if they suffered themselves to be vanquished in that instant. With these words, or other much what of the semblable effect, Cald so moued the hearts of his people, that they desired nothing but to ioine with their enemies, & to trie it by dint of sword, which they vniuersallie signified according to their accustomed vse with a great noise, shout, and clamor.

On the other part Agricola, though he perceiued a great desire amongst his souldiers to fight, yet he was not negligent on his owne behalfe to incourage them with most cheerefull words and countenance; so that both the armies being thus bent to haue battell, the generals on both parties began to set them in arate. Agricola to the end his armie being the lesser number should not be assailed both a front and on the sides, prouided (by disposing them in a certeine order) a remedie against that disaduan-

tage. On the other side, king Cald by reason of the aduantage which he had in his great multitude and number, ordered his battels thereafter with a long and large front, placing the same vpon the higher ground, of purpose to compasse in the enemies on eich side. At the first approach of the one armie towards the other, the battell was begun right fiercelie with shot of arrows and hurling of darts, which being once past, they ioined together to trie the matter by hand-strokes, wherein the Scots & Picts had one disaduantage, for those that were archers, or (as I may call them) kerns, committing once to fight at hand-blows, had nothing but broad swords and certeine sorte light bucklers to defend themselves with, such as serue to better purpose for men to ride with abroad at home, than to be carried forth into the warres, though the same haue bene so used among the Scottishmen, euen till these our daies.

The Romans therefore being well appointed with armor and broad targets, flue downe right a great number of these Scots and Picts thus slenderlie furnished, without receiuing anie great damage a gaine at their hands, till king Cald appointed his spearmen to step forth before those archers & kerns, to succor them, and therewith also the bilmen came forward, and stroke on so freshlie, that the Romans were beaten downe on heaps, in such wise that they were nere at point to haue bene discomfited, had not a band of Germans (which serued amongst the Romans) rushed forth with great violence vpon the Scottishmen, where most danger appeared, and so restored againe the fainting stomachs of the Romans, whereby the battell renewed on both sides againe right fierce and cruell, that great ruth it was to behold that bloodie fight, and most vnnmercifull murder betwixt them, which continued with more violence on the Scottish side than anie warlike skill, till finallye the night comming on, took the daies light from them both, and so parted the frate. The Romans withdrew to their campe: and the Scots and Picts with their confederats the Danes, Norwegians, and Irishmen, such as were left aliue, got them into the next mounteins, hauing lost in this cruell conflict the most part of their whole numbers.

Cornelius Tacitus agreeth not in all points with the Scottish chronicles, in a booke which he wrote of the life of Julius Agricola, where he intreateth of this battell. For he speaketh but of thirtie thousand men (which he comprehendeth vnder the generall name of Britains) to be assembled at that time against the Romans, making no mention of anie Scots, Picts, Irishmen, Norwegians, or Danes, that should be there in their aid. The number of them that were slaine on the Britains side (as the same Tacitus recounteth) amounted to about ten thousand men, and of the Romans not passing three hundred and fortie. Amongst whom was one Aulus Atticus, a capteine of one of the cohorts. But as the Scottish writers affirme, there died that day of Scots, Picts, and other their confederats at the point of twentie thousand, and of the Romans and such as serued on their side, as good as twelue thousand. Moreover, the night following, when Calvus with the residue of his people which were left aliue was withdrawne to the mounteins, and that the huge losse was vnder stood by the wiues and kindred men of the dead, there began a pitifull noise among them, lamenting and bewailing their miserable case and losses.

But Cald, doubting least the same should come to the eares of some espials, that might lurke nere to the place where he was withdrawne, caused an huge shout and noise to be raised by his people, as though it had bene in token of some reioysing, till the

The Scottish men's Picts broke up their campe.

The Romans pursuing vniuersallie are distressed.

Agricola laboured by Angus and Vortimer there.

Agricola is certified of the purchase of his name.

The Romans set saileth vpon about the north point of Orkney.

Strange things.

Ships seen in the air, he rained vpon.

Donnithan the emperor enuery the prof- persons success of Agricola.

The Scots on occasion vnto the Romans, we forth and them.

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The Scots  
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reason of the  
dint wea  
pons.

A cohort of  
Germania re  
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were at point  
to haue had  
the sword.

The night  
seuereth the  
armies in for  
der & partly  
the froy.  
The Romans  
withdrew to  
their campe,  
the Scots to  
the moun  
teins.

See more  
herof in the  
hystorie of  
England.

The number  
of them that  
were slaine at  
this battell.

women be  
suaile their  
friends

The Scots  
mens disc  
uantage, by  
reason of the  
dint wea  
pons.

The Romans  
mens disc  
uantage, by  
reason of the  
dint wea  
pons.

Agriola sub  
stant Angus  
and wintereth  
him.

Agriola is  
minded of the  
necessitie of  
warre.

The Romans  
mens disc  
uantage, by  
reason of the  
dint wea  
pons.

Agriola  
mens disc  
uantage, by  
reason of the  
dint wea  
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Agriola  
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the women betwailing thus the deith of their friends, might be remoued out of the way. This done, they fell to take counsell what was best to do in this case: and in the end all things considered, it was determined that somewhat before the dawning of the next morrow, euerie man should dislodge and withdraw himselfe into such a place as he thought most meet for his safegard, saue onelie such as were appointed to attend Calo and Garnard into Atholl, whither they minded with all speed to go.

Thus leauing a great number of fiers to dissemble their departure, they dislodged and made awaie with all speed possible. In the morning when their departure was once discovered, a great number of the Romans followed as it had bene in the chase, but some of them vnadvisedly aduenturing too farre forward, were inclosed by their enemies and slaine. Those that wrought this feat got them to the next hills and so escaped. At length, when all the fields and countreies adjoining were discovered, and the same appearing to be quite deliuered of all the ambushments of the enemies, Agricola caused the spoile to be gathered, and after marched forth vnto Angus, where (forasmuch as summer was past) he appointed to winter, and so comming thither and subduing the countreie, he took pledges of the best amongst the inhabitants, and lodged his people about him in places most conuenient.

About the same time Agricola heard newes from his nauie (as then riding at anchor in Argile) what mishap had chanced to the same in Dindal frith. But herewith being not greatly discouraged, he gaue order that the ships that had escaped, should be new rigged and furnished with all necessarie prouision, and manned thoughtlie, both with able mariners and men of war. This done, he appointed them againe to come round about by the Dykenes, and so by along by the east coast: which enterprise they luckilie accomplished, and in the water of Tatie they burnt the Danish fleet lieng there in barbour.

Here is to be noted, that before the fore-reinforced ouerthrow of the Scots and their confederats at the foot of Cranzbene, there happened manie sundrie vnlike and strange fights in this Ile. Amongst other there appeared a fieng in the aire, certeine fire visions, much to be wondered at. Also a great pece of Calendar wood seemed in the night time as it had bene on a flaming fire, but in the morning there appeared no such token. There was in like manner scene in the aire the similitude of certeine ships. And in Angus it rained frogs. At Tuline there was a child borne hauing both shapes, so filthie a sight to behold, that forthwith they rid it out of the way for offending others eies. These prodigious things were diuerlie interpreted, according to the variable fancies of man.

After that the prosperous successe of Agricola was once notified to the emperor Domitian, he took such enuie thereat, that shortly after, vnder a colour to send him into Syria to be lieutenant there, he countermanded him home vnto Rome, appointing one Cneus Trebellianus to succed him in the gouernment of Britaine, but the armie bearing more fauour vnto one Trebellianus being coufine to Agricola, caused no small trouble amongst the soldiers, so that in the end after certeine bickerings betwixt them, Trebellianus took a sort of the best soldiers away with him, and went ouer with them into France.

The Scots taking occasion hereof, joined with the Picts, and entred into Angus. Whereof Cneus Trebellianus being informed, assembled his people, who perceiving no great forwardnesse in their lea-

der, created Calus Silius (brother to the forenamed Trebellianus) their capteine, but he would in no wise meddle with that charge, though they were verie earnest in hand with him to take it vpon him.

In the meane time came the enemies vnder the leading of Calo ready to giue the onset, wherewith the Romans being sore troubled, by reason of this discord amongst themselves, set forward yet right valiantlie, to giue battell to their enemies: howbeit in the end, because that Silius received a mortall wound, and so departed out of the field, they fell at length to running awaie, the Scots and Picts following in the chase right fiercelle.

This atchued victorie, after so manie vnluckie enterprises, highlie reioiced the appalled parts of the Albions, hauing bene continuallie in maner nob for the space of fiftie yeeres through aduerser fortune grievouslie oppressed by this ouerthrow, withdrew themselves wholie vnto Tuline, and shortly after for their more safegard, they got them ouer the riuer of Tay, breaking the bridge which they had made there, to the end that by the same the Scots & Picts should haue no passage in that place. But Calo hauing got this notable victorie with the spoile of the Romans campe, thought it best with the aduise of his nobles, to pursue the Romans without delate, not suffering them to haue time to prouide for resistance. And hereupon comming to the castell of Calidon other-wise Calendar, they got ouer the riuer of Tay, by a bridge of wood laid ouer the same riuer, which in that place is but narrow, by reason of the rocks & cliffes forcing the banks on either side to a streitanesse.

The Roman captieins also not ignorant of the passage of the enemies, brought forth their armie, and made themselves ready to encounter them, but for that the forenamed Calus Silius was not able to stirre by reason of his wounds receiued in the last battell, they chose one Titus Cilius, a valiant gentleman of Rome to be their leader, and so vnder his conduct setting vpon their enemies they fought right fiercelle for a time, but yet in the end they were put to flight, & chased into Calidon. There were slaine of the Roman part in this encounter to the number of nine thousand, and of the Scots and other the confederats two thousand. After this victorie thus obtained by the Scots, a great number of the Britains revolted from the Roman obedience, as those that inhabit the countreie which we now call Wales, with the marches, slaying & chasing awaie such Romans as lay abroad in those parties.

This done, they sent vnto Calo king of the Scots, certeine messengers with richiewels and gifts, in token of their reioicing and gladnes for his victories, promising him furthermore such aid as they were able to make against the Romans the common enemies of all the whole Albion nation. Moreover, in this meane while did the Romans within Calidon castell direct their messengers with letters vnto Marius king of the Britains, signifieng vnto him the present danger wherein things stood in those parties by the cruell rage of the Scottishmen and Picts, whom fortune had aduanced with the gaine of two foughten fields, insomuch that if timely succours were not the sooner sent, the losse would be irrecoverable. Herevnto Marius answered, that as then a common conspiracie appeared to be in hand amongst his subjects, so far forth that he doubted greatly the suertie of his owne estate; and as for hope of aid to be sent from Rome, he saw small likelihood: considering the slender prouision there through the misgouernement of cruell Domitian, who by reason of the hatred which the people bare him, regarded nothing but how to keepe them from rising

The Scots  
set vpon the  
Romans.

The Romans  
are discasted.

The Romans  
withdrew  
vnto Tuline.  
They retire  
backe ouer the  
water of Tay  
and brake the  
bridge after  
them.

The Scots  
get ouer the  
water of Tay  
nere to Cal  
don castell.  
The Scots  
elkones gine  
battell to the  
Romans.

The Romans  
are againe  
discasted.

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The Romans  
send vnto  
Marius king  
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tains for aid.

Marius king  
of the Brit  
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of his sub  
iects.

Marius count-  
lethly the  
Romans to  
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north parts  
unto the en-  
emies, and to  
draw into  
him into the  
south parts  
to be the  
same.

The Romans  
withdrew in-  
to Cantire, &  
after into  
Galloway.

Cald pur-  
sued the Ro-  
mans.

The Romans  
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with the  
Scots.

The Romans  
secretly assaile  
the Scots.

Strange dea-  
ling in wom-  
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The Romans  
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mane campe.

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require a com-  
munication.

rising by in armour against him, and therefore he thought it necessarie that leaving the north parts to the enemies, they should all withdraw towards him into the south parts, to keepe yet the more fruitfull portion of the Ile in due obedience, sith their puissance might not suffice to retaine a rule the whole.

These newes greatlie abashed the Romane armie, & so much the more, for that about the same time it was shewed them how king Cald with an huge armie of Scottismen and Picts, was come within ten miles of them. Whereupon the Romans not knowing at that instant what was best for them to do, in the end they concluded to withdraw into Cantire, where being arrived, and perceiving themselves as yet to be in no great suertie there, they went away from thence with speed into Galloway. In the meane time king Cald, supposing it best effoines to fight with them, yet they might have anie space to reinforce their power, followed them with all diligence, not forcing though he left behind him diverse castles and fortresses furnished with strong garrisons of his enemies, so that he might discomfit and chase away their maine power, which he thought might as then easilie be done, considering the great multitudes of people which came flocking in on each side, presenting themselves with offering their service unto him, and shewing furthermore great tokens of joy and gladnesse, for that it had pleased the gods at length yet to declare themselves favourable in this their relieving of the oppressed Britains. Whereunto Calvus on the other side, giuing them heartie thanks for their trauell, receiued them verie gentlie, mixing his talke with most comforable words, therewith to put them in hope of such good and prosperous successe, as that wherlie they should thereby be restored interlie unto their former liberties, and perpetuallie deliuered from all forren seruitude and bondage.

But to proceed, at length he did so much by his courties, that he came into Galloway, where the Romans with all speed (seeing none other remedie) resolved themselves to giue him battell, and thereupon exhorting one another to plaie the men, sith their onelie refuge rested in their weapons points, they fiercely gaue the onset, and at the first put the left wing of the Scots and Picts whole into the worst. In which wing, according to their maner in those daies vsed, there were a great number of women mingled amongst the men. Cald therefore perceiving the danger, succoured them with such aid as was appointed to giue the looking on till need required, and then to go where they should be commanded. By which meanes the battell on that side was renewed afresh, the women shewing no lesse valiantie than the men, and therewith much more cruel- tie, for they spared none at all, though they offered neuer so much to haue their liues preferred.

In fine, the Romans being chased in the left wing, their overthrow gaue occasion to all the rest due to flee backe to their campe, being pursued so eagerly by the Scots and Picts, that they had much adoe to defend the entries of their trenches, where both parties fought right egerlie, till at length the night parted them both in sunder. Being parted, the Scots gaue not themselves to rest, but provided them of all things necessarie against the next morning to assaile their enemies afresh, and namelie from the next wood they fetched great plentie of fagots and brush to fill the trenches withall. But this their demeanour and purpose being understood of the Romans, they required a communication, the which (though some perswaded Calvus to the contrarie) vpon deepe considerations of fortunes fraille fauour, was at length granted vnto them, and soure an- ci-

ent Romans clad in right honorable and verie rich apparell came forth and were admitted to the presence of the kings [Cald of the Scots, and Garnard of the Picts] vnto whom with humble submission they acknowledged themselves as vanquished, and that by the lust wrath and reuenge of the celestiall gods, which against them they had conceived for the wrongfull situation of that which in no wise of right appertained vnto them. Therefore if it might please those kings to bide and reframe their displeasure against them, in licencing them vnder some reasonable conditions of appointment to depart, it should be a thing resonant so much to their fame and glorie, as nothing could bee more; considering so humble sute made to them by the orators of those people, who were reputed as vanquishers of the whole world.

Herewith falling prostrate at the feet of those kings, they besought them of pardon, in such pittifull wise, that the hearts of the hearers began somewhat to mollifie, and at length Cald toke vpon him to answer in name of all the residue of the Scottish and Pictish nations, and in the end concluded, that they were contented to grant a peace on these conditions: That the Romans should cease from that day forward in anie wise to molest or disquiet by way of anie inuasion the Scottish and Pictish borders, and also to depart whole out of those countries, restoring all such holds and fortresses as they held within the same: and further, to deliuer all prisoners, pledges, and fugitiues whatsoeuer as then remaining in their hands, together with such goods & spoiles as they had latelie taken.

These conditions being certified to the Romans by their orators, were gladlie accepted, sith they saw no better meane how to deliuer themselves out of that present danger. And so deliuering sufficient hostages for performance of all the articles of agreement, they departed without protracting time, marching southwards to come into Kent, where Marius king of the south Britains sojourned as then. Agricola, as the Scottish chronicles report, left at his departure towards Rome, to the number of threescore thousand men in the Romane armie, what of one and other, but so at their departure out of Galloway, there remained onely thientie thousand, the residue being dispatched by one meane or other. By this conclusion of peace then, the Scots and Picts got againe the whole possession of all such countries as the Romans had before wonne and taken away from them, as the Spers, Louthian, the marches about Berwick, Fiffe, and Angus, with Aile, Cantire, Coningham, and Galloway: all the Romane garrisons departing out of the fortresses and holds, and leaving the same vnto the former owners.

Calvus hauing thus ended the warres with the Romans, toke order to set good directions amongst his people for the quiet and peaceable gouernement of the commonwealth, visiting daily the countries abroad, the better to understand the state of them, and to reforme the same where it was needfull. Further considering that as warre breedeth god souldiers, so peace by iustice riddeeth them out of the way, if they be not the better provided for. Such as had serued long time in the last wars, and had not anie trade now in time of peace whereby to get their liuing, he placed in garrisons nere to the borders of the Britains for defense of the countrie. After this, he came to an interuiew with Garnard king of the Picts at Calidon, or Balenbar, to repress certain troubles raised betwixt their subjects being borderers, concerning the limits of their countie: where perceiving a sort of euill disposed persons to be

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**The Ro-**  
**mans retire.**

Luctus Ant  
nons is woun  
ded.  
The Ro  
mans are put  
to flight.

Women as  
ready to the  
battell as the  
men.

Adrian the  
emperor pre=  
pareth to go  
into Brittain.  
Adrian transf=  
porteth into  
Brittaine.

Adrian comes  
meth to York

He passeth  
over the river  
of Ene.  
Adrian findeth nothing  
abroad in the  
countrie of  
his enemies.

what manner  
of people he  
had to do  
withall.

Finallie the violent charge of the Scots & Brits was such, that the Romans were constrained to retire, which their generall Antonenus perceiving, did what he could to staie them, and to bring them forward againe, but as he was most buisie in the forefront to exhort them herunto, he was wounded with an arrow, and thereupon departed out of the battell, which gaue occasion to diuers other of his companie to follow him, by meanes whereof all the residue fell to running awaie, and made toward the next wood, there to saue themselves as well as they might, though some companies perceiving that they could not reach thither without manifest danger, closed themselves together and departed by another waie, which they toke at adventure, not knowing towards what parts they drew, so that they laie all the night following within two miles of the Scots and Brits, who for that the daie was in maner spent (before the Romans were put to flight) incamped themselves in the selfe-same place where the battell was fought, and in the morning, hearing that part of their enemies were lodged so neere them, & knew not which waie to draw, they sent a number forth of their campe to fight with them, & to kill them if they resisted, or to bring them captiue to the king if they should seeme willing to yeeld. Those that were thus sent, found the Romans in verie good order of battell for so small a band, not minding to yeeld themselves as prisoners. By reason of which their obstinate wilfulness, they were slain in the end euerie mothersonne.

Lucius Antonenus hauing thus receiued the ouerthrow, dispatched a post vnto Rome with all hast, significeng vnto the emperor Adrian the whole manner of the discomfiture, and how that by reason thereof things stood in great danger here in Brittain, if speedie succor were not the soner sent, for the enimies were neuer more cruell and fierce, than at this present, not onelie the men, but also the women (as in the last battell he saw plaine proofe) who cared not for the losse of their owne lues, so that they might die reuengeb.

When Adrian vnderstood these newes, he purposed forthwith to go himselfe into Britaine. Causing therefore an armie to be leuied, he passed forth with the same into France, then called Gallia, and coming to Calice, he transported ouer into Britaine, where he learned how the Scots and Pias were neuer more busie than at this present, hauing of late waisted and spoiled the countrie euen to the riuer of Tine. Herewith Adrian being foze offended, joined the powder which he had brought with him frō Rome, with the other which he had caused to be raised in France and Britaine. This done, he removed to Pozke, where soiaigning certeine daies to refresh his people, he afterwards drew toward the borders, and coming to the riuer of Tine, he passed ouer the same.

The fourth daie after, he came into a countrie wherein was left no kind of eartheilie thing serving to mans vse, and so passing forward a daie or two, he found neither corne, nor other pzoouision of bittell, nor any kind of liuing creature, all the people being fled into the mounteins and marish grounds, where no man might come vnto them, as commonlie in case of extreme danger they were accustomed to lie abroad in the same without house or any couerture ouer their heads. *Volvbit*, for all that he gaue not ouer to pursue them, but finding them out where they lurked in the hilles and woods, he graciously assisted them, and that in sundrie manner. In the end espiering the barrennes of the soile, the rudenes of the people, and that there was no hope left to come by sufficient pzoouision for the maintenance of his armie, he determined not to spend anie longer time in

such a vaine and fruitlesse travell, and therefore returned unto Line, here to reſtreine the Scots and Picts from invading ſuch of the Britains as were ſubject to the Romane empire, he cauſed a great trench to be caſt ouerthwart the land from the mouth of Line to the river of Elie, and a wall to be made on the inner ſide of the ſame, of turfe and ſods. ¶ The Scottiſh chronicles make mention that it was begun by Adrian, but not finiſhed till the daies of the emperour Severus, who made an end of it, and therefore the ſame chronicles name it the wall of Septimius Severus.

Adrianus hauing thus dispatched in the north parts of Britaine, in his returne visited Wales with the marches of the same, letting an order amongst such as had moued a commotion against the magnates in those parties, the authours whereof he punished according to their offenses, & so then he came to London, whither at the same time a great number of the Britaine nobilitie resorted to do him honor, according to their duties. And he for his part shewed them such friendly intertainment, that they could not wish any better. After this he sailed into France, taking Lucius Antonius with him, because he could not awaite with the aile of Britaine, in whose place he left one Aulus Alotinus lieutenant there, who disposed diuers garisons of souldiers in places nere vnto the fore-remembered wall, for defense of the inhabitants against the violence of the Scots & Picts. Who seeing this demeanour of the Romans, diuided those lands and countreies (which they had latelie waisted on the further side of Thine) in such sort betwixt them, that all whatsoeuer laie towards the Irish sea, remained to the Scots, and the rest coasting vpon the Almane seas, fell vnto the Picts for their position.

After this Hogall liued manie yeares in god quiet without anie trouble of enimies. But being pushed by in pride, by such notable victozies as he had thus got of the Romans the conquerours of the world, he could not in time of peace maister his owne vnrule appetites; but that drownded in the stie lufes of the bodie, he spared neyther maid, nor wife. Againe, he was giuen to such vnquenchable couetousnesse, that nothing might suffice him, finding manie forged matters against the rich, whereby to berue them both of life and substance. He was the first which ordeined that such as were banished or condemned for anie crime, should foxcite all their lands & goods without any consideration either of wife or chylde, which is obserued at the full euen vnto these our daies, where before it was otherwise in that countrie. But these fo notable vices in the prince could not long continue unpunished, for at last a conspiracie was praetised against him, whereof he hauing knowledg (whether by witchcraft or otherwise by relation of friends, the certaintie is not known) in the dead of the night he armed himselfe, and with two of his seruants onclied to the next wood, not giuing notice of his departure to anie other of his houthold.

The morning being thus come, and knoledge had how he was thus departed, the conspirators pursued after him, who perceiving them to approach, sought waies how to haue escaped their hands; but such was his hap, that he fell amongst other that were as reable as the first to weake their malice vpon him, and so by them he was immediatlie murdered in the 36 yeare of his reigne, being the 413<sup>th</sup> of the world, and after the birth of our saviour 169, Antoninus Pius then governing the Romaine empire, and Philius surnamed Albus reigning amongst the Picts. His head being smitten off, was set vpon a poles end, and caried about in derision; but afterwards in respect of his linage it was buried

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wall for ſake  
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Picts and  
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standing most unworthi-  
nesses. **M**agall be-  
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be grieved for; a tin-  
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ried together with the bobie by appointment of the  
nobles, notwithstanding the commons thought it  
most unworthie of anie such honor.

**M**agall being thus dispatched, as ye haue heard,  
his sonne Conarus was admitted king, who  
(as is reported) was pfitie to the conspiracie deni-  
sed against his father, and as he came to the govern-  
ment by wicked means, so in the end he vied him-  
selfe much what accordingly in the same; for after  
he had for a time dissembled his naughtie nature,  
he began at the last openly to shew himselfe in his  
right colours, committing first of all the admini-  
stration of publike affaires vnto men of base condi-  
tion and vile nature. His chiefe delight was altogi-  
ther in banquetting and costlie fare, not regarding  
the ancient temperancie in feeding, vfed amongst  
his worthy ancestors.

In waisting therefore his kinglie revenues vpon  
such riotous exccesse, he was nothing abashed to re-  
quire in an open assemblie of his nobles, a subsidie  
to be granted, towards the maintenance of such cot-  
all chere, as he iudged to stand with his honor  
to haue daillie in his house. And therefore whereas the  
rents that belonged to the crowne were not suffici-  
ent to furnish the charges, he requested a generall  
contribution to be leuied through the realme, of eu-  
erie person according to their abilities, for the main-  
tenance of such superfluous expences as he ballie  
vied in exccellue banquetting. The lords maruelling  
to heare him moue anie such demand, and confu-  
dering withall the occasion thereof, they asked re-  
pit to make their answer till the next day: which be-  
ing granted, in the night following they commu-  
ned secretlie together, and in the end concluded, not  
onlie to denie his request, but also to depose him of  
all kinglie gouernement, sith his naughtie life re-  
quired no lesse.

The next day therefore when they were againe set  
downe in the councill-chamber, one of them in  
name of the residue toke vpon him to speake, decla-  
ring that the lords and commons of the realme mar-  
uelled not a little how it should come to passe, that  
the king hauing no warres wherewith to consume  
his treasure; should yet be enforced to demand a  
tallage for maintenance of his estate and charges of  
his household; but the fault was knowen well inough  
to rest in such as he most unworthilie had preferred  
to rule things vnder him, who being come of naught  
did nothing but deulise means how to cause the king  
to spoile his naturall subiects of their goods and pos-  
sessions, therewith to enrich themselves, but (saith  
he) as they shalbe prouided for well inough per long,  
and so advanced as they shall not need to thirst for  
other mens liuings, that is to wit, euen to a faire  
paire of gallowes, there to end their liues with  
shame, as a number of such other losengiers had of-  
ten done before them: so it is conuenient that the k-  
ing his skill is so small in the administration of his  
office, should be shut vp in some one chamber or o-  
ther, and such a one to haue the gouernance of the  
realme, as may be thought by common assent of the  
lords most meet to take it vpon him.

The king hearing this tale, started vp, & with a  
lowd voice began to call them traitors; adding, that  
if they went about anie hurt to his person, they shuld  
derekie abide the bargain. But notwithstanding  
these words, such as were appointed thereto, caught  
him betwixt them, and had him forth to a place assign-  
ed, where they laid him vp, mangre all his resi-  
stance. In like manner, all such as had borne offices  
vnder him, were attached and had to prison, where  
the most part of them, vpon examination taken of  
their offenses, suffered death according to their iust  
demerits.

When was the rule of the realme committed vnto  
one Argadus, a man of noble birth, and ruler  
of Argile, who vnder the name of a gouernour  
toke vpon him the publike regiment, vntill other  
adulie might be taken. This mans studie in the be-  
ginning was onlie to cleanse the countrie of all mis-  
doers, and to see the peace kept to the quiet of the  
people; & finally in all his doings shewed himselfe  
a perfect patterne of an vpright iusticer. But with  
in a few yeares after (as it often happeneth) prospe-  
rous successe changed his former mind to an enill  
disposition, wherby he ordered things after his  
owne selfewill more than by reason, without the ad-  
uise of his peres. And further, to the manifest ruine  
of the common-wealthe, he nourished ciuill discor-  
d and sedition amongst the nobles, supposing it to  
make for his welfare, so long as they were at ods.  
He also married a Wltsch ladie, the better to streng-  
then himselfe by this his forren aliance.

Herevpon the peres of the realme, vnderstan-  
ding what mischiefe might insue by these manifest  
and sundrie abuses of the gouernour, caused a par-  
lement to be called, where, in presence of the whole  
assemblie, they laid vnto his charge, how that  
(through his misgouernement and presumption, not  
onlie in coupling himselfe in marriage with a wife  
of a strange nation, but also for attempting manie  
other things preiudiciall to the estate of the realme,  
without consent of the nobles or commons of the  
same) he had deserued grieuous punishment; his  
trespasse being so much the greater, in that conside-  
ring the meane how he came to that dignitie, he  
answered not their expectation, nor performed the  
trust and credit which was generallie committed  
vnto him.

Argadus hearing himselfe thus charged, and not  
able to late anie likelie excuse, fell vpon his knees,  
& partlie confessing his fault with teares gushing  
from his eyes, besought them of pardon, whole sub-  
mitting himselfe to be ordered at their discretion.  
The lords being moued with this humble submis-  
sion of Argadus, vpon promise he should redresse  
all his former misdemeanours, were contented  
that he should continue still in the administration.  
But such as had bene his chiefeest counsellors were  
committed to ward. After this sharpe admoni-  
tion and warning thus giuen, Argadus did no-  
thing touching the gouernement of the common-  
wealthe, without aduise of his peres; and some

after, amongst other things, he toke order for  
the limiting how far the authoritie of inferior of-  
ficers, as bailiffes, boroughmaisters, constables,  
and such other should extend. But especiallie he tra-  
uelled most diligentlie for the punishing of theues  
and robbers, of whome none escaped with life that  
fell into his hands. Moreover, he ordeined by sta-  
tute, that no man exercising anie publike office,  
should taste of anie drinke that might make him  
drunken. He also banished all such persons as vied  
with dressing of delicat meats, and (as I may call  
them) deintie dishes, or banquetting there, to allure  
mens appetites from the old rude fare accustomed  
amongest their elders, who sought not to follow their  
delicious appetites, but onlie prouided to suffice na-  
ture, which is satisfied with a little, & that boid of cos-  
lie furniture. Argadus thus being occupied in refo-  
rming the state of the common-wealthe, brought ma-  
nie enill doers into good frame and order, and such as  
were vpright liuers of themselves, indured still to  
proceed forward to better and better. At length, in  
the eight yeare of his gouernement, Conarus be-  
ing consumed with long imprisonment, departed  
out of this life, in the fourteenth yeare after the be-  
ginning of his reigne.

F. G.

After

Argadus is  
chosen to go-  
uerne the  
realme.

Argadus an  
vpright iustice-  
er.

Prosperitie  
changed con-  
ditions.

Argadus is  
rebuked.

Argadus com-  
mends his  
fault.

Argadus is  
permitted to  
continue in  
his office.

Argadus as-  
sisteth his  
former misgo-  
uernance, and  
ruleth him-  
selfe by better  
aduise.

A notable sta-  
tute.

Fine cookes  
banished.

Conarus de-  
parteth out of  
this world.  
162. H.B.

**Ethodius.**  
Ethodius the  
nephue of  
Argall is  
chosen king.

Argabus is  
created lord  
president of  
the counsell.

Etill discord  
amongst the  
lords of the  
Iles.  
Argabus is  
sent forth to  
apprehend the  
rebels.

The Island  
rebels are pu-  
nished.

The Romans  
inuaide the  
Pictish and  
Scottish bor-  
ders.

Ethodius re-  
quireth restitu-  
tion of his  
subiects goods  
taken away  
by the Ro-  
mans.

Victorine  
answers to E-  
thodius re-  
quest.

Ethodius ex-  
horteth the  
king of the  
Picts to  
make warre  
against the  
Romans.

After whose decessie, the nobles and other  
states of the realme assembling themselves to-  
gether, chose one Ethodius, nephue to king Mogall  
by his sister, to reigne ouer them. But Argabus  
being highlie rewarded with lands and linings for  
his faithfull & diligent paines taken in the aduance-  
ment of the publicke weale, during the time of his go-  
uernement, was thereto some after created as it  
were lord president of the counsell, thereby to be chie-  
fest in authoritie next to the king, in ordering and ru-  
ling of all publicke affaires & causes. Whoslie after  
Ethodius (as the custome of new kings in those  
daies was) went ouer into the weslerne Iles, there  
to take order for the administration of iustice, where  
immediatlie vpon his arriual, it was shewed him,  
that not passing two or three daies before, there had  
bene a great conflict fought betwixt the nobles or  
clannes of the countrie, by reason of a strife that was  
stirred amongst their seruants, being a companie  
of naughtie and burlesque fellows, to the great dis-  
quiet of the inhabitants. Wherevpon was Argabus  
sent forth incontinentlie with a powder to appease  
that businesse, and to bring in the offenders, that  
they might receiue reward according to their deme-  
rits. Argabus forthwith hasted towards the place  
where he understood the rebels to be remaining, and  
apprehending the whole number of them, some by  
force, and some vpon their humble submission, he  
returned backe with them to the king, who causing  
the matter to be thoughtlie heard, such as were the  
chiefest beginners and most in fault, were punished  
by death, and the other fined at the kings pleasure.  
The Island people being thus appeased, the king  
returned into Albion, where as then lieng at Cir-  
uerlochthe, a towne (as is said) in Loughababer,  
word came vnto him that the Romans had broken  
downe the wall builded by the emperor Adrian,  
and made a great rode into the Scottish and Pictish  
borders, where meeting with the inhabitants assem-  
bled together in defense of their countrie (after a  
soze conflict) the victorie remained with the Ro-  
mans; by reason whereof they led a great botie of  
cattell and other goods away with them to the places  
where they sojourned.

Ethodius being moued herewith, sent forthwith  
an herald vnto Victorine the Romane lieutenant,  
requiring that his subiects might haue restitution of  
their goods wrongfullie taken from thym, or else to  
looke for warres within fiftene daies after. Victo-  
rine answered herunto, that the Scots and Picts  
had first begun to breake downe the foresaid wall,  
and to build a tower vpon the same, fortifying it  
with a number of men of warre, who running dai-  
lie into the British confines, fetched pretes thence  
from amongst the Romane subiects, and though  
he had sent diuers times to the Scottish and Pictish  
wardens for restitution, yet could he neuer haue a-  
nie towardlie answer, so that he was constrained to  
begin the warre in maner and fourme as he had  
done already.

Ethodius not a little kindled with this answer,  
suppose straightwaies to the R. of the Picts, exhor-  
ting him in reuenge of such iniuries as his subiects  
had lately receiued at the hands of the Romans, to  
inuaide the wall on that side where it diuided his  
countrie from the Britains, and to breake in vpon  
the enemies by the same, and for his part he promi-  
sed thoslie after to come, and to ioine with him in  
such a necessarie enterprize against the common eni-  
mies of both these countries. The Pictish king gi-  
uing thanks to the messenger for his paines, promi-  
sed with all speed to set forward according to the ad-  
uise of Ethodius. The Romans in like maner ha-  
uing knowledge of the whole intention of the two

kings, with all speed made preparation also for the  
warre, but the Scots and Picts first breaking in v-  
pon them, did much hurt abroad in the countries  
next adjoining. Which when the Romans perceived,  
they passed by the enemies campe in the night sea-  
son, and entred into the Pictish borders, waiking  
and spoiling all afoze them.

When the two kings understood this, they hasted  
forth towards them, and were no sooner come with-  
in sight of them, but that they made ech towards o-  
ther, and so incounting together, there was fought  
a soze battell with doubtful victorie, for the right  
wings on either side vanquished the left, the heads  
of both the battells keeping their ground, the one not  
once thrawing backe from the other till night seuer-  
ed them in sunder, but not without such slaughter  
made on both sides, that being once parted, they  
made no great hast to ioine againe together; for as  
well the one part as the other being thus disuenered,  
drew incontinentlie homewards without abiding  
for the morning. Whether did they attempt anie fur-  
ther exploit of all that yeare following.

In which meane time Victorine sent letters to  
Rome vnto the emperor Marcus Antonius Aure-  
lius, who as then gouerned the empire, signifi-  
ing vnto him in what state things stood in Britaine; fur-  
ther declaring, that if conuenient succors were not  
sent in time, it would be hard to resist the furious  
rage of the enemies, by reason of the small trust he  
perceiued was to be had in the Britains, being no  
lesse readie vpon occasion to make warres in reco-  
uerie of their libertie, than the Scots & Picts were  
to ineroch vpon them. The emperor vpon receit  
of these letters, thought in his mind that Victo-  
rine was not so valliant a capteine as the case requi-  
red, and that therevpon the Scots and Picts became  
the more imboldened to resist, therefore he sent for  
him home, appointing one Agricola Calpurnius to  
succeed in his roome, who was (as some haue left in  
writing) the nephue of Julius Agricola, the most  
famous capteine of the Romans that euer came in-  
to Britaine.

This Calpurnius comming into Britaine with  
an armie, ioined to the same the power which he  
found there, as well of the Britains, as of other ser-  
uing vnder the Romane ensignes. Which done, he  
repaired toward the river of Tyne, where being ar-  
riued, he marched forth into the borders of his eni-  
mies, finding all the countrie round about him so  
clearelie wasted and burned, that there was not a  
house left standing, nor a graine of corne, nor one hee  
of cattell to be found therein. Yet notwithstanding  
all this, forth he passed thorough Northumberland,  
and entring into Pictland, wasted all that was be-  
fore him with fire and sword. And for so much as  
winter came vpon him, when he had done his will  
in that behalfe, he returned vnto York, where he  
sojourned untill the spring.

When summer was once come, hauing made his  
provision to warre on the Scots and Picts, word  
came vnto him that the Welshmen were revolted,  
and began to raise warre against the Romans, so  
that taking order for the repairing of the wall made  
by Adrian, which the enemies in diuers places had  
broken downe, and leauing a sufficient number of  
men of warre for defense of the same against all in-  
uasions that might be attempted, he turned the resi-  
due of his power against those Welsh rebels, whom  
in the end, though not without much adoe, he reduced  
to obedience. Immediatlie after this, he heard  
also how the Britains of the Ile of Wight were v-  
pon in armour against such Romans as ruled there,  
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Calpurnius  
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Britaine.

He is heard of  
in Britaine.

The Scots  
and Picts re-  
new the warre  
against the  
Romans.

Calpurnius  
enters into  
the borders  
of his eni-  
mies.

Calpurnius  
returneth  
to York.

The Welsh-  
men rebelle  
against the Ro-  
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The Welsh-  
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by the  
Romans.

The Pictish  
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the death of his valliant captaine Argadus vpon the rebels. Who hearing of his coming, made to wards the sea, and would glablie haue bene gone, but by reason of a contrarie wind they were forced to stay against their wills, so that he finding them still in the countrie, wrought so warlike by closing them vp among the hills and mounteins, that finally constrained through famine, they submitted themselves vpon these conditions, that their head captaine with two hundred others of the chiefest, should yeld themselves simple to the kings mercie, and the residue to be licenced to depart againe into their countries.

The Island-men yeld themselves.

Execution.

Ethodius biliteth his countries, to see iustice maintained.

He giueth him selfe to hunting, & causeth the lawes for the maintenance of game to be wel kept & looked vnto.

Ethodius murdered by a musician. 194 H.B.

Septimus Severus H.B.

Those that were appointed to be deliuered to the king with their captaine, suffered death by sentence of the nobles and paires of the realme. Whereat the other taking indignation, though they had already yelded by their weapons, yet began they to fall vpon the Scots with hurling of stones, and other such things as came to hand, till finally they were beaten downe by the armed soldiers, and a great number of them slaine: the residue escaping as well as they might, fled into the mounteins. The Island-men being thus vanquished, and the Romans attempting nothing against the Scottis men or Picts, Ethodius visited all the parts of his realme, taking order for the due execution of iustice amongst his subiects.

And for that he would not spend his time in idleness, being now at rest from warres, he began to exercise himselfe in hunting, and for the better nourishing of game, he took order that all such ordinances as had bene deuised by his elders, should strictly be obserued and kept: as that no man should be so hardie to go about to destroye anye hares with nets, greins or hare-pipes: neither to kill them in their formies by anye meanes: nor after that they had bene once coursed and escaped, to follow the sute, to the intent to start them againe. Also that none should go about to kill anye hart or hind, during all the winter season, at what time they were accustomed for hunger to leaue the mounteins, for rests and woods, and to come downe into the fields and courts neere vnto the townes & houses.

He ordeined moreover therevnto, that no man should presume to kill anye hind-caluers, detesting nothing more than to haue such game destroyed, as serued for the exercise and solace of him and his nobles. The other vacant time, whilst he rested from hunting, he spent for the most part in hearing of musike, hauing diuerse cunning plaiers of sundrie kinds of instruments attending in his court. At length setting all his pleasure in hearing of a musician being bozne in one of the west Isles, he was murdered by him in the night time within his owne chamber. The murderer being apprehended, and examined vpon what occasion he did that heinous fact, for the which he had deserued the most extreme kind of punishment that might be deuised, he answered: that in reuenge of the death of such his kinsmen and friends as the king had caused to be executed in Argyle, he purposed long before to do that deed, and now that he had accomplished his purpose, he was ready to receiue what kind of death they would adudge him vnto. For sure I am of this, saith he, that how terrible soeuer my execution shall be, yet can it not be so painfull, but that I shall reioice euery in the verie instant of my death, for that I haue in such notable sort reuenged the deaths of all my kinsmen & friends. Finally by commandement of the magistrates he was drawne in peeces with wild horses in most violent wise.

Ethodius reigned 33 yeres, vntill the latter daies of Caracalla the emperoz. He was buried at Dun-

staffage, with all such pompous ceremonies as was accustomed about the interment of kings in that age. In his daies Lucius the king of Britaine received the faith with a great part of his people, being the yere after the birth of our Saviour, as the Scots chronicles haue 187, but after the British 177.

After the death of Ethodius, his brother Sarrabell or Serrabell (as some write him) was chosen to succeed by the common consent and voices of all the estates of the realme. For although Ethodius left a sonne behind him; yet because he was verie young in yeres, he was thought insufficient to haue so great a charge as the rule of a kingdome committed vnto his hands. This Sarrabell was subtle of nature, and a great dissembler, whose purpose was to defraud the issue of his brother Ethodius from attaining at anye time vnto the rule of the kingdome, and therefore to bring his purpose the better to passe, he found forged matter against all such as were familiar friends vnto Ethodius, thereby to put them vnto death. Neither dealt hee anye thing more sincerelie with a great number of other of his wealthie subiects, whose lands and goods hee onelie sought to inioy at his owne will. By means whereof such mischance ensued through the realme, and such ciuill sedition dailye rose amongst the people, that pittie it was to behold it: the king being not so bold all the while, as once to thew his face abroad for redresse thereof, by reason he understood well enough what hatred the people bare towards him, neither did his keeping within doores saue his life anye long time, for in the end his owne seruants found means to strangle him, and that before he had reigned full foure yeres.

In his place succeeded his brother Donald, a prince of a faire contrarie nature and conditions, for he was free, courteous, and without all deceit, more righteous than rigorous, and afore all things desirous that peace and concord might prosper among his subiects. Neither bare he with offence, but such as were disobedient against the lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme he caused to be dulye punished: finally he took such order for reformation of things, that he reduced his subiects as it had bene from a wild and sauage rudenesse, vnto a perfect ciuill trade of humanitie. About the same time Lucius king of the Britains being dead, the Romans perceiving that a kings authoritie among the Britains, did nothing else but diminish the maiestie of the imperiall iurisdiction amongst them, determined not to suffer any more of the British nation to inioy that title.

This thing moued the Britains to such indignation, that by procurement of one Fulgentius, diuers of them rebelled, and choosing the same Fulgentius to their generall, they directed a messenger with letters vnto Donald king of the Scots, requiring him to ioine with them in league against their ancient enemies the Romans, whose enuie (as he knew) had euery bene from time to time, how to bring the whole Island vnder their subiection, and to extinguish all the nobilitie and ancient inhabitants of the same: adding furthermore, that if he would now put to his helping hand, the time neuer serued better for the dispatching of them wholly out of the Ile, considering the sundrie rebellions attempted as well by the people of Germanie and France, as also of the easterlie nations and countries.

Donald receiued the messenger most friendly, and being glad to vnderstand of these newes, he promised to aid Fulgentius with all the power he was able to make, and to meet him at such daie and place as he should afterward appoint. The like answer was made also by the king of Picts, vnto whom in semblable

The Britains come to Britons hall, and pull it downe to let in the Scots. The Scottis men & Picts came to the aid of the Britains.

The Scots and Picts came to the Britains. The Scots hope the Britains to spoile their owne countrie.

The Britains sendeth the emperor of the Isle of Britain.

Fulgentius encourageth the Britains to strike vnto their begun warre.

Generus letteth forth towards his enemies.

Generus cometh to yoke.

Generus is encountered by his enemies.

semblable. Thus the great aid their host to which they friends vnto them Picts show they liketh that wall, alongst the passed forth the Roma and to haue ledge how gather a part of the under the sing from winter in to licenc countries and meet.

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Walterus re- ceived the christian faith in the yere 187.

Sarrabell.

Sarrabell is- beth to bring such as were in fauor with his predecess.

Discontent- sed among the people through the kings ungo- uernment.

Sarrabell strangleth to death by his owne ser- uants.

397 H.B.

Donald.

Donald had- eth to reduce his subiects vnto all con- dition.

Lucius king of Britaine dyeth.

The Bri- tains rebel and chuse Fulgentius to their cap- tain who led death for and vnto the Is- land.

Donald pro- misseth to aid Fulgentius.

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semblable wise Fulgentius had directed his letters. Thus the Britains (being confirmed with hope of great aid from the Scots and Picts) assembling their host together, resorted unto the wall of Adrian, which they overthrew in diuers places, that their friends might haue the more free access and entrie vnto them by the same. Neither were the Scots and Picts slow for their part to make forward: so that they likewise comming thither, holpe to throw down that wall, and to fill by the trench or ditch that went alongst the same.

This done, joining their powers together, they passed forth towards Yorke, in hope to haue found the Romane lieutenant Trebellius within that citie and to haue besieged him therein: but hauing know- ledge how he was withdrawn into Kent, there to gather a power, they left their purpose of besieging that citie, and fell to spoiling & harrying of the countrie abroad on euery side, continuing the most part of the people to come in and yeld themselves vnder their obedience. Thus they continued in pas- sing from one quarter of the countrie to another, till winter enforced them to breake by their campe, and to licence the souldiers to depart home into their countries, till they had new summons to assemble and meet againe.

In this meane time Trebellius certified the emper- or Seuerus of all this trouble and rebellion in Bri- taine: wherupon he with all speed leuied an armie, & set forward with the same himselfe in person toward Britaine, as in the English historie more plainlie may appere. At his comming into Britaine, he hac- ked no time, but assembling his power, prepared to go against the enimies. Fulgentius doubting the force of his enimie, sent ambassadozs vnto him to treat for peace, but Seuerus would not grant to a- nie, wherupon Fulgentius confirmed the minds of the Britains with all comfortable wordes, in the best wise he could, exhorting them to stick to their neces- sarie begun enterprise, for recouerie of their long wished libertie, which he doubted not, but by vanqui- shing the emperor at that present they should assured- lie attaine: and as for victorie, he was in no doubt, so that they would plucke their harts vnto them, and trie it forth manfully by dint of sword, like fellows and brethren knit in one faithfull band of trustie con- cord, considering the enimies armie being gathered of so manie sundrie nations & languages that con- sent in one opinion, the cheefest meane for the obtai- ning of victorie must needs be wanting among them.

The Britains moued herewith, promised him to liue and die in the quarrell. Wherupon he took ad- uise with them, which waie to mainteine themselves against Seuerus, of whose comming they were al- ready certified. For Seuerus hauing dispatched the British ambassadozs from him, let incontinentlie forward towards Yorke, leauing his yongest sonne Geta in the south parts to haue the gouernance of the same in his absence. His eldest sonne Antoninus he took with him in his iourne against his enimies. At his comming to Yorke, he did sacrifice to the gods, according to the Ethnish custome, & also took aduise with his captains how to proceed in his en- terprise against his enimies.

This done he marcheth forth with his armie to- wards them, who being already joined with the Scots and Picts, were determined to abide him, in- so much that those of the one side came no sooner in sight of the other, but that they hasted forth to ioin- together in battell, wherof ensued great slaughter betwixt them, though the British part (notwithstan- ding their aid of Scots and Picts) were not able long to endure against the great multitude and pra- ctised skill of the Romane souldiers, so that in the end

they were opened perforce and put to flight with the losse of thirtie thousand, what of Britains, Scotish, men and Picts.

Fulgentius himselfe, seeing the discomfiture and huge slaughter made of his people, had runne in a- mongst the thickest paele of his enimies, had not those that were about him led him awaie by force, and so at length he got him amongst the troops of the Scotishmen and Picts, and together with them pas- sed ouer Tine, and so into the borders of his friends where he got together such souldiers as he could, that had escaped from the battell, and retained them with wages so well as he might, in hope vpon occasion to imploye them elsewhere against his enimies. The Scots also sent into Ireland for aid, and the Picts into Denmarke and Norwaie. Such of the British nobilitie as fell into the hands of the Romans, Se- uerus punished most grieuoulie, but the commons he vsed more gentlie, as it were making excuse for them being procured thereto by their captains. After this, when winter was come, he appointed his men of warre to drato vnto places conuenient for them to lodge in, till the next spring. He himselfe wintered at Yorke.

In the next summer there was little done worthie to be spoken of, but that there were certeine skirmi- shes betwixt the Romans lieng on the borders, and the Scots and Picts, euer as occasion serued, either of the parties to worke any exploit for their aduan- tage. But so much as the Scots had no aid sent them forth of Ireland, they were not minded to re- gard againe in a foughten field, supposing it sufficient if they might defend their owne, though they gained nothing as then, considering the puillance that was ready bent against them. At length Seuerus fell sicke at Yorke, and his son Antoninus lieng on the borders beyond Tine, caused the wall afore mentio- ned, vinding the Britains from the Scots and Picts, to be repaired. This wall was built (as is before re- cited) first by Adrian the emperor, to staie the Sco- tishmen from invading the lands appertaining to the subiects of the Romane empire, & after overthrowne in diuers places as well by Scots and Picts, as by the Britains, in sozt as before is partlie mentioned. Antoninus caused it to be fortified with bastillions, one placed so nere to another, as trumpets being appointed in each of them, the sound might be heard betwixt to warne one another vpon the first descen- ding of the enimies approach.

Finallie Seuerus dieth, though not so soone as his son Antoninus wished, in hope after him to attaine the imperiall dignitie. Concluding therefore a leage with the Scotishmen and Picts, and granting peace to Fulgentius, and other such British rebels as were fled with him into Pictland, he received sufficient pledges, and then returned towards London, where his mother with his brother Geta as then late. Short- lie after both the brethren departed forth of the Ile, & went to Rome, as in the historie of England it ap- pareth. But now to retarne vnto Donald the Sco- tish king, ye shall vnderstand, that being deliuered of forein trouble, he studied thesle how to preferre his people in god peace and perfect tranquillitie. Which mind our Sauour Christ the author of all peace and concord had giuen vnto him, being latelie afore conuerted vnto the true faith from his wicked paganisme and heathenish idolatrie.

For as we find in Hector Boetius, in the dates of the aboue said emperor Seuerus, he sent a messen- ger with letters vnto pope Victor (Zephyrinus saith Harion) being the 15 in number, as they saie, after saint Peter, declaring vnto him that he was fullie minded to receiue the chistian religion, and utterlie to forsake the superstitious seruice of the heathenish gods,

Fulgentius  
is put to  
flight and his  
armie discom-  
fited.

Fulgentius  
withdraweth  
into Pictland.

Seuerus  
wintereth at  
Yorke.

Seuerus sick  
neth.  
The wall is  
repaired.

Seuerus  
dieth.  
Antoninus in  
hope to be em-  
peror conclu-  
deth a peace  
with the  
enimies.

Donald studi-  
ous to main-  
taine his sub-  
iects in peace  
and concord.

Donald con-  
uerted into  
chistian be-  
liefe in the  
dates of the  
emperor Se-  
uerus.

gods, and therefore instantly required him to send over into Scotland some godlie learned men, to instruct him in the right beleife. The pope hearing this, and being glad to increase the faith of Christ through all parts of the world, sent with all speed into Scotland such well disposed persons as he thought most meet for that purpose, who at their arrivall there, did their endeavour in such diligent sort, that not onelie the king, but also through his example a great number of the nobilitie were baptised, and charelie forsooke their former errors and idolatrie. This was in the yeare after the birth of our saviour 203, from the creation of the world 4170, & after the first erection of the Scottish kingdome 330, as W. Harison in his chronologie doth manifestlie confirme.

The Scottish men received the faith in the yeare of our Saviour 203.  
5399. H.B.  
533 H.B.

Whereafter this Donald was the first as the Scottish chronicles alledge, that caused silver and gold to be coined in his realme. The stampe which he devised for the same, was a crosse on the one side, and his face on the other. Before that time the Scots used no coine, but either exchanged and bartered ware for ware, either else occupied with British and Romane monie, as diners marble chests full of the same which have bene found of late yeeres in sundrie parts of Scotland do verie well witness. Finally R. Donald in the 21 yeare of his reigne departed out of this life, and was buried according to the manner of our christian religion, without any heathenish ceremonies.

Donald departed out of this world.  
216 H.B.

Ethodius.

The governance of the realme committed to sundrie noble men.

After him succeeded Ethodius the second, and some of the former Ethodius, which prince proved so verie a fool, that the regiment of the realme was quite taken from him, and committed unto certaine noble men, who being divided into sundrie quarters of the realme, took verie good order for the due government of the parties so to them limited, and used themselves verie uprightlie in all their doings. As for cause of wars they had none, for Severus before his death had given such order for the government of the Britains, that they durst not once stir by reason of such pledges as were delivered and conveyed to Rome, which were the chiefe of all the British nobilitie. At length Ethodius being apt for nothing but to fill his cofers, as one though doltish, yet naturallie given to unquenchable covetousnesse, was slaine by those that were appointed to the gard of his person, in the 16 yeare of his reigne.

Ethodius being given to covetousnesse is slaine by his owne servants.  
Athirco.

Then was his sonne Athirco elected by the generall voices of all the estates, who in the beginning of his reigne shewed himselfe verie sober, gentle, courteous, and friendlie of behaviour, exercising himselfe in all laudable passimes convenient for his estate, and herewith he was so free and liberall towards all men, that he won him wonderfull much praise and love amongst his people. But these his noble vertues increased not in him together with his age, but contrariele decayed, in such sort, that after he had reigned eight yeeres, he was quite altered: in place of liberalitie, embracing avarice: for courtesie and amiable countenance, he used sterne and loftie looks: for commendable exercises, he gave himselfe wholly to filthie pleasures and sensuall lusts of the bodie: and such as could further his purpose most in these his beastlie affections, he cherished and had them most in estimation, not regarding at all the nobilitie of his realme, but was as readie to wrong them by villanous injurie, as he was any other of the lowest and meanest degree.

Athirco changed in conditions from good to bad.

Athirco regarded not his nobles.

The villanous act of Athirco in abusing a noble mans daughters.

It chanced that a noble man in Argile (being one of no small authoritie amongst the people of that countie) named Patholocus, had two faire young gentlewomen to his daughters: now the king being verie desirous to satiffie his lust upon them, forced them both the one after the other, and not so con-

tent, delivered them afterwards to be abused in semblable sort by his pages and servants. The father understanding this villanie done to his daughters, by their owne lamentable complaint, sent for his friends, and opening unto them the whole matter, he required their assistance. They being in a wonderfull furie to heare of such an injurie done to their blond, promised in reuenge thereof to spend life, lands & goods, and forthwith departing in funder, they prepared themselves to assemble their powers, procuring a great number of other noble men to ioine with them in so necessarie an enterprise, as to rid the countie of such a cattive wretch, respecting nothing but the satiffing of his filthie carnall lusts, and the accomplishment of his most beastlie appetites.

When they were once got together in a companie, they marched forth towards Dundasage, where they understood that the king as then did sojourne, a great multitude of people still resorting unto them by the waie, after it was once knowne whereabout they went. Athirco hearing of their approach, called together his power, supposing at the first to have beaten downe his enemies; but when he had throughlie weighed the matter, and considered of what force and power they were, & how feble his part was through want of god wils in his people, he prittlie stole awaye from them, and would have passed over into Fla, one of the weserne Isles, to have procured some succor there, but being imbarcked and set from the shore, he was by contrarie winds driven backe againe to land, where doubting to come into his enemies hands, he chose rather to flea himselfe, and so ended his wretched life in such miserable extremitie after he had reigned the space of 12 yeeres. His reigne continued till the daies of the emperor Gordian the third, or (as others saie) till the time of the emperor Valerian. But as William Harison hath gathered, he reigned in the daies of the emperor Aurelius Claudius. Doozus the brother of Athirco understanding of the death of his brother, disguised himselfe in beggars weed for doubt of death, and went into Daitland with three of his nephews, formes to the same Athirco, whose names were Sindocke, Carance, and Donald.

Howbeit, Patholocus having knowledge whether he was sleb, sent forth certaine of his servants, with commandement to search him out, commanding furthermore verie straitlie, that if they found him, they should dispatch him out of life, for feare of further mischefe. But they that were sent, finding one in all features and proportion of bodie resembling Doozus, slew the one in stead of the other, and so returning home to their maister, they made him verie full of the newes, although indeed they came not nere to Doozus. When Patholocus causing the estates of the realme to assemble, he handled the matter in such wise, by dissuading them to chole any of Athircos blond to reigne over them (for doubt least they should seeke any meanes how to reuenge his death) that in the end this Patholocus was elected himselfe, more by force than by arte common consent of the nobles: for diuers of them doubting the craftie nature, which they knew to be in him, wished rather that the issue of Athirco (having deserved nothing why to be defrauded of the kingdom, save onlie in respect of the fathers offenses) might have inioied that which of right they ought to haue had, that is, either one of them to be king, or else some nere kinsman of theirs to reigne as king, till the eldest of them might come to sufficient yeeres to beare the rule himselfe.

But Patholocus being once proclaimed king by the multitude, and Athircos blond attained of treason,

The blind men and friends of the gentler men conspire against Athirco.

Athirco being taken to be the father of his owne men came to the trial of his conscience by the sword among them.

243 H.B. Doozus the brother of Athirco conceiveth himselfe out of the way.

Patholocus seetheth the death of Doozus.

Patholocus is chosen to be king.

Natholocus.

Patholocus seetheth the death of Doozus.

Patholocus seetheth the death of Doozus.

Patholocus seetheth the death of Doozus.

Patholocus seetheth the death of Doozus.

Patholocus seetheth the death of Doozus.

The witchers answers.

What happened by giving credit to the words of a witch.

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Which so moved they proct them tog against hi nations, land, ther mics, and stand som of his true countie, Colmeki skilful in of his the was alre

The b in the end the king f mics, b friends, b The mell should be: knowen hearing th lie, biddin see his bur ded. And signifie th came when that what declare th baptie co follow by upon put ther side, t be reveale much dan himselfe to the king chamber, t be declare

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Thirco slay  
himselfe.

243 H.B.  
Dowus the  
brother of  
Thirco con-  
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Patholocus  
saw the life  
of Dowus.

Patholocus  
is chosen to  
be king.

king by  
ainted of  
treason,  
Natholo-  
cus.

Patholocus  
geth into  
Dunfalsage  
the thirco-  
pion.

Patholocus  
saw the life  
of Dowus.

Patholocus  
saw the life  
of Dowus.

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Patholocus  
saw the life  
of Dowus.

Patholocus  
saw the life  
of Dowus.

treason, and so published, according to the custome  
he took the othes of those that were present, and  
then repaired unto Dunfalsage, there to be invested  
according to the manner. This done, he called such  
as he suspected, and talking with them alone, he  
erhorted them to be faithfull, promising to be their  
assured god lord and maister, and for an earnest  
thereof, he gave unto diverse of them verie great  
rewards. Generallic unto all men he showed him-  
selfe verie gentle and tractable, there to win their  
loues, for the better establishment of his new ac-  
quired estate: and here to he implanted such riches as  
the former kings had heaped together amongst the  
nobles, thinking by that means to auoid all sedi-  
tious quarrels and secret discords amongst them.

Thus ruling the realme at his will for certeyne  
perces, at length fortune began to show a change of  
countenance after his old accustomed guise. For  
Dowus the brother of Thirco (whome, as ye haue  
heard, Patholocus supposed to haue bene dead)  
wrote certeyne letters, signifying his owne estate  
with the welfare of his nephews the children of Thirco  
unto certeyne Scottis lords, whom he knew to  
fauour his cause. Which letters he deliuered unto a  
Scottis woman, appointing hir to goe and to whome  
she should deliuer the same, but the woman appe-  
bended by the waie, and brought unto Patholocus,  
he caused hir secretly to be sacked and throtled in  
a river. Afterwards sending for such of the nobles  
as the direction of the forsaide letters had giuen him  
occasion to haue in some suspicion, he committed  
them first to prison, and at length caused them to be  
secretlie strangled.

Which wicked deed being once notified abroad,  
so moued the hearts of their friends and allies, that  
they procured the people to rebell: and so gathering  
them together, they raised open and cruell warres  
against him. Patholocus informed of their determi-  
nations, withdrew himselfe priuile into Murray  
land, there to get together an armie to resist his en-  
mies, and for that he was desirous also to under-  
stand somewhat of the issue of this trouble, he sent one  
of his trustie seruants, being a gentleman of that  
countrie, unto a woman that dwelt in the Ile of  
Colmekill (otherwise called Jona) esteemed verie  
skillfull in foresheewing of things to come, to learne  
of hir what fortune should hap of this warre, which  
was already begun.

The witch consulting with hir spirits, declared  
in the end how it should come shortly to passe, that  
the king should be murdered, not by his open en-  
mies, but by the hands of one of his most familiar  
friends, in whome he had reposed an especiall trust.  
The messenger demanding by whose hands that  
should be: Quen by thine faith she, as it shall be well  
knownen within these few daies. The gentleman  
bearing these words, railed against hir verie bitter-  
lie, bidding hir go like an old witch; for he trusted to  
see hir burnt before he should commit so villanous a  
deed. And departing from hir, he went by and by to  
signifie what answere he had receiued; but before he  
came where the king lay, his mind was altered, so  
that what for doubt on the one side, that if he should  
declare the truth as it was told him, the king might  
haplie conceiue some great suspicion, that it should  
follow by his means as she had declared, and there-  
upon put him to death first; and for feare on the o-  
ther side, that if he kept it secret, it might happen to  
be reuealed by some other, and then he to run in as  
much danger of life as before; he determined with  
himselfe to twolke the surest way, and so comming  
to the king, he was led aside by him into his priuie  
chamber, where all other being commanded to auoid,  
he declared how he had spied; and then falling forth

with vpon Patholocus, with his dagger he slue him  
withright, and threw his bodie into a priuie; and af-  
terwards getting out by a backe doore, and taking  
his horse which he had there ready, he fled with all  
speed unto the campe of the conspirators, and was  
the first that brought news vnto them of this ac-  
tion by him achieved. This chanced in the yeare of  
our Lord 280. At the eleventh yeare after the first  
entring of Patholocus into the estate.

After Patholocus was thus dispatched, the peers  
assembled together to ordeine one for gouernement  
of the realme, where in the end it was amongst  
them considered, that the sonnes of Thirco should  
be sent for into Scotland, and Findocke receiued  
the king. The Scottishman that slue Patholocus was  
appointed to fetch them, who according to his com-  
mission proceeding into Argile, conuicted them  
right honorable into Argile, where Findocke being  
already chosen king, was placed on the throne of  
marble, with all the ceremonies in that case apper-  
taining.

This Findocke was in the flower of his age, of  
a person most beautifull, cleane made, and of a good  
lie stature; where with were joined most excellent  
gifts of the mind; not so much desirous to seeme as  
to be vertuous indeed: he was courteous, meke,  
full of affabilitie, studying alwaies to win friend-  
ship and loue, rather by gentlenesse, than by feare  
and menacing words. The leagues with the Bri-  
tains, Scots and Romans he firmitie obserued. But  
as peace with foraine enemies breedeth oftentimes  
restill discord at home, so came it then to passe with  
him at this present: for one Donald of the Isles, a  
noble man borne, came ouer with an armie into  
Kosse and Murray land, fetching from thence a  
great spoile and bootie, not without great slaughter  
of such as enforced themselves for to resist him. The  
occasion as he pretended was to reuenge the death  
of Patholocus. But Findocke vnderstanding his  
doings, prepared an armie with ships, and sailed  
ouer with the same into the Ile of Ila, where in-  
countering with Donald and other his enimies, he  
vanquished and chased them egerlie, without retir-  
ing once backe, till either the sword or the sea had  
made an end of them all.

Donald himselfe taking a vote, in hope to haue  
escaped, the pleasure was such at his entring into the  
same, that before they could get it off from the shore,  
it sunke by means of the overlading, and so he and  
all they that were on board were drowned there-  
withall. The king hauing achieved this victorie, re-  
turned into Albanie; but the Iland-men not fullie  
quieted with this slaughter of their fellows, sent o-  
uer into Ireland, and got from thence certeyne  
Ierns, who vnder the leading of an other Donald,  
the sonne of the former Donald, made starts now  
and then into Argile and Cantire, doing manie  
shred turnes in the same, yet they could be sup-  
pressed. But Findocke being some informed of these  
tidings, went ouer againe into the Isles, and such  
of his enimies as he found, he caused to be hanged,  
to giue other example what to looke for when they  
should rebell, but Donald escaped, and got ouer in-  
to Ireland, where he remained, till he heard that the  
king was returned backe into Albanie, and then he  
came againe. But perceiving himselfe not able to  
twolke such feats as he hoped to haue done, he sent  
a messenger vnto the king, offering to yeild him-  
selfe, and to become his true subject if he might get  
his pardon, and be at his owne libertie. But being  
answered that he should not be receiued, vntill he  
would come vnto Dunfalsage with other of his  
chiefest complices, and to stand fullie at the kings  
mercie; he refused thus to do, deuising another  
meane

Patholocus  
murdered.

242 H.B.

The lords of  
the realme as-  
sembled toge-  
ther to chuse a  
new king.

The sonnes  
of Thirco are  
sent for, and  
the eldest of  
them named  
Findocke cha-  
sen to reigne.

Findocke.  
Findocke has  
noble quali-  
ties and ver-  
tuous disposi-  
tion.

Findocke ob-  
serueth the  
leagues con-  
firmed of for-  
mer times  
with his  
neighbors.  
Those of the  
out Isles in-  
uade the coun-  
tries of  
Kosse and  
Murray land.  
Findocke ma-  
keth a tourne  
into the Isles,  
to subdue the  
rebels.

Donald is  
drowned.

The Iland-  
men with aid  
of the Irish  
Ierns, make  
often inuasi-  
ons into Ar-  
gile, and other  
of the Scottis  
countreys.

Findocke go-  
eth againe to  
subdue the re-  
bels of the  
Isles.

Donald offer-  
eth to yeild  
himselfe v-  
pon certeyne  
conditions,  
but is not re-  
ceiued.

Donald de-  
scribeth how to  
murder king  
Findoche by  
two naughtie  
persons.

Findoche is  
slaine.

The murder-  
ers confesse  
by whole pro-  
curement they  
did the deed.  
A pretie in-  
duction (if not  
forged) to the  
hystorie that  
afterwards  
followeth of  
Carautius or  
Carantius as  
the Scots  
wyllie him.

Donald.

Donald of the  
Iles inua-  
deth Scot-  
land.

meane how to be reuenged.

Therefore to begin withall, he procured two  
naughtie persons to go ouer into Albaine, and to  
seine themselves to haue fled from him, where also  
he willed them to offer their seruice vnto the king,  
and to disclose vnto him certeine light secrets of the  
said Donalds, thereby to win credit if it might be,  
and in the end to espie a time to rid him out of the  
way. These craftie mates looking according to Do-  
nalds wicked instructions, at length with much adoe  
they got credit, and after credit they got place so  
nere the king by the furtherance of Carantius the  
kings brother (whome they made priue also vnto  
their intent) that finding all things correspondent  
vnto their purpose (one day as the king hunted) the  
one began to feed him with a tale of the hatred which  
the Ilanders bare towards him, whereto he gaue  
verie good eare, whilst the other smote him to the  
heart with a ianeline, & so leauing the iron sticking  
in his bodie, he fled away in hast with his traitorous  
companion and fellow. Those that were nere, see-  
ing what had happened, some of them ran to him, to  
see if they might relieue him as then struggling with  
the pangs of death; others followed the murderers,  
and ouertaking them, brought them backe to receiue  
their meed according to that which they had iustlie de-  
serued; being also examined, they confessed how  
they were procured vnto it, not onelie by Donald  
of the Iles, but also by Carantius the kings owne  
brother, who of set purpose being out of the way at  
that present, and hauing knowlodge that he was ac-  
cused of the kings death, fled out of the countrie as  
a banished man, first into Britaine, from whence  
(after he had remained there for a time) he went vnto  
Rome, and seruing in the wars vnder the empe-  
rours, Aurelius Probus, Carus, and Dioclesianus,  
he became a right famous and a verie skillfull cap-  
taine.

But if this report be true that Carautius (of whom  
Eutropius maketh mention) were descended of so  
high parentage, maruell it is, that neither the same  
Eutropius, nor anie other of the Romane writers,  
could at no time come to the knowlodge thereof,  
which if they had done, no doubt they would haue  
spoken somewhat of the same; for although he might  
happilie vpon the consideration aforesaid counter-  
feit himselfe to be borne of some base kined, and so  
for a time to dissemble what he was, yet afterwards  
that he attained vnto so high degree of honour, as  
to vsurpe the imperiall robes of purple, and to pos-  
sesse the dominion of Britaine, it is not like but  
that to aduance his credit and authoritie rotall, he  
would haue fed forth to the vttermost the nobilitie  
of his birth, if he had bene come of anie, and that  
so aparantie to the world, that aswell his enemies  
as friends should both haue knownen and spoken  
of it.

Findocus being thus slaine in the tenth yeare of  
his reigne, and buried with great lamentation  
of the people at Duntasage, his brother Donald,  
the third son to Athiro, was admitted to the king-  
dome, who immediatlie vpon his entring into the  
estate, prepared to go into the Iles against Donald  
that common enimie of Scotland. But this Do-  
nald himselfe deliuered the king of a great peece of  
that trauell: for so soone as he heard that the mur-  
der by him contriued was executed, he assembled a  
mightie power of the Iland-men, and transporting  
with them ouer into Kosse, proclaimed himselfe  
king, persecrating with fire and sword all such as de-  
nied him obedience. King Donald being aduertised  
of that attempt of his aduersarie, speedilie mar-  
cheth forth with such power as he had already assem-  
bled, sending proclamations abroad, that all other

appointed to serue, should follow him with speed.

Thus comming into Murray land, he pitched  
downe his tents, purposing there to abide the com-  
ming of the residue of his armie. But Donald of  
the Iles vnderstanding all his demeanour and whole  
intention, thought it best to assaile him within his  
campe, before all his power should come vnto him,  
and being thus resolved, he set forward in the night  
time, and was vpon his enemies, before that his  
comming towards them was once signified in their  
campe. The king then vnderstanding his aduersa-  
ries to be at hand, bringeth forth his men, setteth  
them in arraie, and exhorteth them with many pitie  
wordes to receiue their enemies with manlie sto-  
machs. But the Iland-men encouraged also by their  
captaine, gaue the onset so roundlie, that the Sco-  
tishmen had not leasure to occupie their shot, but  
were enforced euen at the first to loine at hand-  
blowes, which were bestowed in such furious sort,  
that in the end the Scots being oppressed with mul-  
titude, were constrained to giue backe, some sauing  
themselves by flight, and some standing at defense  
till they were beaten downe and killed in the place.  
There were slaine on the kings part three thousand  
men, and two thousand taken prisoners; amongst  
whome were thirtie personages of honorable estate,  
together with the king himselfe being wounded so  
sore, that he died within three daies after the battell,  
rather through anguish of mind than of his hurts (as  
some haue written) in the same yeare that he began  
his reigne. Donald of the Iles hauing thus got the  
victorie, toke vpon him as king, accordinglie as he  
had caused himselfe at the first to be proclaimed.

But because he came to the estate thus by blood, he  
continued still in doubt and feare of new conspi-  
racies, being guiltie in conscience of his wrong-  
full usurpation. Those prisoners also, which he had ta-  
ken in the battell, he kept in perpetuall captiuitie,  
menacing them present death, if anie of their friends  
and allies attempted anie stirre against him. More-  
ouer he nourished priue factions amongst the no-  
bilitie, supposing thereby that their powers would  
be the more feeble in anie publike exploit that was  
to be moued against him; finallie, if anie mischief  
happened amongst them, he caused the matter  
thoroughlie to be looked vpon, but with such regard  
that he alwaies enriched his owne cofers with the  
forfeitures and penalties which he toke vpon amongst  
them. He felldome times went abroad, and when  
he stirred forth anie whither, he had his garr about  
him, appointed with weapons in warlike sort for dout  
of treason. He aduanced diners of base condition  
to great wealth and honor, and behaued himselfe so  
in fondle sorts with his mistrustfull crueltie, that  
manie there were which dread him, and but a few  
that loued him, so that in the end being in a manner  
run into the deadlie hatred of all men, he was mur-  
thered one night at Cnuerlochthe (whither he was  
come to haue passed ouer into the Iles) by certeine  
that had conspired his death in the twelfth yeare of  
his reigne.

The chiefe of the conspirators was one Crathlint  
the sonne of king Findoche, who immediatlie after  
the deed done, conueied himselfe secretlie out of the  
chamber, and repairing vnto certeine nobles and  
gentlemen inhabiting nere hand in the countrie, he  
declared vnto them the whole matter, exhorting  
them to aid him, in reuenging the iniuries done not  
onelie to them priuatlie, as he knew verie well; but  
also to the whole state of the Scotish common welth,  
by the naughtie suggestion of diuerse of the kings  
complices, who as yet vnderstood nothing of their  
maisters death, but were all quiet in their beds, as  
men suspecting nothing lesse than that which was

Donald of the  
Iles subtile  
secretly by the  
enemies.

Crathlint

Crathlint is  
made king.

The Scots  
ouertaken.

Donald de-  
scribeth this  
battell.

Donald of the  
Iles taken  
vpon him as  
king.

Donald.

He guiltie con-  
science.

He himselfe  
and friends o  
Donald of th  
Iles are per-  
secuted.

The politike  
government  
of Crathlint.

Crathlint go-  
eth to hunt in  
the mountains  
of Strathclyde  
certeine call  
les Graupen  
mons.  
An ambassag  
from the  
Iles.  
The Scots re-  
quire the  
league to be  
renewed.

Donald of the  
Iles is mur-  
thered.  
Anno Christi  
273. H.B.

Crathlint  
chiese com-  
panie to the  
murdering  
of Donald.

Crathlint pro-  
uoketh to ob-  
serue the an-  
cient amitie  
betwixt the  
Scottishmen  
and Iles.  
The present  
league by Crath-  
lint vnto the  
king of the  
Iles.  
Diners Dic-  
tators come  
to Crathlint  
to hunt and  
make merie  
with him.  
A waste of the  
Scottish boggs.

Crathlint pro-  
cureth the re-  
prie of the  
countie to  
oppress the  
seruants of  
king Donald  
now

ith speed.

he pitched  
the com-  
Donald of  
r and whole  
within his  
into him,  
in the night  
ze that his  
fied in their  
his aduerfa-  
ien, seteth  
nany pithe  
nanlie sto-  
also by their  
at the Sco-  
it shot, but  
re at hand,  
urious foit,  
d with mul-  
some sauing  
g at defense  
in the place.  
e thousand  
; amongst  
gale estate,  
wounded so  
e the battell,  
his hurts (as  
at he began  
thus got the  
ingle as he  
lamed.

Donald of the  
Alex. sudent  
seteth upon  
the enemies.

The Scots  
overthrewen.

Donald dyed  
teth this  
foit.

Donald of the  
Alex. tabeth  
upon him as  
king.

Donald.

A gentle com-  
science.

ne Crathlint  
dialie after  
lie out of the  
e nobles and  
countrie, he  
e, exhorting  
ies done not  
rie well; but  
nmon welth,  
of the kings  
ing of their  
heir beds, as  
it which was  
now

Donald of the  
Alex. is mar-  
thered.  
Anno Christi  
273. H.B.

Crathlint  
chiefe confu-  
rator to the  
murdering  
of Donald.

Crathlint pro-  
cureth the no-  
bles of the  
countrie to  
opprelle the  
servants of  
king Donald.

not happened.

The gentlemen hearing the newes, and reioysing  
greatlie thereat, got them to their weapons, and  
earlie in the verie dawning of the day, comming  
upon the kings household meane, they stode about  
two hundred of them in the place where they lodged,  
the residue escaping forth of the house, and thinking  
to save themselves, were beaten downe in the coun-  
trie as they passed by the people, who bare so deadlie  
and mortall hatred vnto the late king, that they not  
onely reioysed much at his death, but thought them-  
selves sufficientlie reuenged, when they could kill  
anie that did belong vnto him.

Crathlint  
Crathlint is  
calle king.

After this, Crathlint being certeinlie knowne  
to be the sonne of king Findocke, by such en-  
dent tokens as were shewed by him that brought  
him vp, was (partlie in respect of his lust title, and  
partlie for consideration of his god seruice in deli-  
uering his countrie of so detestable a tyrant) aduan-  
ced to the gouernement of the kingdome, by con-  
sent of all the estates, and so being confirmed king,  
he perswaded the people that all the linage of the  
late tyrant Donald might be plucked vp, euen as it  
were a tree by the roots, least anie of them happlie  
remaining alieue, should find meanes afterwards to  
disturbe the common wealth. The people consented  
lightlie hereto, as they that before the mortall  
hate which they bare towards Donald, were now  
suddenlie in loue with Crathlint, not onely for his  
wit and other qualities of the mind, but also by rea-  
son of his comelie personage and passing beautie, set-  
ting forth all his doings greatlie to his high praise  
and commendation.

The kinmen  
and friends of  
Donald of the  
Alex. are per-  
suaded.

The politike  
gouernment  
of Crathlint.

The issue therefore with other the kinmen and a-  
lies of Donald were sought for, and those that were  
found, without anie difference or respect of age or  
sex, were cruellie put to death. Which done, Crath-  
lint appointed forth iudges and other administra-  
tors of iustice to see the lawes executed, and the coun-  
tries gouerned in god and quiet order, euerie man  
being assigned to his owne proper circuit. These he  
chose out of the most ancient peeres and barons of  
his realme. The yonger foit he reserved to attend  
upon his person.

Crathlint go-  
eth to hunt in  
the mountains  
of Grauebene,  
whither came  
unto him ambassa-  
dors from Thelargus  
king of the Picts,  
declaring the ioy  
which their mi-  
ster had conceiued  
for the slaughter  
of Donald, and  
the restoring of  
the right blode  
againe vnto the  
estate, requiring  
that the ancient  
league betwixt  
the Picts and  
Scotishmen  
might be once  
againe reue-  
newed.

Crathlint pro-  
cureth to ob-  
taine the an-  
cient league  
betwixt the  
Picts and  
Scotishmen.  
Crathlint  
cometh to  
the king of  
the Picts.  
Crathlint  
cometh to  
the king of  
the Picts.  
Crathlint  
cometh to  
the king of  
the Picts.

When he had taken direction in this wise for the  
rule of his kingdome, he went vp into the moun-  
tains of Grauebene, there to passe the time for a  
while in hunting the hart, and other wild beastes, whi-  
ther came vnto him ambassadors from Thelargus  
king of the Picts, declaring the ioy which their mi-  
ster had conceiued for the slaughter of Donald, and  
the restoring of the right blode againe vnto the e-  
state, requiring that the ancient league betwixt the  
Picts and Scotishmen might be once againe re-  
newed. Crathlint receiued these ambassadors most  
ioysfullie, giuing them heartie thanks on the behalfe  
of their master for this signification of his good will  
shewed by their comming, and herewith promised,  
that during his life he would gladlie obserue the  
old ancient amitie established betwixt the two na-  
tions: according to the tenor of the old league. More-  
ouer, when the said ambassadors should depart, he  
tooke vnto them to deliuer from him as a present vnto  
their master certeinie hordes, with hounds and  
greihounds, such as he thought that king Thelargus  
wanted.

And shortly after the returne of these ambassa-  
dors into their countrie, diuerse yong gentlemen  
of the Pictish nobilitie repaired vnto king Crath-  
lint, to hunt and make merie with him: but when  
they should depart home wards, perceiuing that the  
Scotish dogs did farre excell theirs, both in fairnessesse,  
swiftnesse, hardnesse, and also in long standing vp  
and holding out, they got diuerse both dogs and bit-

ches of the best kinds for breed to be giuen them by  
the Scotish lords, and yet not so contented, they stole  
one belonging to the king from his keeper, being  
more esteemed of him than all the other which he had  
about him. The maister of the leasly being informed  
hereof, pursued after them which had stolen that dog,  
thinking in deed to haue taken him from them, but  
they not willing to depart with him, fell at alterca-  
tion, and in the end chanced to strike the maister of  
the leasly through with their borespeares that he died  
presentlie, whereupon a noise and crie being raised  
in the countrie by his seruants, diuerie of the Scots  
as they were going home from hunting, returned;  
and falling upon the Picts to reuenge the death of  
their fellow, there ensued a shrewd bickering be-  
twixt them, so that of the Scots there died thyscore  
gentlemen, besides a great number of the com-  
mons, not one of them vnderstanding (till all was  
done) what the matter ment. Of the Picts there  
were about an hundred slaine.

The kinmen and friends of the Scots that were  
thus slaine, were wonderfullie moued with the in-  
iurie committed, insomuch that without comman-  
dement of king or capteine, they assembled in great  
numbers together, and entring into the Pictish con-  
fines, they began to rob, spoile and kill after the ma-  
ner of warre, wherewith the Picts being let in a  
rage, came forth together into the field, and encount-  
tering with the Scots, there was fought a sore bat-  
tell betwixt them, without capteine, order, or stan-  
dard, till at length the victorie remained with the  
Picts, of whom were slaine notwithstanding the day  
went on their sides, about two thousand men, but of  
the Scots there died about thre thousand, or more,  
as was supposed. Thus upon a light occasion was  
the league broken betwixt these two nations, who  
had continued as friends, the one still ready to aid  
the other, euer sith the daies of king Neutha, being  
the 7 in number that reigned after Fergus.

These two nations being thus fallen at debate,  
it was wonder to vnderstand with what cruellie the  
one sought to destroye the other. No pitie might  
moue their cruell hearts to spare either man, woman  
or child that fell into their hands: such was their in-  
ordinate and like desire which they had to shed each  
others blood. At last Thelargus k. of the Picts being  
a verie aged man, and perceiuing what mischief  
was happened through the follie of a few wilfull per-  
sons, appointed certein of his counsell to go as am-  
bassadors vnto king Crathlint, to find some means  
to haue the matter taken vp, for the auoiding of the  
imminent danger that was like to ensue to both na-  
tions. They according to their instructions com-  
ming to the place where Crathlint as then sojour-  
ned, had much adoe to get licence to come vnto his  
presence: but at length being admitted, they vied  
such humble perswasions grounded vpon reasona-  
ble considerations, that although no peace could be  
fullie concluded, yet a truce was granted them for  
thre moneths space, which was but soillie obserued,  
for deadly hatred and inward desire of reuenge was  
entred so farre into the breasts of the commons on  
both sides, that neither commandement nor punish-  
ment might staie them from the inuading of one  
anothers confines, inauager their princes and all  
their sore restraints.

In this meane time was the estate of the Ro-  
mane empire in Britaine brought into trouble by  
Carantius, of whome a little before mention hath  
bene made. Eutropius nameth him Carausius: he  
would not be acknowne at his comming to Rome  
of what linage he was descended, and so he was  
reputed to come of some base stocke, but yet through  
his worthie seruice in the warres, he attained vnto  
great

The Picts  
steale one of  
the kings best  
greihounds.

The Scots &  
Picts fight  
for a grei-  
hound.

what mischief  
ensued vpon  
so light an oc-  
casion as the  
stealing of  
a dog.  
This chanced  
about the yere  
of Christ 288,  
as lo. Ma.  
noteth.

The Scots  
rob the Pic-  
tish borders.  
The Scots &  
Picts encount-  
ter in battell.

The Scots  
discomfited by  
the Picts.  
What contin-  
uance the  
league was  
betwixt the  
Scots and  
Picts, & how  
broken about  
a small matter  
as begun a-  
bout a dog.

Cruell wars

Thelargus  
king of the  
Picts being  
an aged man,  
desireth to  
haue peace,  
and thereupon  
sendeth his  
ambassadors  
vnto Crath-  
lint.

A truce  
granted.

Carantius  
named by Eu-  
tropius Car-  
ausius, trou-  
bleth the  
estate of Bri-  
taine.

The soile  
practise of  
Carantius.

Carantius  
seerly to come  
to make an-  
swer to such  
matters as he  
was charged  
with.  
Carantius  
receiving co-  
munity into  
westmerland,  
causeth the  
people there  
to take his  
part against  
the Romans.

Carantius  
sendeth mes-  
sengers vnto  
king Crath-  
lint, in ex-  
cusing his fault  
for his brother  
Findoche's  
death.  
Carantius  
requereth to  
be aided a-  
gainst the  
Romans.

Crathlint re-  
joiceth to hear  
that Caranti-  
us was alive.

Crathlint re-  
solueth to aid  
Carantius, &  
certificeth him  
of the same.

The king of  
the Picts also  
promiseth to  
aid Caran-  
tius.

Crathlint  
king of the  
Scots and  
Carantius  
come to talke  
together.

Crathlint and  
the king of the  
Picts come to  
a communica-  
tion by Caran-  
tius his  
means, who  
trauelled to  
set them at one

great honor, and was appointed by Dioclesian to haue the soueraine regard ouer the coasts of the French ocean, to defend the same from pirats of the Sarons and other Germans, that fore molested the same in those daies. But for that he vled to suffer those rourers to take spoiles and prizes, to the end he might in their returne take the same from them againe, and conuert the gaine wholie to his owne vse, without restoring that which was due to the owners, or sending anie portion thereof to the Ro- mane emperor, he was complained vpon, and sent for; but for that he doubted to come to his answer, as one which knew himselfe guiltie, he furnished his name with men, bittels and ordinance, and with the same took his course about the west parts of Brit- taine, and landed in Westmerland, where he easilie procured the people there to submit themselves to be vnder his rule and obedience, and promised to de- liuer them from the greivous yoke and bondage of the Romans.

Thus hauing begun the foundation of that which he purposed to achieve, for his further advancement therein, he sent ambassadoes vnto his nephew king Crathlint, both declaring what he was, and also ex- cusing the trespasses furnished against him, for being of counsell touching the murder of his brother Fin- doche, father to the same Crathlint: and therefore if in putting away all mistrust of his innocencie in that behalfe, he would aid him against the Romans, he doubted not but that he should in short time vic- torie expell them out of all Britaine, and enjoy all those prouinces within the same (which as then they possessed) vnto his owne vse, and this he said should be more honor and gaine both to the Scottishmen & Picts, if they could be contented to renew friend- ship, and ioine with them in aid against their com- mon enemies, than to seeke to destroy one another, as he lately understood they had done for a dog.

Crathlint hearing the words of these ambassadoes, reioiced not a little, that his vnckle Carantius was not onely alive, but also had through his valiance achieved so high renowne as to be accounted one of the worthiest warriors amongst all the Romane capitaines. And hereupon with good aduise he deter- mined to aid him in that his enterprize for the con- quest of Britaine to the uttermost of his power. Ad- ding further, that if it were not for the warres which he doubted to haue with the Picts, he would not on- ly send him aid of men, but also come with them himselfe: and hereof he assured the ambassadoes both by word of mouth and letters. Who returning with such answer vnto their maister Carantius, he reioi- ced not a little, to vnderstand how well they had sped, and so much the more, for that he received about the same time the like answer from the king of Picts.

Shortlie after he came to an interuiew with the king of Scots at the water of Elke, where after he had purged himselfe with manie words of excuse, touching the murder of his brother Findoche, there was an assured friendship concluded betwixt them. And at the motion of Carantius, Crathlint was contented to come to a communication with the king of Picts, for the conclusion of a peace, to the intent that both of them might ioine their powers together, in aid of Carantius against the Romans. At this communication both the kings met, and Car- antius likewise was there, as a man indifferent betwixt them both, to do what he could to linke them both in amitie. And verelie his presence there vnto stood him much in stead, that chiefie through his persua- sion grounded vpon great reasons and weightie considerations, they agreed to conclude a peace, and to renew the old league in such maner and forme, and with such conditions, as should be thought re-

quisite by the aduise and discret order of eight an- cient persons: foure to be chosen on the one part, and foure on the other. Which eight persons taking the matter in hand, did so aduiseable giue order for the auoiding of all causes of grudge and hatred, that both parts held them satisfied with their arbitre- ment and direction, so that a sofull peace was confir- med, and all variance bitterlie quenched.

In this meane time Quintus Bassianus the Romane lieutenant in Britaine, vnderstanding how Carantius was thus revolted, and had not one- ly caused them of Westmerland to rebell, but also laine and chased the Romans out of that countrie, he was not a little disquieted, and determined with all speed to go against him, and to reuenge these in- juries. Within a few daies after, hauing his armie ready, he entered into Westmerland: but hearing that his enemies were already come to Poike, and had wonne, the citie by surrendre, he turned his force thitherward, in purpose to fight with them, though he vnderstood they were in three great battels, as the Scots in one, the Picts in another, and those of Ca- rantius retinue in the third. He lodged that night within a berie strong place, fenced about with ma- rishes.

But Carantius vnderstanding all the maner of his enemies by his espials, and being in campe within ten miles of them: thereabout, in the same night he raised his field without anie great byte, and by the leading of certeine guides he marched straight toward the place where Bassianus was in- camped, so that anon after the spring of the day he came thither: whereof Bassianus being aduertised, and perceiuing he should haue battell, maketh ready for the same, giuing the best exhortation he could vnto his people to plaie the men: but forsomuch as the most part of his armie were Britains, all his words nothing auailed: for they desirous to see the vic- torie of all the Romane power, even at the berie point when the battels should haue ioined, withdrew themselves apart without anie stroke stricken, and got them by into the next mounteins, to see what would ensue. The residue of the Romane armie, se- ing themselves thus forsaken of their fellows, and their sides left bare and open for the enemy to enter vpon them, fell to plaine running away, but by rea- son of the marish ground compassing them in on each side, seruing well to purpose for the Scots, and other the confederates, a great number of the Ro- mans, and other of their part were overtaken and laine. Amongst whome Bassianus himselfe was one, and Vircius the emperors procurator another.

The Britains (who as is said refused to fight in the beginning of the battell) yeilded themselves vnto Carantius, and sware to be his true liege men and subiects. In like maner Carantius appointed all such of the nobilitie as were betwixt twentie yeeres and threescore, to remaine with him in ho- stage: but the spoile of the field he diuided amongst his people equallie, so that as well the Scottishmen and Picts, as also his owne souldiers held them well contented and satisfied therewith. After this victo- rie Carantius caused himselfe to be proclaimed king of Britaine, blurring the gouernment therof wholie to himselfe, and reteining two thousand of the Scots and Picts to attend vpon the safeguard of his per- son, sent the residue home laden with riches of the enemies spoile. He sent also with them his ambassa- does, to render thanks vnto both the kings for their aid in this so prosperous a victorie, assigning vnto them as a portion of the conquest, the countie of Westmerland and Cumberland, with all that region which lay betwixt Adrians wall, and the citie of Poike, to inioy as their owne proper patrimonie for

Peace confir-  
med againe  
betwixt the  
Scottishmen  
and Picts.

Quintus  
Bassianus  
entereth into  
westmerland,  
but hearing  
that his ene-  
mies were at  
Poike he re-  
turneth thither.

Carantius  
persecuteth  
the christians.

Some of the  
Scots flee  
to auoid per-  
secution.

Crathlint de-  
stroyeth the  
temples of the  
false gods  
in Spain.

The Bri-  
tains being  
the Romans.

The first bi-  
shops see in  
Scotland.  
Sodorensis  
ecclesia.

Crathlint de-  
parteth out  
of this world.

The slaugh-  
ter of the  
Romans.

The Bri-  
tains yeild  
themselves  
vnto Caran-  
tius.

Carantius  
causeth  
Europius  
himself  
to be  
king of  
Britaine.

Carantius  
hauing got  
the victorie,  
beith the  
kingdome  
and the  
patrimonie  
thereof.

Caldei.

What peere  
Finco-marke  
began his  
reigne.

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for euer more. Finallie the said Carantius was  
slaine by his companion Alexus, as in the English  
hystorie ye may find more at large.

After this, Crathlint king of Scots deliuered  
from troubles against the Romans, deuised sundrie  
good ordinances for the quiet state of the Scottish  
common-wealth, causing the peace to be diligentlie  
observed betwixt him and the Picts. Also in his  
daies the persecution of the christians chanced, which  
the emperor Dioclesian commanded to be execu  
ted in most furious wise, so that there were few  
partes of the world (where anie christians were  
knowne to inhabit) that tasted not of that his cru  
ell ordinance and scourge in that behalfe. In Bri  
taine also, as well as in other places, there was no  
small quantitie of innocent blood shed, with most  
vnnecessfull murder committed, to the great tri  
umph of Christs crosse, that gloriois ensigne of our  
religion.

In which time Constantius Moxus father to  
Constantine the great, was resident in Britaine,  
who aduising the Scots to be a people whole gi  
uen to pillage and slaughter, as they were in dar  
determined with himselfe to haue brought them to  
subiection. But per he could atchieue any notable en  
terpise, he died, leaving behind him the fame of a  
right gentle and wortheie prince, sauing that in one  
point he forsook his honor, for that he was one  
of the chiefe that persecuted the christian flocke vnder  
Dioclesian, forcing no small number of the faith  
full amongst the Britains, to flee vnto the Scots  
and Picts to auoid his persecution. Whome Crath  
lint receiued for his part most louinglie, and assign  
ed vnto them (as the Scots say) the Ile of Span  
for a place of habitation, despoiling all such temples  
of the heathens religion belonging to the Druides,  
which had continued there since the beginning; and vt  
terlie abolished all the superstitious rites and cu  
stomes of the same Druides, with their whole order  
and brotherhood. He erected a temple there, which he  
dedicated vnto Iesus Christ our sauour, wherein the  
christians might celebrate their diuine seruice, accor  
ding to their profession. This church being richlie in  
dowed, was the first bishops see amongst the Scots,  
and therevpon was taken for the mother church of  
the realme. It is now called the church of saint Sa  
mour. Finallie Crathlint departed out of this life,  
after he had reigned 24 yeres, being much praised  
as well for his politike gouernment, as for his great  
and earnest zeale which he bare toward the aduance  
ment of the true christian religion.

Fincomarke that was his vnckles sonne, succeded  
him in the kingdome, & was placed on the stone  
of marble, to the great reioysing of all the estates,  
who wished him a prosperous reigne, and long to  
continue therein. There liued in king Crathlints  
daies a noble christian called Amphibalus, a Bri  
taine borne, who fleeing from the persecution then  
raised in his countrie, came vnto the same Crath  
lint, and by him was created the first bishop of saint  
Sauours church in Span: this Amphibalus did be  
rie much good amongst the Scots and Britains in  
setting forth the word of life, and rooting out of their  
hearts all superstitious errors of blind gentilitie.  
There were other also of right famous memorie a  
bout the same time, that ceased not in preaching, and  
instructing the people in the right beliefe, as Podo  
cus, Pileus, Calanus, Ferranus, Ambianus, and  
Carnocus, called by an old ancient name in the  
Scottish tong Culdei, that is to vnderstand, Cultores  
Dei, as you would say in English, the worshippers  
of God.

But now to the purpose touching Fincomarke,  
which all vnderstand, that he began his reigne in the

perce (as W. Harison saith) after the birth of our Sa  
uour 325, after the creation of the world 4292,  
and from the first establishing of the Scottish king  
dome 652, and in the 20 yere of Constantine the  
emperor. It chanced that Datanius king of the  
Britains was vanquished by Traherus a Romane  
capitaine, and forced for his refuge to flee vnto this  
Fincomarke then king of Scots, who receiued him  
as a friend. And further more though he were requi  
red by Traherus to deliuer him into his hands, as  
a traitor: and a rebell vnto the Romane empire, yet  
Fincomarke refused so to do, choosing rather to suf  
fer all Traherus his malice, and to haue warres  
with the Romane emperor, than to betray his friend  
who had put his life into his hands vpon an especiall  
trust of safegard.

Herewith Traherus being not a little moued, as  
sembled his power, and entred into Westmerland,  
the which countrie had remained in the Scottish  
mens hands euer since Carantius deliuered it ouer  
vnto them. Fincomarke hearing that the Romans  
would thus make him wars, had likewise raised a  
puissant armie to resist them, so that he had at the  
least 60 thousand persons together in one armie,  
as 20 thousand of his owne countrymen, 20 thou  
sand Picts, & ten thousand of such Britains as follo  
wed after Datanius. Fincomarke being thus furni  
shed, hastied forth to encounter with his enemies, be  
fore they should haue time to do any notable da  
mage vnto his subiects, & so comming within sight  
of them, sent an herald vnto Traherus, to vnder  
stand the cause why he thus inuaded his countrie, but  
receiuing fro him an vntoward answer, he brought  
forth his people into the field in order ready to giue  
battell, and so joining with the enimie, there was  
fought a right sore and cruell conflict, which continu  
ed for a time with vnnecessfull murder and slaugh  
ter on both parts.

Finallie, when the Romans were at a point to  
haue got the vpper hand, they were suddenlie put in  
such feare with the sight of a number of husband  
men, who had got together their cattell and were dri  
uing the same abate, that supposing they had bene  
some new succors comming to aid their enimies,  
they immediatlie fled vpon the same, leaving the  
victorie to their aduersaries: howbeit of the Scots  
side were slaine (as their chronicles report) sixtine  
thousand men, and on the Romane part about six  
tene thousand. Traherus himselfe escaped vnto  
Pozke, but hearing that Fincomarke and Datanius  
pursued after him, he forsooke that citie, and got him  
into places of more suertie, so that when the enimies  
came thither, the citizens yelded themselves, and  
receiued Datanius as their prince, offering from  
thenceforth to be vnder his rule and gouernment.  
The newes of these atchined victories being brou  
ted throughout the realme, caused a great number  
of the nobles to come in vnto Datanius, who recei  
ued them most thankfullie; & to conclude, wrought  
so by their support, that he was shortly after resto  
red to the gouernance of the whole realme, and esta  
blished therein according to his owne wish.

This done Fincomarke returned into his coun  
trie, as well himselfe as other of his nobles and  
men of warre, being highlie rewarded for their  
paines and trauell sustained in that iourne. There  
was also promise made and confirmed by solempne  
oath, that the countrie of Westmerland, with such o  
ther parts as were assigned to his predecessor king  
Crathlint, by order of Carantius at the time of  
their joining together in league against the Ro  
mans, should for euer remaine vnto Fincomarke, &  
to his successors the Scottish kings, without anie  
claime or title to be made to the same by any of the  
C. I. Britains:

322. H.B.  
4290. H.B.  
655. H.B.  
First of Con  
stantine. H.B.  
Datanius is  
vanquished, &  
fleeth into  
Scotland.

Traherus  
inuadeth West  
merland.

Fincomarke  
raiseth his  
power.

Fincomarke  
somewhat bat  
tled with  
Traherus.

The Ro  
mans flee.

The number  
is slaine.

Pozke is yeld  
ed vnto  
Datanius.

Datanius  
obtaineth the  
rule of Bri  
taine.

Westmerland  
assigned to the  
Scottishmen.

**A counsell  
kept at York.**

**Octavius  
counsell to  
inlarge his  
dominion.**

**The Brit-  
tains invade  
Westmerland.**

**Craberus  
returneth  
into Britain.  
Octavius is  
vanquished by  
Craberus.**

**Craberus by  
a conspiracie  
is murdered.  
Octavius is  
reconciled  
with Fin-  
comarke.**

**Octavius  
entreateth into  
amitie with  
the Pictish  
king.**

**Octavius be-  
cometh  
tributarie  
unto the Ro-  
man emperor.  
17 of Constantine  
& Constantius  
emperors. H.B.  
Fincomarke  
deceased.  
358. H.B.**

**Engenius &  
Ethodius  
sons to Fin-  
comarke.**

**Romacus,  
Fethelmacus  
and Angustianus  
sonnes to  
three seuerall  
brethren pre-  
tend a right  
to the estate.**

Britains: but this promise was not long kept, for shortly after that Octavius had once chased all the Romans forth of the British confines, and that Craberus was fled over into France, there was a counsell called at York, where it was not onely ordeined, that from thenceforth there should neuer anie stranger be suffered to reigne over the Britains, but also that the bounds of the realme should be extended forth beyond the wall made (as before is recited) by the emperor Adrian, even unto the old ancient bounds and limits, expelling forth the inhabitants of forren nations.

Such an immoderate lust of enlarging his dominion inflamed the hart of Octavius, that neither regard of his oth, nor remembrance of benefits received, might staie him from seeking to wrong them, whose aid had restored him unto his former estate and dignitie, as before we haue rehearsed. For hereupon there were ten thousand men of war sent into Westmerland, to the intent to conquer the same out of the Scottismens hands: but being encountered with a power of Scottismen & Picts, they were sharply repelled & quicklie put to flight. About the same time also, Craberus returned out of France with two legions of Romans and twentie thousand of other aids: and giving battell unto Octavius, he vanquished his armie, and constrained him for his refuge to flee unto the mouth of Humber, where he got certeine vessels, and sailed into Yorwaie, there to saue his life, because that Scotland was now no sure refuge for him. Thus was Craberus againe in possession of Britaine as lieutenant to Constantine the emperor: but shortly after he was by certeine conspirators in fauour of Octavius murdered, and then Octavius returned againe: as in the English chronicle is mentioned more at large.

Immediatlie upon his returne, he reconciled himselfe with Fincomarke the Scottish king, and was contented that he should quietlie inioy the countries of Westmerland and Cumberland, with such other territories as Constantine had granted in former time vnto Crathlint. Helikewise sent vnto the king of the Picts, and concluded a friendship with him, to the intent he might haue aid from him also, if it chanced the Romans should to invade his countrie, as shortly after they did, not ceasing till they had so wearied him with continuall wars, that in the end to be at rest (as his age and other necessities then required) he deliuered into their hands certeine castles and fortresses, and also became tributarie to the emperor, on condition that he might vse the office and name of a king all the residue of his daies. These things being thus quickened in Albion, the Romans, Britains, Scottismen and Picts, continued in friendlie peace without any notable trouble, till the ninth yeare of the reigne of Valentinian emperor of Rome: & first of Damasus the pope. In the which yeare Fincomarke king of Scots departed this life, after he had gouerned the estate about 47 yeeres. This was in the yeare of our redemption 172. This Fincomarke left behind him two sonnes, the one named Engenius, being as then about 18 yeeres of age; the other hight Ethodius, and was yonger than his brother by one yeere, so that neither of them might succeed their father, by reason they were not of yeeres sufficient to rule, according to the ancient ordinance.

Whereupon a counsell was called in Argile, where there was hard hold betwixt the three nephews to king Crathlint, that were begotten by three of his brethren, which of them should gouerne the land: their names were Romacus, Fethelmacus, and Angustianus. Romacus had a Pictish ladie of the blood roiall of that nation to his mother, and for that his

father was eldest brother next vnto Crathlint, he looked to be preferred, though he himselfe was yonger in yeeres than either Fethelmacus or Angustianus. Fethelmacus gaue his consent with such voyces as he had vnto Angustianus, where with Romacus being not a little offended, sought meanes to haue destroyed them both: but his practise being discovered, caused manie to withdraue their good wills from him, whereby his aduersaries were the more encouraged: and thereupon the counsell brake vp, either part deuising how to strengthen themselves against the others practises. But forsomuch as Angustianus vsed plaine meanes without any fraudulent dealing, he got the more friends, so that Romacus was constrained in the end to require aid of the king of Picts, who being more of kin to him, might not denie his request. Angustianus therefore vnderstanding that danger he was in, if he fell into his aduersaries hands, got together an armie of such as fauoured his cause, and encountering with him in battell was put to flight, and forced to flee into the westerne Isles with his cousin Fethelmacus, where remaining for a while, at length he was aduertised that the inhabitants had conspired against him, for doubt whereof he got him ouer into Ireland.

Angustianus being thus chased out of the realme, Romacus was receiued by the most part of the nobles and commons for their king. But as the accustomed manner of tyrants, committing thus to the gouernement of a realme through euill meanes, is to rule with crueltie, so did he behaue himselfe, according to that semblable rate, so soone as he thought himselfe to be sure of the estate. Wherefore such as had bozne any euill will to Fincomarke, and were out of fauor in his daies, those did Romacus call vnto him, and afterward vsed their counsell about all other mens, aduancing them also to most high rule and rich offices. Again, those which had bene in fauor with Fincomarke, or bare any affection toward his issue, he sought couertlie to bereaue them both of life, lands and goods, so that by such his doings, there was gathered no light suspition, that he would likewise ver long find meanes to dispatch Ethodius and Engenius the sons of the same Fincomarke, thereby to be the more assured of the crowne & kingdom of itselfe. The two children also fearing as much on their owne behalfe, by the aduise and helpe of their trustie friends, conueried themselves into Westmerland, and after ouer into the Ile of Span, where they remained looking for a date.

When began banishments, confiscations of goods, and slaughter of such as were thought to be fauourers of Angustianus cause, without respect either of sex or age, till the nobles of the realme being not a little moued with such his cruell doings, and tyrannicall gouernment, conspired together by secret meanes how to deliuer their countrie of so pernicious a tyrant. And to bring this their purpose the more speedilie to passe, they wrought so closelie, that they had assembled a great armie, and were come with the same within ten miles of the place where he then laie, yet he had any vnderstanding of their enterprise, so that whereas he (being vnprovided of resistance) assailed by sight towards Pictland to haue escaped their hands, it presented him nothing, for he was taken by the waie, and receiued such end as his former passed life had verie well deserved, in the fourth yeere of his reigne: his head was set vpon the end of a pole, and carried about to be shewed vnto the people to their great reioicing. There were slain at the same time beside him, diuers Scots & Picts, of counsell with him in all his cruell practises.

After which execution done, they sent for Angustianus, who returned into Scotland, & was proclaimed king,

king, as well by the commons. Britains had slaine Constantine the rebels, to countering in battell. And within three Britains, though being constrained to the least a sonne who doubting to flee into the Ile of Ierne peres vnto dius, the sonnes of perishing in their ted, till he had by iocation.

While these troubles, Angustianus was of Ierne king of Ierne, to avenge the death of his father, and greatlie increased his power, mucher in of towne with his power increased, which had increased so far by medie but to tri field; for no anie agreement made humble. Wherefore perceiving prepared an armie where (after some time remained with his Picts were by flight.

Octavius hit to Camelot, to haue their aduanced of the in of he was most danger he brought somewhat ease. Had thus conceiued neither wanted that assemble, twin fauour of I earned wife the say to the contsped an armie the Scottish boy sent of his nobles men of waities of his don that might be g he staied not entered into all afoze him at Angustianus ting least the Romans should destruction of the anie friendlie fall vnto some waieres to ind estates, in put to the hands of and the Britai such dangers this warre th

**Romacus  
conspired  
to destroy  
Angustianus.**

**Angustianus  
was  
driven  
into  
Ireland  
with  
Fethelmacus.**

**Romacus  
vanquished  
Angustianus.**

**Romacus  
was  
receiued  
by  
the  
king.**

**Romacus  
gouerned  
tyrannicall.**

**Ethodius &  
Engenius  
the sons of  
Fincomarke  
are conueried  
into the Ile  
of Span.**

**The Scots  
began  
conspire  
against  
Romacus.**

**Romacus  
was  
apprehended  
and  
put  
to  
death.**

**Angustianus  
was  
proclaimed  
king.**

**Octavius  
king of  
Ierne  
was  
driven  
from  
the  
Ile.**

**The Picts  
were  
driven  
from  
Scotland.**

**Octavius  
was  
driven  
from  
Scotland.**

**Octavius  
was  
driven  
from  
Scotland.**

**Angustianus  
was  
driven  
from  
Scotland.**

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gouerneth  
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Eugenius  
the sonnes of  
Fincomarke  
are commyng  
into the Ile  
of Span.

The Scottis  
lords conspire  
against Ro  
macius.

Romacius  
apprehended  
and put to  
death.

Angulus  
proclaimed  
king.

hing, as well by consent of the lords, as fauour of the commons. About the same time, because the Britains had slain the Roman lieutenant, the emperor Constantine sent one Sparinus thither to chastise the rebels, with whom the same Sparinus in countering in battell, gaue them a great overthrow. And within three daies after Octavius king of the Britains, though grieue, age, and long sicknesse, being consumed to the last point, departed this life. He left a sonne behind him named also Octavius, who doubting to fall into the hands of the Romans, fled into the Ile of Span, and remained there certaine yeeres unknowne with Eugenius and Ethodius, the sonnes of Fincomarke. The Britains also persisting in their rebellion, were often times discomfited in battell by Sparinus, and soe by him persecuted, till he had brought them againe to their full subiection.

While these troubles continued in Britaine, Angustus k. of Scots was sore disquieted by Pectanus king of Pits, who enforced himselfe to reuenge the death of his cousine Romacius, making sundrie rodes & forraies into the Scottis confines, and greatlie indamaged the countrie, by spoiling of goods, murthering of the inhabitants, and burning of townes with villages; and in the end hauing his power increased by the aid of certeine Scottis men, which had borne good will vnto Romacius, he pealed so fore upon Angustus, that he had no remedie but to trie the hazard of battell in a pitched field; for no friendlie persuasions to haue peace or anie agreement could be heard, though Angustus made humble sute to haue purchased the same. Wherefore perceiuing no hope of attouement, he prepared an armie, and met his ennemie in the field, where (after sore fight and much slaughter) the victorie remained with Angustus and Pectanus with his Pits were chased and forced to saue themselves by flight.

Pectanus himselfe neuer rested till he came vnto Camelon, where he called a councell of his nobles to haue their aduise by what meanes he might be reuenged of the iniuries receiued by the Scots, where of he was most desirous, not regarding into what danger he brought his owne realme, so he might somewhat ease his rancour and displeasure, which he had thus conceiued against his enemies the Scots. Neither wanted there diuers great personages in that assemblie, which (to content his mind and to win fauour of him) set forward the matter in such earnest wise that (notwithstanding what other could say to the contrarie) it was ordeined that with all speed an armie should be leued, and led forth into the Scottis borders. Pectanus hauing thus the consent of his nobles to invade the Scots anew, caused men of warre to be taken by through all the parties of his dominion, and that of the choicest men that might be got; the which being once assembled, he staied not long but set forward with them, and entred into Kalendar wood, spoiling and destroying all afoze him at his owne will and pleasure.

Angustus vnderstanding his furie, and doubting least the Britains through setting on of the Romans should seeke to ioine with the Pits, to the destruction of the Scots, thought good to assaie if by anie friendlie meanes he might bring Pectanus to fall vnto some reasonable point, rather than by the warres to indanger both the Pictish and Scottis estates, in putting the same in aduenture to fall into the hands of their ancient enemies the Romans and the Britains. Whereupon therefore he wrote vnto Pectanus a gentle letter, declaring therein all such dangers and inconueniences as might insue by this warre thus by him attempted. And againe,

how necessarie it were for both the nations to haue peace together as then, considering how it was not to be thought that Sparinus the Roman legat (hauing now all the Britains at his commandement) would rest (if occasion were offered) till that he had fullie subdued both the Scots and Pits: for the auoiding of which perill he offered for his part, to accept anie reasonable conditions of peace, that should by him be prescribed.

But Pectanus in no wise would giue eare to anie treatie of peace, so that Angustus being forced to giue battell for defense of his subieas, brought his people into the field, and exhorting them to plaie the men with sundrie comfortable wordes, he placed them in order of battell. On the other part Pectanus likewise encouraged his folkes to do valiantlie, so that the archers on both sides stepped forward, letting their arrowes flie frelie one at an other, vntill at length coming to handblowes they strooke on freshlie, beating downe and killing without sparing on either side, so that a good space the victorie was doubtful. At length Angustus perceiuing his people to be put to the worst, rushed forth into the thick of the prease amongst his enemies, where he was quicklie espied, oppressed with prease, and slaine out of hand. The most part of his people missing him, & not vnderstanding what was become of him, supposed that he had bene fled, and therefore fell also to running away; but the residue that stood still at their defense were slaine downe right. Thus the victorie remained with the Pits, but neither part had anie cause to reioise, for the captiues on both sides were slaine, besides manie thousands of other; so that aswell the one nation as the other departed from the place right pensif and sorrowfull, giuing manie a sore curse vnto such as had bene the procuress and nourishers of such detestable hatred betwixt those two nations, which had so long a time bene conioined in the faithfull band of amitie, to the great quiet and wealth of both the countreies. After this bloudie battell, aswell the Scots as Pits sat still for a season, not attempting anie enterprife of importance the one against the other.

Angustus reigned not past two yeares before he was slaine thus in the field, as before ye haue heard, in whose place succeeded his cousine Fethelmacus with little better successe: for in the second yeare of his reigne, desirous to be reuenged of the Pits, he assembled an armie, and entring into Angulus, began to spoile & slea downe right all that was before him, without regard to impotent, aged, tender infants, or other. The Pits also being kindled herewith, gathered their power together, and encountering with the Scots, there was a sore battell fought betwixt them; but the Scots first putting the wings of their enemies host to flight, at length discomfited their maine battell also, being left naked on both sides of all aid or succour, great slaughter was made in the chase of the Pits as they fled hither and thither to saue themselves. So that among other, their king named Pectanus, brother to the aboue remembred Pectanus, being wounded with an arrow, died within three daies after this cruell conflict was ended. The courage of the Scots now being aduanced with this their prosperous successe, they passed forthwith ouer the riuer of Tyle, to rob, harrie, and spoile the countrie of Fife.

The Pits, perceiuing themselves not to be strong enough to match with their enemies in plaine field at hand-strokes, determined yet with stratagies and light encounterings (if it were possible) to keape them off from the winning of anie of their fenced townes, castles or strong holds. And to be the more able to mainteine themselves in this their purposed

Pectanus te  
suffereth all of  
fers of peace.

Angustus  
and Pectanus  
ioine in battell  
with their ar  
mies.

Angustus  
is slaine.

The Scots  
are discomf  
ted.

Pectanus is  
also slaine.

Fethel  
macus.

The Scots  
discomfite  
the Pits.

An other  
Pectanus  
king of the  
Pits dieth of  
hunts recei  
ned in the  
fight with the  
Scots.

Heirgust is  
chosen king  
of the Picts.

He presumed  
treason.

Fethelmacus  
is murdered  
in his bed.

In the fifth  
yeare of the  
emperour  
Constantinus.

260. H.B.

Saint Keule  
commeth into  
Fife, then a  
part of Pict-  
land, and now  
of Scotland.

The Scots  
send into the  
Iles of Man,  
for Fincomarke  
his sonnes.

Eugenius.

Eugenius is  
murdered king.

The practise  
of Maximus  
to destroy the  
Scots.

## The historie of Scotland.

intention, they did choose on Heirgust to their king, a man of subtil nature and craftie imagination. This Heirgust deuising how to deliuer his countrie of such an intollerable enimie as Fethelmacus was, procured two like fellowes Picts by nation, to counterfeit themselves for Scots, and for that they were cunning throwers of the dart, in which kind of exercise the same Fethelmacus took great pleasure, they were appointed to make sure to be in seruice with him, to the intent that when they might elp their time, they should slea him, by one kind of meane or other.

They (according as they were instructed, comming into Scotland) found meanes not onelic to haue place in the kings house, but also to corrupt one of his musicians an harper, and to bring him to be of counsell with them in this their wicked purpose. By reason whereof, in one night as he laie at Carrike, where he was busie to make his prouision there for the warres against the Picts, the same musician (hauing plaied in the kings bed-chamber till he had brought him asleepe) did let in those two Pictish traitors, who forthwith slea him euen as he laie so sleeping: but the king growning grieuouse at the deable stroke, some of them that watched before the chamber dore perceiving what was happened, followed after the murderers, who fled with all speed into the next mountains, where they sought to defend themselves with hurling stone stones, upon them that came up towards them: but in the end, being taken, and confessing the deed, with the whole manner of the same, they were drawen in peeces with wild horses: the musician also being apprehended and convict of the treason, suffered semblable the like kind of death. Fethelmacus came to his end in the third yeare of his reigne, being the second yeare after the death of the emperour Valentinian.

In this season (as in times past hath bene beleued) certaine bones of the apostle saint Andrew were brought forth of Achata, a prouince in Grecia, into Scotland by a Greekish monke named Regulus Albatas, commonlie called S. Keule, a man in those daies higly esteemed, for the opinion which the world had conceiued of him for his holie and vertuous life, to whome king Heirgust gaue his palace that stood in that part of Fife, where the same Regulus first landed: at whose contemplation also, he erected a church in old time called Kirkruill, that is, the church of S. Keule, afterwards named the old church of S. Andrews, standing in the abbie churchyard, where the charnes were wont to be buried. But to leaue this matter to the further report and credit of the Scottish chronicles, we will proceed with our purpose. After the death of Fethelmacus, the nobles and commons of the Scottish nation sent into the Ile of Man for Eugenius the sonne of king Fincomarke, where he with his brother Ethodius had remained, during the daies of the three last reigned kings, Romiacus, Angustianus, and Fethelmacus.

This Eugenius at his comming into Albanie was inuested king of the Scots by common consent of all the nation. About the same season, Maximus the Romane lieutenant in Britaine, vnderstanding of the late dissention betwixt the Scottishmen and Picts, deuised which waies he might best subdue both those nations, thereby not onelic to enlarge the bounds of the Romane empire, and to deliuer the Britains from inuasions of those so cruell enimies, but also to haue the south part of the Ile more obedient and loiall vnto the same empire than heretofore it had bene. He thought good therefore in the beginning to assaie if he might winne in friendship with the one of the nations, till he had destroied

ed the other: for he considered it would be an hard peece of worke to haue to doe with them both at once. Whereupon directing his letters vnto Heirgust king of the Picts, he required to renew the old league with him and his people, promising to aid him against the Scots, common enimies not onelic to the Pictish nation, but also to all such people as loued rest and quietnesse, as might easilie be perceived by their continuall practise and vseage, neuer seeking to disturbe their neighbors with rodes & forraies, so that it stood with a generall commonwealth to haue them betterlie destroyed and extirped.

Heirgust right iollfull of these newes, gaue hartie thanks vnto almighty God, that had moued the Romane lieutenant to make such offer vnto him, whereby the furious rage of the Scots might be once repressed, and put away from his people: therefore willing to confirme a friendship with the same lieutenant, he promised to renew the league betwixt the Romans and Picts, vpon anie reasonable conditions which he should deuise, not onelic requiring an aid at this time against the said Scots, but also at all other, as occasion should demand. Maximus hauing received this answer, he found means also to come to a communication with Heirgust nere to Forke, where the league was confirmed betwixt them, and therein the Scots not onelic aduoged for common enimies, both to the Romans and Britains, but also to the Picts. And further therewith were certaine orders appointed how the war should be pursued with all expedition against them. These things thus finished, and both the princes returned to their homes, Maximus sent an herald vnto Eugenius the Scottish king, commanding him on the behalfe of the Romane empire, to make restitution for all wrongs and iniuries done vnto the Pictish nation. And further, to deliuer into the hands of Heirgust the R. of the Picts, the authors of the same wrongs and iniuries to be punished at his discretion, or if he would refuse thus to doe, that then he should looke to haue the emperour and the Romane people enimies vnto him and all his nation.

Eugenius for answer hereunto, declared that since he entred into the government of the Scottish estate, he had done nothing that might be thought prejudiciall either to the Romans or to the Britains their subiects: and as for the Picts, he would be glad to haue peace with them, if there might be amends made for all displeasures done on either part, according as should be thought to stand with equite and reason. Whether did he see what cause the Romans should haue to make warres for the Picts against those that had done them no displeasure: but if it were so that he must needs haue wars, he would do what in him lay to defend the libertie of the Scottish nation, trusting chiefly in the succours of almighty God, who vsed to fauour the cause of the iust and innocent, against such as sought to wrong them vpon feined quarrels, without occasion giuen. Maximus receiving this answer from Eugenius, assembled with all speed a strong & mightie armie of Romans, Britains, and Frenchmen, with the which entring into Westmerland, he spoiled that countrie most miserable, taking diuers castles and strong holds by force, the which he furnished with garrisons of his people, and then passing into Anabale, burned and barried the same; from thence he entred into Galloway, omitting no kind of tyrannie that might be shewed against the inhabitants, so that the feare was great throughout all the countrie: for of manie yeares before, so great an armie had not bene seen in those parties.

Eugenius notwithstanding, gathering his power together, determined to trie the fortune of battell, and

Heirgust  
king of the  
Picts.

Heirgust  
king of the  
Picts.

Maximus  
and Eugenius  
in the  
Scottish  
warres.

In heretofore  
sent from  
Maximus  
vnto Eugenius.

The answer  
of Eugenius  
vnto the  
Romans.

Maximus  
hath  
gained.

Maximus  
hath  
gained.

Eugenius  
hath  
gained.

Maximus  
hath  
gained.

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Maximus  
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Maximus  
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Maximus  
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Maximus  
hath  
gained.

Maximus  
hath  
gained.

Heirgust  
king of the  
Picts.

Heirgust  
king of the  
Picts.

Heirgust  
king of the  
Picts.

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Heirgust  
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Heirgust  
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Heirgust  
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Picts.

Heirgust  
king of the  
Picts.

Heirgust  
king of the  
Picts.

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which being d  
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customed gull  
numbered in thi  
ferce and har  
enimie with di  
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Maximus h  
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Maximus, wher  
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with his  
enemies, and  
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the Romans  
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and joining with his enemies nere unto the wa  
ter of Cree, his people were quicklie put to flight,  
and chased, by reason that they were much inferior  
in number. But the Romans pursuing the chase,  
happened to light amongst them of Argile, which  
had not bene at the battell, but were coming to  
wards it, and now fiercelie incountring with such  
as pursued their friends, they caused them to retire  
backe with some losse, wher upon the other Scots al  
so (which were chased) returned, & gaue a fresh onset,  
so that if night had not come on the sooner, there had  
bene a far greater multitude of the Romans slaine  
in that bickering than they themselves did thinke  
of. Whereupon the Romans, doubting what their en  
emies intended to do, they fortified their campe that  
night verie stronglie; but Eugenius understanding  
what a multitude of his folks were slaine in the bat  
tell, so that the verie streame of the water of Cree  
was stopped up with dead carcasses, he thought best  
(with the aduise of the peeres) to licence his people to  
depart to their homes, and not to fight with his  
enemies any more for that time.

Which being done, he himselfe repaired the same  
night unto Carrike, where he remained for a sea  
son, making provision for defense of his realme the  
best he could deuise. Maximus having knowledge  
in the morning how the Scots were quite gone  
their waies, he determined to have followed them;  
but being certified of a rebellion amongst the  
Britains in Kent, he changed his purpose, and re  
turned thitherwards, to appease that tumult, leaving  
in Galloway a good part of his armie to keepe such  
holds as he had got in that voiage. The yeare fol  
lowing, Maximus was so busied in the south parts  
of Britaine, that he could not attend unto the  
warres against the Scots, otherwise than in main  
teining such garrisons as he had placed in their  
countrie, by reason whereof sundrie bickerings  
happened betwixt them of the same garrisons and  
the Scots, who laboured not onlie to deliuer their  
owne countrie out of the hands of all forrainers, but  
also to invade and destroie Pictland, so that they har  
ried the countrie of Fife, with part of Spenteth and  
Sterling shire, burning & wailling towne, castles,  
and houses most cruelle.

Whereof Maximus being certified, made sen  
sibleness as though he were fore grieved therewith,  
but inwardlie he could haue reioiced at nothing  
more than to heare of the injuries don by the Scots  
unto the Pictis, supposing it to make chiefe for his  
purpose; and hereupon preparing an armie against  
the next summer, when he had disposed all things in  
a quiet order amongst the Britains, he set forward  
with the same towards Galloway, where being ar  
riued, there was no kind of crueltie spared against  
the poore inhabitants. Eugenius in the meane time  
understanding the coming of his enemies, mu  
stered his people, and appointed the assemblee to be  
made in the countrie of Aile, which way he heard  
that his enemies would trauell. Thither came also  
not onlie all the able men of the Scotch dominions,  
but likewise a great number of lustie & strong wo  
men apt to beare armour according to the old ac  
customed guise of their nation, so that there were  
numbered in this armie fiftie thousand persons right  
fierce and hardie, desirous either to vanquish the  
enemie with dint of sword, or else to die presentlie in  
the place.

Maximus hearing that the Scots were thus in  
camped in Aile, marched towards them, and lod  
ged the same night not far off from the river of  
Munda, where knowledge was given unto Euge  
nius, that Maximus was come within five miles of  
him, with a greater armie than he had at his last in

countring with him in Galloway. These aduertise  
ments caused no small stir to be raised in the campe,  
some being stricken with present feare; where other  
contrariwise moued with high indignation, desired  
nothing so much as to come in battell with the Ro  
mans, whose cruell tyrannie they much detested.  
Eugenius himselfe shewed no countenance of feare  
at all, but encouraging his people with comfortable  
words, he brought them streight in order of battell,  
divided into three wards, committing one of them  
to the leading of his brother Ethodius, the second  
to Doctus the gouernour of Argile, & reseruing the  
third to himselfe. This done, he made vnto them a  
pithie oration, declaring how necessarie it was for  
them to plaie the men, considering that in victorie  
consisted the onelie hope of libertie; and in being  
vanquished, their countrie was endangered to be  
brought into perpetuall bondage for ever, for the  
onelie marke which the Romans thot at, was to op  
presse the libertie of the whole Island, and to reduce  
the same into the forme of a prouince, to be gouer  
ned at the will of the victors, to the breach of all  
their old ancient lawes & long continued customs.

With these and manie other like reasons he went  
about to encourage the minds of his subiects, in such  
wise, that in manner the most part of them determi  
ned rather to die with honor, than to liue in such mi  
serie as they feared would insue, if the victorie should  
rest vpon the Romans side. And as they were in  
such talke together, suddenlie commeth in one of  
their scouts with newes, that Maximus with his ar  
mie was euen at hand. This was in the morning,  
anon after the sunne was vp, where he was not lo  
ked for till the euening following, in so much that the  
same his sudden arrivall, chancing so farre contra  
rie to their former expectations, troubled all their  
heads, and brought them into a great maze, for that  
hereby they were constrained to change the order of  
their battells to haue the sunne on their backs, as  
they had provided at the first it should haue bene, if  
the enemies had not come untill the after none. Yet  
notwithstanding, they had no sooner changed their  
place, and gotten themselves into arrais of battell  
again, but that with great violence they pressed  
forward to giue the onset vpon the Romans. Which  
Maximus perceiving, made all the speed he could to  
set his men in order of battell, that he might receiue  
his enemies comming thus to encounter him. So  
both sides being fullie bent to battell, and approached  
within danger of shot, they let slee the same most e  
gerlie, albeit that through halting forth to come at  
hand-strokes, there was little hurt done with bowes  
or darts.

The Scots crying vpon the name of their wo  
rdie and famous ancelloz king Cald, did late about  
them, most fiercelie, after they came once to the ioi  
ning: and likewise the Romans, being encouraged  
with the cherefull words of the lieutenant Maxi  
mus, boldlie encountered them, so that it was doub  
full at the first whether part should haue the worse  
end of the stasse. But shortly there followed variable  
successes, for on the one part, they of Rosse and Mar  
being appointed vnder Ethodius to encounter that  
wing of the enemies where the Pictis were, fought  
so egerlie and with such ferce wills, that they easlie  
put the Pictis vnto flight, beating downe a great  
number of them as they would haue passed the wa  
ter of Dune, but streightwaies after falling to the  
spoils, they were slaine downe right by a legion of  
such Romans as were sent by Maximus vnto the  
succours of the Pictis.

On the other side, in the left wing those of Argile,  
Cantire, Aile, and Coningham, who were matched  
with the Britains, Frenchmen, and Germans, after  
C. iij. long

Eugenius  
comforteth  
his people.

The sudden  
arrivall of  
Maximus.

The Scots  
giue the onset.

The battell  
is done.

Doubtfull  
fight.

Ethodius  
northward  
the Pictis.

The Scots  
having van  
quished the  
Pictis, are  
slaine by the  
Romans.

long and cruell fight were there slaine in the place, greatlie to their fame and glorie for ever, so that by this means the maine battell of the Scottis men, wherein Eugenius himselfe stood amongst his people, was left bare & naked on both the sides. Which Maximus perceiuing, he caused the same to be assailed on each part with such violence, that in the end longer resistance preuailed not, but that their maine battell must needs be opened perforce, by means whereof Eugenius choosing rather to die in the place, than either to save his life by flight, or by rendering himself into his enemies hands to live in miserie, &c. was there slaine, together with a great number of his nobles and gentlemen, hauing determined by the example of their maister to die rather speedlie with honor, than longer to live with shame and reproch. Thus Eugenius lost his life with his kingdom, in the third yere after his first entering to the rule, hauing inioied few good daies in rest during the said time.

The Scottis  
battell is ouer-  
throwne.

Eugenius is  
slaine.

The furious  
rage of the  
Scottis  
carrers.

Such of the Scots also as were appointed to keepe the cartage and trusse of the field, seeing their lords and maisters thus slaine, rushed forth with such weapons as they had at hand, in purpose to slay some number of their enemies, not passing though it should cost them also their owne liues, so that they might die reuenged. The slaughter was great which at the first was made, more through an obstinate desire of reuenge, than by any valiant activitie: but this companie being anon broken in sunder, and driven backe, they were finally slaine & beaten downe. Whereupon, the Romans that pursued in chase after their enemies, when the battell was done, encountered with great numbers of such women and aged persons as followed a farre off, to vnderstand the successe of the field, doubting what hap might fall to their children and kinsfolks, whose slaughter when they perceiued, like people enraged they due vpon such Romans as they met with; but being easlie vanquished, and refusing to flee, they were also slaine and cut in peeces in a most miserable manner.

The spoile di-  
uided amongst  
the soldiers.

The buriall of  
the dead bod-  
ies by ap-  
pointment of  
Maximus.

Ethodius seze  
wounded, as  
committed to  
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The Romans hauing thus rid the fields of all kind of enemies, lodged that night abroad here and there at their pleasure, where they might heare the dolefull gronings, and lamentable complaints of them that lay wounded, and as yet not dead, cursing most bitterlie the cruell tyrannie and conetous ambition of the Romans, with that most detestable disloyaltie of the Picts, procuring this murder and destruction of those people that had deserued farre otherwise at their hands. When the morning was come, & the light appeared, Maximus the lieutenant caused the spoile of the dead bodies to be gathered, & equalie diuided amongst his men of warre. And such as were found sore wounded and not dead, to shew some token of clemencie, according to the old accustomed manner of the ancient Romans, he commanded surgeons to see to the cure of them. The other being dead, he suffered to be buried, causing the corpse of Eugenius himselfe to be interred in most solemn and pompous sort, after the vsage of the Roman princes.

His brother Ethodius being found mangled in most pitifull wise, and in manner halfe dead, was also taken up by commandement of the same Maximus, and surgeons charged to haue the ordering of him, and to shew their diligence for the cure of his hurts in most speedie and gentle wise. The victorie thus achieved, Maximus surueteth the countries of Bile, Carrike, and Contingham, with that also of Calidone, and seizeth the same into his hands, suffering the inhabitants to inioy both goods and lands in peace and quietnesse vpon their othes of allegiance, without any further molestation. Wheregust

king of the Picts with other the nobles of that nation, were nothing contented therewith, desirous to see the utter destruction of all the Scottis race. Wherevnto Maximus at the first would not agree, alledging the ancient custome of the Romans, who sought rather to vanquish by benefits, than by the sword, enen vsing to spare such as submitted themselves, and in no wise to spot the honour or maiestie of their empire with crueltie.

But the Picts not satisfied herewith, went about earnestlie to persuaide him in no conditon to suffer the Scots to haue any abiding within the confines of Britaine, if he wished any quietnes in the estate thereof, for their delight (said the Picts) was onelie set to seeke occasion how to disturbe the peace, to line by the pillage and spoile of their neighbours, and namelie of the Picts, vnto whose confusion (as the prophetes spake) they were begotten and borne. Finally when all their earnest sute missed the wished effect, they fell to and assaied if they might bring that to passe by wicked meed and thorough corrupting bribes, the which they could not do by other means. And enen as it oftentimes chanceth in such cases, where words are but spent in wast, gifts yet preuaile: so also came it to passe enen here, for at length a proclamation came forth by procurement of the Picts, that all such as were naturall Scottis men, should by a certeine date auoid out of those countries that they possessed in Britaine, vpon paine of losing life and goods, & to deliuer by their houses and lands vnto such Britains and Picts as were appointed by the Romans for to inioy the same.

The Scots perceiuing themselves not able to make any resistance, obeyed this commandement, some of them passing ouer into Ireland, some into the weserne Isles, and some of them got ouer also into Flaowate, and Denmarke, and manie there were that got intertainment amongst the Romans soldiers, and went ouer with them into France, as yet Gallia, to serue in the warres there, and in other places vnder the emperors ensignes. The Picts were so cruell and diligent to see all the Scottis lineage confined, that they would not content that a certeine number of gentlewomen should remaine behind, who had their husbands slaine in the last warres, and made intercession in most lamentable wise vnto Maximus, that they might be permitted to abide in their native countrie all the residue of their liues, though in seruile estate, to the end that they might be buried after the same were once ended in graues with their slaine husbands.

Whereupon, where Cartandis queene of the Scots, late wife vnto Eugenius, was brought vnto Maximus, with two gentlewomen and a gouerne from the towe of hir husband, where she had remained euersith his buriall in continuall mourning, forsomuch as she was a Brittain, and descended by lineage from the princes of Wales, Maximus lamenting hir miserable case, assigned the citie of Carrike vnto hir, with certeine other reuenues for the maintenance of hir estate. But after she had taken leaue of such as had the conduction of hir, and was come into a village not farre from Carrike aforesaid, it chanced that a sort of Pictis riders, or (as I may call them) robbers, met with hir, small to hir profit, and lesse to their owne ease, for they did not onelie steale hir gowne, but also beat hir gentlewomen, and stripped both them and hir of all that they had, whereof Maximus being informed, caused them that had done so vile a deed to be apprehended & executed by death, according as they had deserued. The queene herselfe being brought backe vnto Maximus, and honorable intreated, had all hir substance restored vnto hir againe, so nere as it was possible.

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The cruel  
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the Dits.

Cartandis  
queen of  
Scots.

Princely  
dies.

Cartandis  
queen of  
Scots.

But the Dits being offended herewith, and spe-  
ciallie for putting to death of their men, sundrie of  
their nobilitie came vnto Sparinus, and began to  
make a sore complaint in that behalfe, declaring  
that the defects of their nation had not bene such to-  
ward the Romane empire, as to haue their people  
put to execution for a womans sake, being both an  
enimie and a prisoner, therefore they required that  
he might be confined into Britaine, and according  
to the tenor of the proscription, spoiled of all hir  
goods. Here Cartandis being present hir selfe, be-  
gan to make pitifull lamentation, bewailing hir  
most unhappie state, in that contrarie to the order of  
hir wretched case and present miserable fortune, she  
should now be forced to turne againe into hir coun-  
trie: wishing rather than she should be enforced so  
to do, that she might offer vp hir life as a sacrifice  
in the place of hir husbands buriall: and therefore  
holding vp hir hands vnto Sparinus in most pitifull  
wise, she besought him instantlie, that it might  
please him, either to suffer hir to passe the residue of  
hir life after such sort as she thought best agreed with  
hir widowlike estate, or else to take the same from  
hir presentlie by some violent meanes of execution.

There was not a man other than the Dits, that  
saw and heard hir at that instant, but lamented hir  
wofull distresse, so that in the end the request of the  
Dits was disallowed, & Cartandis hauing lining  
assigned hir for the maintenance of hir degree, was  
licensed to depart into what place she thought expe-  
dient, there to liue as she thought best without let or  
disturbance. The same time the Scotish bishops and  
priests, being banished as well as the other sort of  
the Scotish people, a number of their monks got  
them into the Ile of Iona, now called Colmekill,  
where they erected a monastrie for their owne habi-  
tation, the worthinesse whereof hath bene right fa-  
mous, euen vnto these our daies, as that which was  
afterward indownd with manie faire reuenues by  
diners of the Scotish kings, who had their burials  
there after the returne of the Scots into Albanie as  
shall be hereafter expressed.

The yere in the which the Scotishmen were thus  
banquished by the Romans and Dits, and finalie  
confined out of their seats, was from the creation  
of the world 4319, after the birth of our sauio: 352,  
from the beginning of the Scotish kingdome 679,  
and the thirde yere of Augustinus. The same yere  
before Eugenius gaue battell vnto Sparinus, ma-  
nie strange sights were seene in the furthest part of  
Albion, striking a wonderfull dread in manie mens  
harts. In the night season in the aire were seene  
ferie swords and other weapons moving in a long  
ranke, after comming together on a heape, and be-  
ing changed into an huge flame as it had been a fire-  
brand, it then vanished awaie. The waters of the  
river of Dunc ran with blood, the banks of the same  
river flashed oft times as they had bene all on a fire.  
There were seene also a number of small birds fall  
out of the aire so thicke, that it seemed it had rained  
birds, and incontinentlie came a great number of  
raucens that denoured by the same.

Certaine witches and soothsayers, declaring that  
these things betokened the destruction of the Sco-  
tish kingdome, were commanded by the priests to  
hold their peace on paine of death, as they that told  
nothing but lies & fables, though afterwards their  
tales proued most true. But to returne to our hi-  
storie, Ethodius the brother of Eugenius being cu-  
red (as is said) by commandement of Sparinus,  
was yet banished amongst the residue, and confre-  
ned to take an oth, that he should immediatlie re-  
paire into Denmarke, and hereafter not to approch  
nearer vnto the coasts of Albion, for doubt of some

new attempt that might be made by the Scots tho-  
rough his meanes, thereby to returne into their  
countrie againe, & to recover their former state. But  
this staied not them of the western Iles, but that  
assembling themselves together, and choosing one  
Gillo to their capitaine, they passed ouer into Argile,  
where in the end they were encountered by such Dits  
as were set there to defend that countrie, and slaine  
each mothers sonne. Their vessels were also taken  
and brought into sundrie haueis of the countrie, to  
serue for defense of the coasts vpon any new enter-  
prise which the Scots should chance to make: but the  
other Scots, perceiving they were not able to sur-  
munt forth a new arme in the Iles by any aid they  
might purchase there, sailed ouer into Ireland, where  
presenting themselves vnto the king of that region,  
they declared vnto him from point to point all their  
infortunate chances and lamentable calamities,  
which were happened vnto them of late through the  
tyrannicall euill of the Romans, and malicious  
enmie of the Dits, in such sort as nothing could be  
more miserable than their present estate, considering  
the ruine of so mightie a kingdome, and the small  
banishment of the inhabitants from their houses  
and lands, which had bene in possession of them and  
their elders, by the space almost of seven hundred  
yeres.

The Irish king with his nobles moued with pitie  
to heare and vnderstand so dolefull calamities  
to haue chanced vnto that nation, whose good or bad hap  
could not but touch them verie nere, considering  
they were descended both of one progenie, comforted  
these Scotishmen to the best of their power, and in  
the end concluded to aid them with ten thousand  
men, and to furnish them forth with ships, victuels,  
and munitions to passe into Albanie for recouerie  
of their countrie. This aid being put in a readines,  
and the ships rigged and decked as was requisite  
for such an enterprise, they took the sea, and landing  
in Cantire, chanced to meet with Heriodorian bro-  
ther to Petrus king of the Dits, accompanied  
with a great number of Dits and Britains assem-  
bled to defend the countrie, but being charpelle af-  
flicted of the Scots and Irishmen, they were quicklie  
put to flight, & such as were overtaken died on the  
sword, to the great terror of all the new inhabitants  
that were planted on their parts.

This victorie thus achieved, there were that gaue  
counsell not to attempt fortune ouer farre; but to  
take such booties of goods and prisoners as they had  
got in the countrie, and to returne therewith into  
Ireland. Other were of a contrarie opinion, suppo-  
sing it best to follow the victorie, and either to reco-  
uer againe their ancient seats, or else to vte in the  
valiant attempt thereof. Which aduise was follo-  
wed as the best, though it proued otherwise: for be-  
fore they could come to any conclusion of that enter-  
prise, the Romans, Dits, and Britains gathered  
themselues together, and gaue battell againe to the  
Scotish and Irish companie, wherein they ouer-  
threw them, to their bitter ruine and destruction.

The newes of this infortunate encounter being  
brought into Ireland, put the king and his nobles  
there in such feare of the Romans, that they thought  
it best with all speed to send ambassadors vnto Spari-  
nus to sue vnto him for peace. They that were sent  
at the first were sore blamed and checked by Spari-  
nus, for that they had aided the Scotishmen in the  
last inuasion made into Albion: but at length accep-  
ting their excuse, he granted a peace vpon certaine  
conditions, whereof the most principall article was,  
that in no wise they should receiue aid, or succor any  
enimie to the Romane empire. This Sparinus, ha-  
uing got a quiet peace on each side, vsed all meanes  
possible

Gillo chosen  
capitaine of the  
banished  
Scots in the  
western Iles  
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Argile is bane  
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the Dits.

The Scots  
repaire into  
Ireland.

The king of  
Ireland with  
his nobles  
lament the  
Scotishmens  
case.  
The Irish-  
men conclude  
to aid the  
Scotishmen.

The Scots  
and Irishmen  
land in Can-  
tire.  
The Dits  
in countrie  
with the  
Scots and  
Irishmen and  
are discor-  
died.

The Scots  
and Irishmen  
are ouer-  
throwne.

The king of  
Ireland see-  
keth for peace.  
Sparinus  
granteth  
peace to the  
Irishmen.  
Sparinus  
seeketh by his  
banishment  
liberallie to  
win the peo-  
ples fauour.

possible how to procure the loue of his souldiours and men of war, shewing himselfe not onlie gentle, courteous and meeke towards them, but also so liberal and free, that his bounteous gifts passed all understanding: insomuch that (as is reported by writers) he bestowed in one daie more hand as much in rewards, as the reuenues of Britaine yielded to the empire in a whole yere.

This franke liberalitie and courteous behauior he vsed not onlie towards the Romans, and his other men of warre, but also towards the Britains and Picts, conforming himselfe so nere vnto their maners & fashions, that at his comming into Scotland, he laid awaie his Romane apparell, and araied himselfe in garments after the British guise. By this maner of meanes therefore he wan him such loue and fauor, as well amongst his souldiours, as also amongst the Picts and Britains, that in the end by common consent they chose him for emperor, in the 383 yere after Christ, protesting generallie that they would owe onlie their obediensce vnto him as to their supream gouernour. ¶ Here the Scottish chronicles somewhat varie from other writers, who affirme that Sparinus was thus aduanced to the imperiall dignitie, rather by constraint of his men of warre, than by any meanes which he of himselfe vsed to attaine vnto the same. Where the said chronicles neuertheless shew, that it came chieflie to passe by his owne seeking, procuring certein persons to worke for him as instruments to frame other to this his purposed intent. He held the dominion of the empire being thus preferred to the imperiall state, the space of five yeres, all the countries and people of Albion being at his commandement without contradiotion: which had not chanced vnto any one man before his time, since the Ile was first inhabited. At length desirous of more empire, he passed ouer into France with a great armie, in purpose to subdue all France and Italie, with such other countries as were obedient vnto Gratian as then emperor of Rome. But how prosperously he sped in the beginning, and how at length he was slaine at Aquila in Italie, ye shall find in the historie of England a great deale more at large.

By reason of such trouble in the estate of the Romane empire, Octavius the sonne of Octavius late king of the Britains, the which (as before is said) fled into the Ile of Man, & after departing from thence, got ouer into France, returned now into Britaine, and did so much there, that the Britains receiued him to their king: but shortly after he was constrained to agree with the Romane emperor Theodosius, so that the Britains should paie their wonted tribute, and liue vnder such lawes as by the emperor should be to them prescribed. In all other respects, Octavius should be reputed during his life for king. Immediatlie hereupon two lieutenants were sent from Theodosius, of whom the one named Spartus sojourned at London, and the other called Altorine at Forke. And with all expedition they began to put the Romane lawes in practise, abolishing the old British lawes, to the great offense of manie that could not well brooke strange ordinances; & namelie the Picts repined sore therat, and vsed most an end their owne lawes and constitutions, greatlie to the contempt of the Romane estate. Whereof Altorine, the one of the Romane lieutenants hauing knowledge, gaue straight commandement vnto Hergust the British king, that in no wise he should suffer the old lawes and rude ordinances of his countrie, to be vsed any longer amongst his subjects, vpon paine that might insue for disobedience shewed towards the maiestie of the Romane empire.

Hergust now perceiuing into what thraldome

and miserie his countrie was brought, by meanes of the warres which he had procured against his neighbours the Scottishmen, as a man sore repenting his passed follie, and seeing no readie meane present how to reforme the same, being aged and sore broken with continuall sicknesse, he got himselfe secretlie into his priue chamber, where immediatlie he due himselfe, to be rid of the sight of that present seruile state, into the which he saw both him and his whole countrie reduced. Whose death being once knowne, Altorine commanded that the Picts should not chuse any other from thenceforth to reigne as king ouer them, nor to obteine any other magistrates but onlie such as should be appointed to haue the gouernment of them, by commandement and commission of the Romane emperor. For it was agreed, as he allowed, by the tenor of the league, concluded betwixt Hergust and Sparinus, that after the deceasse of the same Hergust, all his dominions should be gouerned by Romane officers in forme of a prouince. Whobeit the Picts nothing regarded the wordes of Altorine, but by common agreement did chuse one Durstus the second sonne of Hergust to be their king.

Whereupon Altorine being informed of their doings, raised a power, and made such speed towards them, that he was gotten so nere vnto the citie of Camelon, per they had any knowledge of his approach, that Durstus with other of the nobles, being as then within the same, could not haue space to escape their waies, but being forthwith besieged within it, at length they were taken by force of assault, and the citie sacked, to the great intriching of the Romane armie, and utter bndowing of the poore inhabitants. Durstus with other the chieffest prisoners were first had vnto London, & from thence conueied to Rome, there to haue iudgement by decree of the senat. The residue of the nobles that were taken there, suffered in the market place at Camelon. Thus was that tumult appeased, and the Picts commanded to paie pearlie vnto the emperors procurator: the fourth part of all their reuenues growing of their corne and cattell. Beside this tribute he charged them also with diuerse base seruices, as to laboz in mettall mines, to dig stoness forth of the quarries, and to make bychie to be sent into Britaine, or into other places whither it pleased him to command it.

The cause why he burdened them in such sort, was (as he said) to teach them to know themselves. For they were become so loose, since the departure of the Scottishmen out of the Ile, that if they were not restrained in time by authoritie of the Romane puissance, the whole British nation were like to be shortly disquieted by their wilfull meanes and insolent presumptions. Neither was it thought sufficient vnto Altorine, to charge the Picts in manner as is before specified; but to their further grauance he deuised another waie, whereby to bying them in the end vnto utter destruction, which was this: he constrained them together with their wiues, children, & whole families, to remoue beyond the water of Forth, and to leaue all the countries on this side the same water, as well those which they ancientlie had inhabited, as the other which of late appertained to the Scots, and were assigned to them by Sparinus to possesse, after that the Scots were expelled.

All which countries thus by the Picts now left void, were appointed by Altorine to the Britains, as subjects to the empire, to be inhabited. And for a perfect diuision betwixt the Picts and the same Britains, he commanded a wall to be made, & a trench to be cast along by the same, from Abircone through the territorie of Glascow vnto Alcluth, or Alcluth, now called Dunbarton, so running from

The Picts  
subdome to  
pale ouer be-  
yond their wall

The Scots  
liue in other  
countreys.

Whom  
brought vnto  
England,  
late king of  
Scotland.

Which the  
sonne of Hergust  
begot  
Hergust.

The Watcher  
makes an expe-  
dition against  
the empire of  
Rome.

Argyle was  
sent to aid the  
Goths.

Rome sacked.

The Picts  
are constrain-  
ed to dwell  
beyond the  
water of  
Forth.

Argyle was  
captaine vnto  
the Marke  
and the  
king of the  
Goths.  
Argyle with  
hauing returned  
again from  
Italy into  
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**Summary:**

August 1

fergule  
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2. *Sim*

the east sea to the west. Where to proclamation was made, that if anie of the Dutch nation did enter, passe to passe this wall, and to enter into the Dutch confines without licence of the magistrats, he should die for it. Whilst the Pias through their owne fault are thus brought into most miserable fabiation of the Romans, the Scottisshmen (as is said) being banished the land, lived in other countries by shifting out the time so well as they might, some continuing with their wines and children, got a poyse living with their hands, exercising some science or occupation. Other there were that followed the warres, and served under sundrie lords; these captives here and there, as occasion served.

But Ethodius the brother of Eugenius comman-  
ded (as is said) to go into Denmarke, was fullie  
received of the king there; who also gaue him an of-  
fice, therewith to mainteine his degree, so that he li-  
ued there certaine yeeres in right honorable estate,  
and begat of his wife (whome he brought thither with  
him forth of Albanie, a sonne named Erthus, who  
after his fathers deceasse had time by his wife called  
Macha (a labie of high parentage amongst the no-  
bles of Denmarke, as daughter to one Rozichus, se-  
cond person of the realme) a sonne named Fergus,  
whose chance was afterwards to restore the Scot-  
tish nation againe to their former estate and kin-  
dome. In his young yeeres he was appointed to serue  
vnder Alarlike the Gottish king in that famous voi-  
lage which he took in hand against the Romane em-  
pire. For such was the hate as then of all the no-  
therne regions & kingdomes towards the Romane  
name, that by generall agreement they conspired to-  
gether to the vtter ruine and finally destruction there-  
of. And so ech of them sent forth a power in aid of the  
said Alarlike, chosen by common consent as generall  
of the whole enterprise.

Fergule being set forth by the king of Denmarke with a power of Danes, and with a chosen number of such Scottishmen as were with; alone into those parties, went with the better will, for that beside the common quarrell, he bare a private grudge towards the Romans for the slaying of his ancestors so cruel in expelling them out of their owne homes and native countrie. This Fergule was present with the Gothes at the winning of Rome, in the sacking thereof, amongst other spoiles, he got (as is reported) a certaine chest full of booke, the which some hold opinion he brought afterwards into the westerne Isles, and caused them to be kept in Iona, now Colmekill, within a librarie there builded for the same intent. Which booke (as is to be supposed) were certaine histories or monuments of old antiquities. But the same were so defaced in the daies of Hector Boetius (who, as he himselfe writeth, caused them to be brought over to him to Aberdine) that it could not be understood of what matter they intreated.

It is written moreover of Ferguse, that he continued with Alarike in all his enterprises, so long as he liued, and afterwards serued vnder his successor Athaulfus, to his great fame, and in such honorable estimation, as few were found comparable vnto him in those daies. At length requiring a safe conduct to returne into Denmarcke, he was licenced to depart with high and right bountifull rewards, as in part of recompense of his good and faithfull seruice shewed, during the time of the warres, as well in the life time of the said Athaulfus, as also in the daies of his predecessor the foresaid Alarike. About the same season, the bishops see of Candida casa, or therwise called Dubitterne, was first instituted by one Pimian a preacher, that tooke great paines (as the report hath gone) to instruct the Pits and Wiltains in the christian faith. He was afterwards re-

puted a saint, and the place of his buriall had in such veneration, that manie bled to rest thither for devotion sake, as the manner in times past was when pilgrimage-goings were used.

But now to returne where we left touching the  
Pias, and to shew the manner how the Scots return-  
ed againe into Albanie; ye shall understand, that  
the Pias being brought into servile bondage (as  
before we have partly declared), and doubting daile  
of worse to ensue, they sent secret messengers unto  
such Scots as remained in exile in the westernne  
Isles, in Morwaie, and in other parts of the world,  
recommending them, if they would give the attempt for  
recourte of their ancient dwelling places in Alba-  
nie, they should be sure of all the aid that in them  
late, being ready to spend their lives to revenge the  
injuries which they daile sustained at the Romans  
hands, whose continuall practice ever was, how to  
oppress the ancient liberties of all such nations as  
came under their subiection. The experience where-  
of they now felt to their unsufferable grievance,  
looking for nothing else but hostile to be expelled out  
of their countrie, and driven to go seeke them other  
places to inhabit in strange countries after the man-  
ner of outlawes, as it had chanced already, as the  
Scots by commandement of Augustinus, as before  
is expressed.

is crept  
Fergus, unto whom amongst other this message  
was chieflie directed, reioised greatlye of the newes;  
and first conferring with the king of Denmarke,  
of whose aid he knewe himselfe assured, by his auise  
he sent letters abroad forthwith into Norwaie, Dake  
nie, the Westerne Isles, and into Ireland, unto such  
of the Scottishmen as dwelt in those places, to vnder  
stand their minds herein. And being certified  
that they were vniuersallie agræd, not onelie to  
trie their chance for recoverye of their former state  
and kingdome; but also had chosen him to be gener  
nour and generall capteine in that enterprise; he  
prepared partlie at his owne costs, and partlie at  
the charges of the king of Denmarke and other of his  
friends and allies there, a great multitude both of  
men of warre and ships, in purpose to passe ouer  
to Albanie to recover his grandfatheres estate, which  
as it was thought might now be the more easilie  
brought to passe, sith the Pias would aid him there  
to, vpon an earnest desire which he had to reuenge  
their owne injuries receiued at the Romans hands,  
and to deliuer themselves from such thraldome as  
they badlie felt themselves oppressed with, doubting  
withall hostilie to be quise expelled out of their  
whole countrie, as they had bene forced to forgo a  
great and the better part thereof alreadye.

In this meane time, one Gratian descended of the British blood, by consent of the Romane legat Spartius (both of them going against their allegiance) usurped the gouernance of Brittain by his owne priuat authoritie; but shortly after, they two falling at variance together, the one of them slue the other. And then the souldiers not skaling till they understood the pleasure of Honorius the emperour, chose one Constantine to succede in the place of Spartius, who passing ouer into France, was slaine there by Constantius one of the captains of the said Honorius. Wittozing the other of the Romane legats hearing of the death both of Spartius and Constantine, removed from Poike into London, the better to provide for the safe keeping of the land to the emperour Honorius his use; for that he doubted sundrie dangers which might chance, by reason the countrie was as then unpouled of men of warre, the most part of them being transported ouer into France with the soynamed Constantine, and not againe returned.

The Scots  
sent into for-  
ren countries  
to call home  
the Scots.

Fergus sent  
unto the  
Scots dispers  
ed;

to persevere  
pared himself  
to war.

Gratian usurped the governance of Byzantium.

the  
Mr. Martus

Constantine  
succeedeth  
Marinus.  
Constantine  
is slain.  
The lieuten-  
ant of the  
north com-  
meth to Lons-  
dale.

343

The Picts  
send speedilie  
vnto Fer-  
guse.

The Wids informed of these things, sent word with all speed vnto Fergus, requiring him to make hast, sith if he should haue tised for a conuenient time, a better could not be deuised; considering the present state of things as well in Britaine, as in other parts of the Romane empire, the people cuerte where being readie to moue rebellion. Fergus vnderstanding the whole, by such messengers as still came one after another vnto him from the Wids, he hastied to depart with all diligence; and when all things were readie, he toke the sea with his armie, and within eight daies after, he arriued in safetie within the first of Murrayland with all his vessels and people; where taking land, & word thereof being brought into Ireland, into Orkenie, and into the westerne Isles, all such of the Scottish linage as liued in those parties in exile, came with their wives, children, and whole families in most speedie wise vnto him, as though the countrie had bene already recovered out of the enimies hands, without all doubts of further perill or businesse.

The Dicts  
ionelle re-  
cette - frouse.

The Picts also refoisling greatlie at the newes of his coming, repaired vnto him, and shewed him all the honoz that might be deuised, beseeching him to pardon and forget all iniuries and displeasures by them wrought and contriued in times past against the Scottish nation, sith now they were ready for the advancement thereof to spend their liues against such as were enemies to the same. Neither was the fault theirs, in that Heirgust had consented with the Romans to banish the Scottish people, but in their ancestors, who being blinded through the faire words and sweete promises of the Romans, saw not the mischief which they brought vpon their owne heads and their posterities. Therefore they desired him to renewe againe the league betwixt the Pictish and Scottish nations, with such conditions of appointment as it should please him to prescribe.

**Fergusa**

Fergus by consent of his nobles answered, that he was content to establish the league with them, even according to the tenor of the ancient agreement, and to ioin his power with theirs to helpe to restore them vnto their former estate and libertie, so that they would be contented to surrender by into the Scottishmens hands, all such towne and countries, from the which they had bene expelled by great fraud and iniurie. And as for the displeasures done to the Scottishmen in times past by aiding the Romans against them (as he thought) the Picts had felt punishment enough for the same alecable, being reduced into most ferule & miserable bondage, as iustlie rewarded by almightie God for their great vntuities, vled and shewed towards their neighbours, faithfull friends and allies. The Picts were throughlie pleased and satisfied with Fergus his words, so that withiin few daies after, their king (whome they had latelie chosen since the time that the Scottishmen were thus returned) came vnto Fergus, and ratified the league with him, according to the articles of that other which in time past had bene obserued on the behalfe of the Scottish and Pictish nations, with such solemne othes and assurance, as betwixt princes in semblable cases of custome is requisite and necessarie. Then were those countries restored to the Scottishmen againe, out of the which they had bene expelled by the Romane power.

The Scots,  
restored to  
their coun=  
tries.

*Fergus.*

Fergus is  
conducted into  
Argile, and  
there invested  
king.

**A**ld Fergusie then being conueied with a right honozable companie of lords, gentlemen, and cōmons into Argile, was there placed on the chaire of marble, and proclaimed king with all such accustomed pompe and ceremonies as to him appertained. This was in the 45<sup>th</sup> yeare after the Scots had bene driuen forth of Albanie, and after the birth of our fauour 424, in the yeare after the death of Ho-

noztus the emperour, and from the first erection of  
the Scottish kingdome 750 yeares complet. All such  
castles also and fortresses as the Idias held within  
any of those countries, which belonged onto the  
Scots, were surrendered into their hands in peace-  
able wise; but the residue which the Komans kept  
were earnestly defended for a while, though at length  
through want of victuals and other necessities, they  
likewise were deliuered. ¶ If I should here say what

I thinke, and that mine opinion might passe for current coine, I would not stick to affirme that either now first (or not long before their late supposed expulsion from hence) the Scots settled themselves to inhabit here within this Ile, and that they had no certaine seats in the same till then : but that coming either forth of Ireland, or from the westernne Isles, where they before inhabited, they used to make often invasions into this land, greatlie molesting as well the Britains, the ancient inhabitants thereof, as the Romans that then held the Ile under their subiection. For I can neither perswade my selfe, nor with others to beleue, that there was anie such continuance in succession of kings, as their histories do make mention; as we haue here before set downe in following the same histories, because we will not willingly seeme to offer iniurie to their nation, which peradventure are otherwise perswaded, and thinke the same succession to be most true, where other perchance may coniecture (and not minded thereto without good reason) that such kings as in their histories are auncient to reigne one after another here in this Ile, either reigned in Ireland, or in the out Isles, and that verelie not successiuelie, but diuerse of them at one season, and in diuerse places. Which mistaking of the course of histories hath bred errors, not onelie amongst the Scottish writers, but even amongst some of the Britishh and English writers also, as to the learned and well aduised readers may plainelie appeare. And as for Gald, and some other haplie which they take to be kings of Scots, although they reigned in that part of this Ile which afterwards was possessed by Scots, and after them named Scotland, yet were they mere Britains, and had little to doe with Scots; except perchance we may thinke that they held the out Isles in subiection, where the Scots were then inhabiting, far longer time perhaps (before their settling in Britaine) than their histories make mention.

But now to retorne where we left. After that  
50 Wallace the Komane legat was aduertised of all  
the foze-remembered doings of the Scottislymen and  
Wallis he caused an armie to be leuted with all speed,  
and hastied forth with the same unto Forke, wher  
being arriued, he attempted by an herald at armes  
to perswade the Wallis to forsake their confederacie  
latelie concluded with the Scots: but perceiuing he  
could not bring it to passe, he determined to pursue  
both those nations with open warre: and so there  
60 upon setting forward, he passed forth till he came  
nere Canelon, where he incamped with his whole  
armie, hauing therein (as the report went) about fifte  
tie thousand persons at the least. Fergus being ad-  
uertised herof, & hauing in like maner alreadie as-  
sembled a mightie huge host both of Scottislymen  
and Wallis, came therewith ouer the Forth, & marched  
forth with all speed in the night season, in purpose to  
haue set on his ennemies verie earlie in the dawning  
of the next morning. But Wallace hauing know-  
ledge thereof, commanded his men to be arranged  
and set in order of battell by the thirde watch of the  
same night, so that being redie to receive the Scots  
upon their first approach, there was fought a right  
foze and cruell battell, with such slaughter on both  
parts, that the riuer of Carron (nere vnto the

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which their battels joined) was well nere filled with  
dead bodies, and the water thereof so changed into  
a ruddie hue, that it seemed as though it had run al-  
together with blood.

In the end (whilest as yet it was doubtful to  
whether side the victorie would incline) there came  
such a sudden shower of raine, mixed with such great  
abundance of hailestones, that neither part was a-  
ble to have sight of other, so that by reason of the vi-  
olent rage of that huge storme and tempest, either side  
was faine to withdraw from the other. There were  
slaine in this battell such great numbers of men, as  
well on the one side as the other, that they had small  
lust to joine in battell againe for certaine yeeres af-  
ter. For the Roman lieutenant understanding what  
losse of people he had sustained, without attempting  
anie further exploit, appointed certaine of his com-  
panies to lie in garrison within sundrie fortresses in  
Dunblud, & with the residue he returned into Kent.  
In like sort the Scots with their confederates the  
Picts, perceiving themselves not able as then to  
make anie further attempt against their enemies,  
broke by their armie, and devised onelic how they  
might defend that which they had already in posses-  
sion.

And forasmuch as the Pictish nation was increa-  
sed unto a greater multitude of people, than those  
countries which they then held were able to find  
with sufficient sustenance (considering what a great  
portion of their ancient seats the Britains and Ro-  
mans kept from them) it was agreed by the Scots  
that they should inioy the countrie of Athole, with  
other lands bordering nere unto the same, lying  
without the compasse of the mountaine of Cranze-  
ben. The Picts then being placed in Athole, increa-  
sed there wonderfullie, and builded manie faire ca-  
stles and towers in those parties, to the great beau-  
tifying of that countrie. In which meane while, Ulla-  
toine the Roman lieutenant commanded the Bri-  
tains to make haile with the wall (whereof ye have  
heard) made of turfe, and sustained with certaine  
posts of timber passing overthwart the borders be-  
twixt them and their enemies, beginning (as ye have  
heard) at Abercorne, and so stretching forth by Glas-  
co, and Kirkpatrick, even unto Abelduch, now Dun-  
blud, 80 miles more northward than the other  
wall, which the emperor Adrian caused (as is said) to  
be made.

Whereof the Scots and Picts being informed,  
they assembled themselves together, & under the lea-  
ding of a noble man called Graime, they set upon  
the Britains, as they were busie in working about  
the same, and slue not onelic a great number of la-  
bourners and souldiers, which were set to labour and  
defend the worke, but also entering into the British  
borders, fetched from thence a great bootie of cattell  
and other riches, which they found dispersed abroad in  
the countrie. This Graime (who as I said was chiefe  
in this enterprize) was brother unto the Scottish  
queene, the wife of king Ferguse. He was borne in  
Denmarke (as some hold opinion) in the time of the  
Scottishmens banishment, and had a Scottishman to  
his father descended of a noble house, and a Da-  
nish lady to his mother. He himselfe also married a  
noble woman of that nation, and had by hir a daugh-  
ter, whom Ferguse by the persuasion of the king of  
Denmarke toke to wife, and had issue by hir (afore  
his coming into Scotland) three sonnes, Euge-  
nius, Vongarus, and Constantius, of whom here-  
after in their place mention shall be made, as occa-  
sion serveth. Wher there be, that affirme both this  
Graime was a Britaine borne, & that through hate  
which he bare towards the Romans for their cruel  
governement, he fled forth of his native countrie,

and continued ever after amongst the Scots, as first  
in Denmarke, and afterwards in Albion, ever rea-  
die to do what displeasures he could devise against  
the Romans & other their friends or subjects. Of this  
Graime these Scots, which unto this day beare that  
surname, are said to be descended.

But now to the purpose. Ye shall understand, that  
after that it was knowne in forein countries, how  
the Scots had got for againe within those regions  
in Albion, which their elders in ancient time had pos-  
sessed, there came daile diuerse companies of that  
nation out of Spaine, France, Germanie, and Ita-  
lie (where during the time of their banishment they  
had served under sundrie captains) unto Ferguse to  
aid him, in recoverie of their countrie and ancient  
seats; out of the which they had bene most cruelle  
expelled. So that Ferguse now seeing his power  
thus not a litle augmented by their coming, ente-  
red into the borders of Bete, Carike, and Coning-  
ham, spoiling and harrieng those countries on eu-  
erie side: but the lie thereupon commeth the armie  
of the Romans, with whom the Scots encounte-  
ring in battell, received no lesse damage than they  
minded to have done unto their aduersaries. Where-  
upon being forced to leaue that countrie, they drew  
backe into Argile, where Ferguse wintered for that  
part of the yeare which yet remained.

When summer was come, he was counselled to  
haue offences offered battell unto Ullatone, who  
as then was entered Callowaie: and rather to trie  
the uttermost point of fortunes chance against him,  
than to susteine such displeasures and injuries at the  
Romans hands, as by them were daile done unto  
him and his people. But there were other that gaue  
other advice, alleging how the danger was great  
to leaopard againe in battell with the Romans, be-  
ing men of such skill & practise in the feats of wars,  
considering what losse had chanced in the two for-  
mer battels. Again, there was great likelihood, that  
if he could be contented to forbear for a time, and  
seeke to defend the borders of his countrie, so well as  
he might without gaining battell, it must needs come  
to passe that shortly the Roman empire should be  
brought unto such ruinous decaye, by reason of the  
multitude of enemies, which as then invaded the  
same on each side, that in the end Ullatone doubting  
his owne suertie, would conuie himselfe with his  
men of warre out of the countrie, and then should it  
be an easie matter for the Scots and Picts to reco-  
uer againe all such countries as ancientlie belonged  
to their elders, and wholie to restore the estates of  
their common wealths unto their former dignities.

This advice was followed as the best and most  
likeli, so that making sundrie roads into the bor-  
ders of their enemies countries so to keepe them still  
occupied, Ferguse and the Scots refused utterly to  
come to anie foughten field with them. Whortlie af-  
ter also it chanced, that Ullatone was accused unto  
the emperor Honorius of some secret practise against  
his maiestie, as to be about to usurpe the crowne of  
Britaine, whereunto he was compelled in deed by  
the souldiers (whose hearts he had wonne through his  
bountious liberalitie sundrie waies declared to-  
wards them) and understanding at this present, that  
he was minded to haue fled his waies for doubt of  
the said information made against him, they did  
moue him with such earnest perswasions to take  
upon him the imperall dignitie, promising even to  
live and die with him in defence thereof, as well as  
against Honorius, as all other, that in the end he con-  
sented unto their desires, and so was proclaimed em-  
peror, and clothed in purpure, bring thereto all the o-  
ther imperall ornaments, as if he had bene empe-  
ror indeed. But afterwards when one Heraclianus

The Scottish  
men returned  
into their  
countrie.

Ferguse in-  
nabed the  
counties of  
the Britains.

The Scots  
put to the  
sword.

Ullatone in-  
nabed Gal-  
loway.

Ferguse is  
disputed to  
fight with the  
Romans.

The Roman  
empire inua-  
ded by vnrba-  
rous nations.

Ullatone ac-  
cused unto  
Honorius.

Ullatone ta-  
keth upon him  
the name and  
authoritie of  
emperor in  
Britaine.

Heracianus  
is sent against  
Clitorine.

Clitorine is  
delivered into  
the hands of  
Heracianus.  
Heracianus  
is sent into  
Affrike.

Placidus  
lieutenant of  
Britaine.

The warre  
renewed by the  
Scots.

The Scots  
and Picts in-  
vade the bor-  
ders of their  
enemies.

Placidus ga-  
thereth a  
power.  
He encount-  
ereth with his  
enemies.

Placidus re-  
couereth the  
overthrow.  
He fleeth to  
York.

Placidus see-  
keth to haue  
peace.

A league con-  
cluded be-  
twixt Scots,  
Picts, and  
Romans.

Fergus di-  
veth the land  
in parts.

was sent with an armie by Honorius into Britaine against this Clitorine, the most part of the souldiers, with those Britains which had acknowledged him for their supreme gouernour, began to feare the fequels of the matter, and afterwarde requiring pardon for their offenses, they took Clitorine, and deliuered him prisoner vnto the same Heracianus, with diuers other of his confederats, and so by this means was the estate of Britaine recovered vnto the behoofe of Honorius, who shortly after sent for Heracianus, minding to send him into Affrike against one Athalus, who usurped there against the Romane empire.

At his departure south of Britaine, he left one Placidus as lieutenant and generall of the Romane armie in those parties: a man of no great courage, and lesse skill, which being perceiued of the Scots, gaue occasion to Fergus their king to renew the warre. And first he procured Dursus king of the Picts, being the third of that name, to ioin with him in that enterprise, according to the articles of the league. Who consenting thereunto, when their powers were once assembled, they entered into the marches of their enemies, ouerrunning the most part of Aile, Carrike, and Conningham, and after they had taken their pleasure there, they entered into Galloway, destroying all before them, which way sooner they passed. Then turning into Midland, they subdued the whole region, and expell all such Romans and Britains as inhabit the same.

Placidus being aduertised hereof, gathered a great power, and cometh forward towards them, with whom incountering in battell, after long fight, his horsemen chanced to be put to flight, so that the legions of his footmen being left naked on the sides, were so sore beaten with the shot of arrowes, and hurling of darts, that in the end they were forced to breake their arraie, & so being chased left to the Scots and Picts a great and full chase. Placidus himselfe escapeth vnto York, whither the Scots were minded to haue pursued him, had not the want of such numbers as they had lost at the battell, somewhat abated their couragious intents. In the meane time Placidus not onelie moued with this overthrow, but also weeing with himselfe after what sort the Romane empire was afflicted, with the inuasion of the barbarous nations in Germanie, France, Spaine, Italie, and Affrike, thought it good to conclude some peace with the Scots and Picts, for doubt of further mishaps that might insue. And so by such meanes as he made, shortly after a league was concluded betwixt the Scots, Picts, and Romans, with these conditions: that the Scots and Picts should inioy and keepe their ancient seates and regions, which they had now recovered, & hereafter not to make anie rodes or forreies into the prouince belonging to the Romans, and that the same Romans contenting themselves with the British confines, should not moue anie warre or hostilitie towards the Scots or Picts.

This league being thus concluded and ratified, the Scottishmen and Picts inuolued themselves to reduce the state of their common-wealth into the ancient forme and order. Fergus made partition of lands and grounds throughout all his kingdom, and assigned the same south vnto his subiects the Scottishmen, and to such other strangers as were come into Albion, to serue him in the wars against his enemies, and were minded now to remaine there. The other that were desirous to depart againe into their countries, he gaue them honorable rewards, with safe conducts to passe their waies at their owne pleasures. At this time also were the names of diuerse countries & people changed in the

parties of Scotland, vpon sundrie considerations: as Cwynana a part of Scotland, lieng in the furthest end of all the countrie, took a new name of one Calthus a valiant capteine, and of the promontorie there shooting south into the sea called Pesse: so that being compound together, that countrie was cleped Calthynesse. Also of certeine Irishmen called Rossians, the countrie of Rosse took that name, being afore named Lugia.

That part of the countrie ancientlie called Thezalia, which lieth on the sea coast, began to be called Buthquhane, of the tribute bled to be paid there for the hope of the which kind of cattell there is great store in that prouince. For Buthane in the old Scottish tongue signified tribute: and Buth, a stocke of sheepe. The other part of Thezalia, lieng into the landward, was called Bogdale, of the river named Bog, which runneth through the middelt of it. Louchquhaber took the name of a great meare or water, into the which the river of Dubaber falleth, and passeth through the same, notable by reason of the great plentie of samons taken therein. Some other countries there be, which keepe their ancient names euen vnto this day, as Athole, and Murrey land. And some names remaine a litle changed by length of time, as Argile, for Argathile; Par, for Parthea; and such like.

Fergus also repaired such temples and churches as the warres had defaced, and restored againe churchmen vnto their former linings: and further increased the same where he saw cause, and builded certeine celles and chappels for religious persons to inhabit in, assigning vnto them large reuenues for their finding. He also laid the foundation of that famous abbey within the Ile of Iona, now Colmekill, appointing the same for the buriall of kings, with certeine ordinances and customes to be used about the same. Moreover, in the time of peace he was not negligent in providing for the defense of his realme. Such castles as were decayed and overthrowne by the enemies in the warre time, he repaired; and in those which stood towards the borders of the British countries, he placed sundrie garrisons of such souldiers as wanted trades to get their lining now in the time of peace, assigning them sufficient stipends to liue vpon.

In this meane time, Honorius the emperor being dead, and the estate of the Romane empire baliel falling into decaye, it chanced also that Placidus the lieutenant of Britaine departed out of this life, by reason whereof the Scottishmen and Picts took occasion to renew the warres, making as it were a claime vnto the countries of Westmerland & Cumberland, which their elders in times past had held and possessed. Entering therefore into those countries, they take, spoile, and destroye all such of the British nation as went about to destroye them: neither spared they impotent, aged, or others, but shewed great crueltie against all such as came in their waies. Marne an honest woman they rauished and misused after a most villanous manner. The Romane souldiers, after the deceasse of Placidus, obeyed one Cassius to succede in his roome, who being aduertised of this enterprise of the Scottishmen and Picts, doubted least (as the truth was) that Dionethus the sonne of Datarius sometime king of the Britains, in hope to attaine the crowne of Britaine, as due to him by inheritance, would now seeke to ad the Scottish king Fergus, whose sister he had in mariage. Cassius therefore more desirous of peace than of warres, sent south a messenger at armes vnto king Fergus, requiring him to remember the league made betwixt him and the Romans, and to withdraw his power south of the prouinces, which were

The name  
of Buthquhane  
is taken from  
the tribute  
bled to be paid  
there for the  
hope of the  
which kind of  
cattell there  
is great store  
in that prouince.

The signifi-  
cation of the  
name of Buth  
quhane.

The name of  
Bogdale is  
taken from the  
river named Bog.

The name of  
Louchquhaber  
is taken from  
the great meare  
or water.

The name of  
Athole is taken  
from the  
river named  
Athole.

The name of  
Murrey land is  
taken from the  
river named  
Murrey.

The name of  
Argathile is  
taken from the  
river named  
Argathile.

The name of  
Parthea is  
taken from the  
river named  
Parthea.

The name of  
Colmekill is  
taken from the  
river named  
Colmekill.

The name of  
Westmerland  
is taken from  
the river named  
Westmerland.

The name of  
Cumberland  
is taken from  
the river named  
Cumberland.

The name of  
Marne is taken  
from the  
river named  
Marne.

The name of  
Dionethus is  
taken from the  
river named  
Dionethus.

The name of  
Datarius is  
taken from the  
river named  
Datarius.

The name of  
Fergus is taken  
from the  
river named  
Fergus.

The name of  
Cassius is taken  
from the  
river named  
Cassius.

The name of  
Dionethus is  
taken from the  
river named  
Dionethus.

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considerations: as in the furthest name of one Ca- promontorie there esse: so that being was cleped Cath- n called Rossians, Rose iame, being afoze

entlie called The- began to be called o be paid there fo: there is great store in the old Scottis, a flocke of shepe- ieng into the land, ruer named Bog, st of it. Loughqu- are o: water, into fallett, and passeth reafon of the great . Some other coun- uent names euen Murrey land. And raged by length of ar, for Marthear, and

emples and churches and restored againe inings: and further w cause, and builded religious persons to n large reuenues for oundation of that fa- Zona, now Colme- the buriall of kings, ustomes to be used a- the time of peace he- ing for the defense of ere decayed and over- warre time, he repa- wards the borders of ced sundrie garrilous trades to get their li- , assigning them suffi-

orius the empero: be- : Romane empire dai- ced also that Placidus : parted out of this life, shimen and Pits tolke , making as it were a Westmerland & Cum- times past had held and re into those countries, ie all such of the Britis- raie them: neither spa- bers, but shewed great me in their waies. Pa- auished and misused af- . The Romane loul- Placidus, ordered one ne, who being aduerti- Scotishmen and Pits, as) that Dionethus the e king of the Britains, e of Britaine, as due to ow sake to ad the Sco- ster he had in marriage. srious of peace than essenger at armes unto him to remember the nd the Romans, and to of the prouinces, which were

were subiect vnto the same Romans, without pro- ceeding anie further in that vnlawfull attempt, ei- ther else he should be sure to feele the puissant force of those people readie bent against him, by whom his elders had bene driuen out of their countries, and banished quite forth of all their dwellings and pla- ces of habitation in Albion.

But here vnto was answer made with great in- dignation, that as for the league thus alledged, ceas- sed by the death of Placidus; and as for peace, there was no cause why he should looke for anie, untill the these prouinces, both of Westmerland and Cum- berland, were restored againe into the hands of the Scotishmen and Pits, according as of reason they ought to be. The like answer also was made by Dur- thus king of the Pits, vnto whom Cassius had sent a like message. Wherewithall the said Cassius being not a little moued, assemblith an armie, and with all speed marcheth forth toward his enemies: but before his entering into Westmerland, where they were as then lodged in campe, he had perfect knowledge how Dionethus with his Westlshmen (for his lands laie in Wales) was already ioined with the Scots.

Which newes soe appalled the hearts of the Brit- tains, but yet being encouraged with comfortable wordes of their captaines to proceed, forward they go together with the Romans, and within three daies af- ter, they came within sight of their enemies, being ranged in battell readie to receive them, so that straightwaies buckeling together, there was a right fierce and cruell battell fought betwixt them, till fi- nallie the multitude of the Scotish archers and hernes so compassed in the battells of the Romans on each side, and speciallie on the backes, that in the end, and by reason of the losse of their generall Ca- sius (who was slaine there amongst them) those of the middle ward being discomfited, brake their ar- raie and fled. There vpon the residue likewise follo- wed: the Scots, Pits, and Westlshmen pursuing so egerlie without all order, that there was no small number of them distressed by the Romans, the which in their giuing backe, kept themselves close toge- ther, readie to defend themselves, and to beat downe such of their enemies as followed more rashlie than warlike in the chase, not once regarding to keepe any order of battell; but yet by other companies that pur- sued more orderlie together for their most aduantage, there was great slaughter made both of Romans and Britains.

After this victorie thus atchiued, Dionethus was proclaimed king of Britaine, and foze warres conti- nued in the land by the pursuit of the Westlshmen, Scots, & Pits, to the great hazard of the prouince, and likelic expelling of all the Romans quite out of the same. About this time also there remained in France, one Etius lieutenant to the emperour Valentinianus, who vnderstanding all these things by letters and messengers sent from the captaines which yet remained alieue in Britaine, appointed one Sparimianus being of kin to the empero: to passe with an armie in all hast ouer into Britaine, to aid and succor the Romans, and such Britains there, as still continued in their allegiance which they had promised vnto the Romane empire.

This Sparimianus at his arriual in the Island was most iollifullie receiued by the soldiors and sub- iects of the forefaded empire. All the lords and nobles of the countrie resorted also vnto him, shewing them selues most glad of his comming, & promising what aid soeuer they were able to make, to go with him against their enemies. Wherevpon, procuring them to assemble their powers, and to ioine the same with his, which he had brought ouer with him, he pas- sed through the countrie vnto Bozke, and so from

thence marched forth towards the Scots, being al- readie assembled in campe to defend the countrie of Westmerland against him. There were both the kings of Scots and Pits, Fergusie and Durthus, with Dionethus, naming himselfe king of the Brit- tains, who had brought with him, beside the Westlsh- men, a great number of those Britains that inhabi- ted in the countries now accounted the marches of Wales, the which onelic amongst all other the Brit- tains acknowledged him for king.

When both the armies were come nere together, they camped for that night the one in sight of the o- ther, and in the morning following they prepared themselves to battell. Fergusie first making an ear- nest oration vnto his people, to encourage them the more boldlie to giue the onset, declared amongst o- ther things hold the right was on their sides, which alwaies ought to minister hope of god successe in them that enterpryse anie thing in defense thereof; where contrariwise all such as attempted to disquiet o- ther by iniurie and wrong doing, could not but loke for an euill conclusion of their malicious intents and purposes. Neither were either of his captaines negligent in their duties, but that both in exhorting their bands, they vsed most comfortable wordes, and in disposing them in good order of battell, they shew- ed most readie and earnest diligence.

On the other side, Sparimianus with his captaines and officers of bands were as busie on their side to array their battells most for their aduantage, as they saw cause and occasion, so that both the armies being readie to fight, the onset was giuen, and that in most furious wise, the Romans being at the first fore ar- raied with arrowes and darts, which flue so thicke from ech side, that their sight was in manner taken from them, the skie seeming as it had been couered o- uer with a pentile. So that Sparimianus perceiving this disadvantage, he caused a fresh legion of his sol- diers to aduance forward to the succour of their fel- lowes; by reason whereof the battell was forthwith most cruellie renewed, the hindermost wings of the Romans fore preasing vpon their enemies: so that in the end passing quite through their battells, they caused a great disorder and feare amongst those Scots and other their confederats, which were pla- ced in the hindermost ranks. But yet casting them- selues in a ring, they made great & stout resistance for a space, and at length a great number euen of the most valiant personages of the whole host, closed themselves together, and with maine force assailed to haue broken through the thickest prease of their enemies, but being innironed about on ech part, they were there slaine ech mothers sonne. While the Ro- mans drew together to resist on that side, other of the Scotishmen, Pits, Britains, & Westlshmen, found a waie to get forth through their enemies on the other side, and so being gotten past them, made awaie as fast as their feet might beate them: but a great num- ber being notwithstanding overtaken, were slaine and beaten downe right pittifullie.

Fergusie the Scotish king, and Durthus king of the Pits were slaine in this mortall battell together, with the most part of all their nobilitie. Dionethus being fore wounded escaped to the sea side, and there getting a ship, passed ouer into Wales. His ouer- throw soe dismayed both the Scotish and Pitsish na- tions, who looked for nothing more than present ex- pulsion out of their countries, for Sparimianus pur- suing the victorie, burst into Gallogway, most cruel- lie waisting and spoiling the same. And when he had made an end there, he entered into Annadale, and in- to the Pitsish confines, destroying all before him with fire and sword. Camelon was besieged, taken by force, and miserable put to sacke and spoile, with

The Scots and Pits as- sembled a- gainst the Ro- mans.

The armies prepare to bat- tle.

Fergusie ex- horteth his people to be valiantlie. Knight min- istrerth hope of god successe.

The onset is giuen.

Sparimianus perceiving the disadvantage, prouideth to remedie the same.

The Scots are disordered.

The two kings Fergusie and Durthus are slaine. Dionethus escapeth.

Sparimianus pursueth the victorie.

Camelon ta- ken by force.

The Scots  
and Picts  
withdraw be-  
yond the wall  
of Bircorne.

diuerse other notable townes and places, as well be-  
longing to the Picts as Scots. Neither was there  
anie end of these cruell doings, till both the Scots &  
Picts for their refuge were generallie constrained  
to withdraw themselves beyond the wall of Abir-  
corne, which (as before is said) a few yerres passed  
was begun by the Britains, and stretched from A-  
bircorne aforesaid, ouerthwart the land unto Alclud  
now Dumbarton.

Marimianus hauing thus druen his ennies be-  
yond this wall, caused them to make assurance by  
their oath of couenant, neuer to passe the same againe  
by waie of hostilitie, either against the Britains or  
Romans. There were that counselled Marimianus  
either utterly to haue destroyed both the Scots and  
Picts, either els to haue druen them out of the whole  
Ile. But he being satisfied with that which was already  
done, thought good to returne unto Rome, and  
there to winter, that in the beginning of the next  
spring he might go into Wales, to chastise Dione-  
thus and other of that countrie for their rebellion, in  
aiding the enemies of the empire. But when the time  
came that he should haue set forward on that iour-  
nie, he heard such newes from the parties of beyond  
the seas, into what ruinous decate the empire was  
fallen, without anie likelihood of recouerie, that chan-  
ging his purpose, he minded to usurpe the crowne of  
Britaine as absolute king thereof himselfe. And to  
haue the more fauor of the British nation without a-  
nie impeachment in the beginning of his reigne, he  
tooke to wife one of the daughters of Dionethus, be-  
ing the elder of those two, which he onelic had with-  
out issue male, by the sister of king Fergus. She  
that was thus coupled in marriage with Marimianus  
was called Philia, & the other daughter named Cle-  
sula was professed a nun in an house of religion, to  
the intent that the whole right which Dionethus pre-  
tended to the realme, might remaine to the wife of  
Marimianus. Then was Dionethus made second  
person of the realme, as well in degree of honor, as  
in publike government.

Marimianus  
taketh vpon  
him the abso-  
lute gover-  
nance of Bri-  
taine, with the  
imperiall  
title.  
He marrieth  
Philia the  
daughter of  
Dionethus.  
Dionethus  
reputed for se-  
cond person of  
the realme.

Eugenius.  
Eugenius  
created king  
of Scots.

Asd whilest these things were thus a doing in  
Britaine, the Scottish lords had created Euge-  
nius the sonne of Fergus, king of their realme, as  
due to him by rightfull succession from his father,  
who had gouerned the same by the space of 16 yerres  
per he was slaine (as before is specified) in the last  
mentioned battell. This Eugenius began his reigne  
(as we find) in the yere of our Lord 440, after the  
first beginning of the Scottish kingdome 767. His  
fathers corps, which at the first was secretlie buried,  
as occasion suffered, whilest the Romans were yet  
in the countrie, he caused to be taken vp, and conuei-  
ed ouer into the Ile of Iona, otherwise called Col-  
mekill, where, with all solenne pompe and ceremo-  
nies it was intumulat, according to the ordinance  
which he himselfe had deuised in his life time, with-  
in the abbey there.

420. H.B.  
760. H.B.

The bodie of  
Fergus is  
buried in the  
abbey of Iona,  
otherwise  
Colmekill.

Marimianus  
granteth  
peace to the  
Scottishmen.

In like manner Marimianus, to the intent to es-  
tablish himselfe the more quietlie in the estate of  
Britaine, and to deliuer his subiects the Britains,  
which bordered vpon the Scottish dominions, from all  
trouble of warres, was contented to make peace  
with the Scots vpon light sute made vnto him for  
the same. After this also, he being once fullie establi-  
shed in the estate of Britaine, coueted also to attaine  
to the type in government of the whole empire, and  
therefore assembling all the forces of the British  
poult, sailed into Gallia, causing himselfe to be pro-  
claimed emperor, and so usurped that title; as in the  
English and Italian historie you maie find more  
largelie exprest. He left behind him in Britaine his  
father in law Dionethus as chiefe gouernor there,  
with one legion of Romane soldiers. After this did

Etius the emperors lieutenant in France, send for  
such Romans as Marimianus had left in Britaine,  
who revolting from their othes of allegiance giuen  
vnto the same Marimianus, obeyed Etius, as one  
that supplied the vome of their rightfull lord and mas-  
ter the emperor Valentinian. So that in this wise  
was Britaine dispurueied of all maner of able men  
for defense, whereof the Scots and Picts toke good  
occasion to invade the British borders, not sparing  
to pursue with fire and sword all such of the Britains  
as did yet continue in obedience to Marimianus.

They first drue those Britains out of all the coun-  
tries, which had bene taken from them by the same  
Marimianus, and by other of the Romans and Bri-  
tains, as Pictland, Raile, Carrike, and Coningham,  
Galloway, the Marches, and Northumberland. This  
done, they entered into Cumberland, Westmer-  
land, and Kendall, not ceasing till they had spoiled  
and defaced all those countries, with the most part of  
all Yorkshire, in such cruell wise, that they made all  
those quarters barren both of corne and cattell, which  
waie sooner they passed. The Britains perceiving in-  
to what danger they were brought, if some good re-  
medie were not found in time, sent ouer with all speed  
vnto Rome for succor to be had at the emperor Va-  
lentinians hands, for Marimianus was otherwise  
occupied. Valentinian desirous to deliuer the Bri-  
tains from such cruell enemies as the Scots & Picts  
shelued themselves to be, least through their meanes  
all the whole Ile should result from the obedience of  
the Romans, appointed one Gallio boine in Raven-  
na, and as then sojourning about Paris in France,  
with a legion of soldiers to passe ouer into Britaine,  
to drue backe the Scots and Picts from further mo-  
lestering the subiects of the empire.

The Scots and Picts, vpon knowledge had of  
this Gallios arriual, drue backe into their coun-  
tries, not minding to fight with the Romans, whose  
force they doubted, and not without cause, hauing  
had in times past so manie ouerthrowes and slaugh-  
ters at their hands. But Gallio pursued them euen  
vnto the water of Forth, where in sundrie skirmi-  
shes he slue no small number of them: and for that  
he knew he should be sent for hostlie to returne &  
gaine into France, to helpe to resist such barbarous  
nations as warred in the same, for the better defense  
of the Britains against their enemies the Scots and  
Picts (whome he knew would not be anie while in  
quiet after he was once gone) he caused the wall to  
be newlie made by betwixt Abircorne & the mouth  
of Clude water, thereby to defend the Romane pro-  
uince from all sudden inuasions of the enemies. This  
wall was earst made of turffe, but now repaired  
with stone, and strengthened with great posts or  
piles of wood, druen in betwixt in places most need-  
full. It was also 8 foot broad, and 12 foot high. And in  
certeine turrets cast forth vpon this wall, Gallio ap-  
pointed watch & ward to be kept, that vpon the eni-  
mies approach towards the same, warning might be  
giuen by fire in the night, and by smoke in the day,  
vnto such of the Britains as dwelled nere vpon those  
borders (commandement being giuen vpon paine  
of death for being found in the contrarie) that eu-  
erie man vpon such knowledge had, should resort in-  
mediatlie to the place appointed, with such armour  
and weapon as for him was requisite.

When Gallio had thus giuen order for the succie  
of the Britains, and deliuered them at that present  
from the cruell hands of their enemies, he returned  
into France with the armie that he brought with  
him, according to the commandement which he had  
from Etius the emperours lieutenant there. His  
departure out of Britaine was no sooner knowne of  
the Scots and Picts, but that with all their maine  
force

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of allegiance given  
obeyed Etius, as ene  
rightfull lord and mal  
So that in this wise  
all manner of able men  
and Picts took good  
borders, not sparing  
all such of the Britains  
to Sparimianus.

The Scots  
and Picts  
under the  
wall.

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The Scots  
and Picts  
sue to give  
battell to the  
Romans.

Gallio pur  
eth the Scots  
and Picts.

Gallio can  
the wall of  
Abircoine be  
repaired.

The manner  
of the build  
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wall.

The ordina  
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be kept at the  
wall.

Gallio return  
eth into  
France.

in order for the suertie  
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enemies, he returned  
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lieutenant there. This  
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force they determined to set upon the Britains a  
gaine. So that assembling their powers together,  
the kings of both those nations exhorted their men to  
do valiantlie. Engenius the king of the Scottish  
men encourageth them through hope of high re  
wards and spoile. The Pictish king likewise for his  
part promiseth the lieutenantship of Camelon (an  
part of most honor amongst them) vnto him that  
first should passe the wall of Abircoine. Whereupon  
the Britains being advertised of their enemies in  
tentions according to the ordinance before appoin  
ted, drew in defensiblie wise vnto that part of the  
wall, where they understood the Scots and Picts  
were minded to assault.

At length when the Scottish and Pictish kings  
were come to the wall, and had their people ready to  
give the approach, they themselves stood apart some  
what out of danger of shot: and such bands as were  
appointed to assault, advanced forth of the maine bat  
tels under the leading of that Graime, the which (as  
ye haue heard) was chiefe in expelling the Britains  
when they had first made the same wall by command  
ment of Clotwine the Romane lieutenant. Nei  
ther thewel he lesse proude of his valiancie at this  
time than he had don before. For though the Britains  
made earnest resistance, so far as their power would  
extend, yet at the length by great force the wall was  
undermined and thowen downe in sundrie places,  
so that the whole number of the Scots and Picts en  
tered by the same into Pictland, beating downe the  
Britains on each side that went about to make resi  
stance, for none escaped their hands, but such as sa  
ued themselves by flight.

There came also an other power of Scots and  
Picts by water out of Fife, and landing in Pictland,  
pursued the Britains with more crueltie than the  
kings did the miselues. Both houses and people pas  
sed by fire and sword, insomuch that all such of the  
Britains as could get away, withowt loss of the  
countrie, not staid till they came beyond the ri  
uer of Tine; by reason whereof, all the countrie  
which lieth betwixt Twined and Tine was deliuered  
by appointment of the kings vnto the souldiers, to  
spoil and vse at their pleasure, whereupon followed  
manie noxious examples of crueltie, enuie, coue  
tousnesse, wrath & malice. In the meane time, whilst  
the Scottish and Pictish men of warre applied their  
market, the Britains with all diligence repared  
and newlie fortified the other wall begun (as is said)  
by the emperor Adrian, shooting overthwart the  
countrie from the river of Tine, vnto the river of  
Clke.

Whobest the Scots and Picts, because winter ap  
proched, made no further attempt against the Bri  
tains at that time, but diuiding those countreies  
which lie by north from the foresaid wall of Adrian,  
among themselves, according to the order in that  
behalf appointed by their kings, they fortified cer  
teine castles and holds for defense of the same coun  
tries, as it were to countergarison such Britains  
as continuallie kept watch and ward vpon the fore  
said wall. The Britains therefore mistrusting least  
so soone as the spring were come, the Scots would  
inuaide their countreies which lay on the south part of  
the same wall, breaking in by force through it, as  
they had done the yere before through the other wall  
of Abircoine, they sent ambassadoers vnto Etius the  
Romane lieutenant, governing Gallia nobis called  
France, vnder the emperor Valentinian, requi  
ring to haue some aid and succour at his hands,  
whereby to resist such fierce and cruell enemies, as  
sought to destroy and expell out of their lands and  
houses, all such of the Britains as acknowledged  
themselves in anie manner of wise subiects vnto the

emprer.

But Etius, whether he would not, or rather be  
cause he convenientlie could not (for that he was o  
therwise occupied in defense of Gallia against the  
French men) made a direct answer that he had no  
men of warre in store to send ouer into Britaine,  
and therefore willed them to do what they could for  
their owne defense, for aid of him they might none  
haue. The messengers returned home with this an  
swere, and made report thereof in a publike assem  
bly of all the British nobilitie, being as then gathe  
red together at London to consult there for the estate  
and order of their countrie. Where after long deli  
beration (notwithstanding that they perceiued they  
should haue no more aid from the Romans) it was  
yet determined, that to resist the enemies, the whole  
puissance of the British nation should be mustered,  
as well men as women, being able to do anie feat  
of seruice available in defense of their countrie, & ra  
ther to trie the vttremost point of fortunes chance,  
than to suffer themselves to be ouerun without re  
sistance. But Conanus Camber, a prince of great  
authoritie amongst them, as one that was descen  
ded of the blood of Octavius sometime king of Bri  
taine, went about with earnest persuations to re  
moue the residue of the nobilitie from this determi  
nation, aduising them to seeke for peace at the Sco  
tish mens hands, rather than to trie the doubtful  
chance of wars his iudgement, considering the  
feeblenesse of their whole force now, euer since that  
the tyrant Sparimianus had in manner emptied and  
dispeopled the land of all such able men as were apt  
for seruice in the warres. But this aduise of Cona  
nus was verie euill taken, & moued the multitude  
that heard him, to be greatlie offended with his  
words, not sparing to say that he spake like no true  
man nor louer of his countrie; so that the former or  
dinance (that is to say, to seeke an end of the wars  
by dint of sword) was allowed for the best.

Whereupon there were musters taken, armour  
and weapon prouided, and both day and place appoin  
ted, where they should assemble together to march  
forth towards the enimie. Conanus fore lamenting  
their doings, called almightie God to record, that  
that which he had said, was spoken onlie for the  
loue & zeale which he bare to his countrie, & sithence  
his aduise might not be followed, he doubted great  
lie least the ruine of the British state by some fatal  
appointment drew fast vpon them. The people hear  
ring him speake thus, some wilfull wicked persons  
fell vpon him, and slue him there presentlie amongst  
them: wherewith other being sore moued to indig  
nation, set vpon the murderers, there to haue re  
uenged his death immediatlie. Whereupon began  
taking of parts, and togither they went by the eares  
in such a furious wise, that sundrie amongst them  
being slaine, the magistrats had much adoe to appease  
the frate.

In this meane time, whilist the Britains were  
thus buied in sending of their ambassadoers to the  
Romans, & consulting togither for defense of their  
countrie, the Scots first raced downe the wall of  
Abircoine, not leauing one piece thereof whole, so  
that a few tokens excepted, nothing remaineth to be  
sene at this day of all that huge and wonderfull  
worke, it is called now in these daies Graime-dike,  
because that Graime was not onlie (as ye haue  
hard) chiefe in expelling the Britains from the same,  
but also at this time in the racing of it to the ground  
he was the greatest doer. Which being accompli  
shed, the Scottish and Pictish kings assembled their  
powers, and ouerthrew all such fortresses as had not  
bene destroyed the yere before; standing on the  
north side of Adrian's wall, the which wall the Bri  
tains

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Etius resu  
erch to aid the  
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The Bri  
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Scottish  
mens hands.

Britaine dis  
peopled of  
warlike men  
by Sparimianus.

Conanus  
counsell is re  
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The Bri  
tains make  
their appoin  
tment to go  
against the  
Scots.

Conanus is  
slaine a  
mongst the  
Britains.

The Scots  
raie the wall  
of Abircoine.

Graime-dike.

The Scottish  
and Pictish  
kings inuaide  
the British  
borders.

Britains wall  
undermined  
and ouer-  
throwen.

Cruellie of  
Scots.

The lords  
of Britaine  
take new ad-  
uise.

Soe more  
herof in  
England.  
The tenour of  
the letters  
sent vnto Ce-  
sius from the  
Britains, as  
is written by  
Hec. Boetius.

tains had newlie fortified, but yet were not able to defend the same from the power of the enimie, who now set vpon the Britains with maine force, in so much that undermining the foundations of that wall in diuers places; at length sundrie parts thereof were reuerfed into the ditch, so that the souldiers breaking in by the same, cruellie beate downe the Britains which stood at defense.

The entrie being thus wonne, both the kings with their powers marched forth into the south countries, commandement being giuen that no man vpon paine of death should kill anie woman or child, aged person, or otherwise impotent and not able to beare armour. But this commandement in some places was but slenderlie obied; such desire of reuenge was planted in the Scottishmens hearts, by reason of the remembrance of old iniuries, that vnrneath made they anie difference either of age or sex. To be short, all those countries which lie betwixt the riuers of Tyne and Humber, were wasted & spoiled, the whole number of the inhabitants (such as could make thist to escape the enimies hands) got them ouer the foresaid riuier of Humber, there to remaine as further out of danger. The report of which mischiefe being brought to London, the lords there (who as ye haue heard were not all of one accord together) they took new aduise, to redresse the present mischiefe in this maner. First they thought it best to send forth two ambassadores, one to the Scots & Picts to require a peace; & an other with letters to Cetus the Romaine lieutenant in France, for freely aid and succour. The tenour of which letters as then sent vnto Cetus here insuech.

The lamentable complaints of the Britains vnto Cetus thaire consull. At what time our elders became subiects vnto the Romans, they vnderstood by worthie proofes and notable examples, that the senate was a most safe refuge and haue, to be wished of all such as fled to the same for support. But we their posteritie by the pernicious working of the legat Maximianus, tending wholie to our destruction, being spoiled both of force and substance, and therefore remaining in great danger of losing both kingdome and liues, through the fore and terrible inuasion of our most cruell enimies the Scots and Picts, making humble sute for succours vnto the Romaine empire, according to the loiall trust and most assured confidence, the which euer like true and faithfull subiects we haue reposed in the same, are yet neglected, & nothing regarded, but deliuered as a prey vnto the barbarous nations to be spoiled, destroyed, and slaine in most pitious wise, which can not but be an euident signe, that either the Romans haue changed their most commendable maners into the worst that may be deuised, either els their most large empire, thorough the wrath and high displeasure of almighty God, is now giuen for a prey vnto other fowen nations. But if it be so, that the safall force of the time present doth require, that without all remedie the land of the Britains being taken awaie from the Romans, must needs be brought vnder the subiection of some barbarous nation, we neither abhorre nor refuse the gouernement of anie people or nation, the Scots and Picts (the most cruell of all other) onelie excepted, whose crueltie we hauing long since too much tasted, are at this present brought vnto that point by their late increased puissance, that we knowe not now after the losse of our goods and cattell, which way to safe garde our liues; for the turfe walls being pulled downe, and the ditches filled vp with earth, which aforesaid time did somewhat staie them, now breaking in vpon vs without letting passe anie kind of crueltie, they haue destroyed our fields, burned by our houses, towncs &

villages, beaten downe & rased euen to the ground our castles and towres, with such other places of defense, not sparing to put to the sword as well the poore innocent children, women, and impotent aged, as such other innumerable numbers of men, which they haue slaine standing at defense with weapon in hand. And as for vs, which are the residue of our decayed nation, they haue driuen euen to the sea side, and from thence (because we cannot passe ouer) we are put backe vpon our enimies againe. And here of proceed two kinds of our destruction, for either we are destroyed in the raging floods, either els slaine most vnnecessarie by our cruell enimies. Therefore if the hono: of the Romaine people, if our assured loialtie and loue, which we beare to the empire of Rome, now continued for the space of these 500 yeares or thereabout, may moue you to rue on our miseries, we humbly pray and beseech you, not to suffer vs longer to be trodden vnder foot of these our most beaustie and cruell enimies, but send vnto vs some conuenable succors and that with all speed, least we seeme to be more cruellie betrayed of the Romans, than brought to destruction by these barbarous people, and that we be not set forth as a notable example for all other to be ware, how they put confidence hereafter either in the rule or friendship of the Romans.

Paulus Diaconus, Beda, Gelfray of Monmouth, Veremound, and others make mention of these foresaid letters. Wherevpon Cetus answering, declared that those calamities, misfortunes and losses sustained by the Britains were right displeasing vnto him, and so much the more, for that through the sundrie inuasions made, as well into France as also into Italie it selfe, and into other parties of the Romaine empire by people of sundrie nations, he could not as then spare anie men of warre to send ouer vnto them, & therefore he willed the Britains to make the best thist they could to defend themselves for a time, till things were better quieted in other parties, and then should they see such redresse of their iniuries provided, as they should thinke themselves to be verie well reuenged. About the same time that the ambassadores returned with this answere vnto London from Cetus, the other also came backe forth of the north without hope to speed of that about the which they had bin sent, for the Scots & Picts would incline to no reasonable conditions of peace, vnlesse the Britains would wholie submit themselves as subiects vnto them. The Britains hereat took such indignation, that by generall consent they agreed to trie it out with the enimies by maine force; & hereby vpon made their prouision with all diligence. The Scots and Picts hearing of the Britains intents, gathered their people together with more speed than was thought possible for them to haue done, & forthwith rushed into the borders of their enimies countries in right puissant wise and most warlike order.

In the fore ward went such as came south of Caloway and Annandale, with those Picts which inhabited about the coasts of Barwicke. Then followed there a mightie battell of those which came south of Argile, Athole, and other Picts inhabiting nere vnto the parties of Balendar and Camelone with them of Jife, and Angus. In the midst of this battell both the kings kept their place with their choicest souldiers, and standards borne afore them. Then went the carriages and trusse of the armie, next there vnto a great number of noble men of both the nations followed in faire order of battell, with their seruants and men of warre the best they could chose forth. And last of all (as the maner of those nations hath bene euen from the beginning) there came a great multitude of the commons closing by the back of the whole

whole aforesaid

The Britains with their enimies, when the maine force of discouraged in fore once againe chafed. But to the confound was, that cruellie, their w and substance ple without al granted. The of the Britains one part, and their hands change of per number of the Hereof in for the Britai sence of their deaths open t than is credi uertheloe a gr much that the sing in the for and such other were in great Graime per armie was ru both the kings men, who inen sent them wit succors of the point to haue

comming of t toke courage most fiercelie with great sla Britains betw enimies, and ming awaie, h bogs, moster place of the be remained wi consisture of t them into t small number tell of the Brit Scots and P The Brita saw no helpe onelie to sue f sent therefore kings, besee peace, euen them to prefer the present for with their ou right worthie tented to grai the Britains nant or armie enimie of the tion sooner he They should c nation, nor out consent of ther should be ner of enimie Moreover, th children, and tries, liengl

the number of them that were slaine on both sides.

The Britains make humble sute for peace.

Peace granted by the Scots with the conditions of the same.

The order of the Scots and Picts entring into the lands of the Britains.

The Scots and Picts prepare against the Britains.

The order of the Scots and Picts entring into the lands of the Britains.

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whole as of said armie.  
The Britains also comming forth into the field  
with their whole puissance to encounter their ene  
mies, when they vnderstood by espials the order and  
maine force of the Scots and Picts, they were halfe  
discouraged in their minds, and thought good there  
fore once againe to assaie if anie peacemight be pur  
chased. But sending forth their ambassadours vn  
to the confederat kings, to that end their answer  
was, that except the Britains would yeld them  
selues, their wiues and children, with all their goods  
and substance into the hands of their enemies, sim  
ple without all conditions, there would be no peace  
granted. When this was knowne abroad in the host  
of the Britains, what thorough kindled ire on the  
one part, and soule despaire on the other, prouoking  
their minds to displeasure, they generallie vpon  
change of purpose required battell, euen all the whole  
number of them.  
Whereof insued a most cruell and mortall fight:  
for the Britains (as it were) resolved to die in de  
fence of their countrie, and to reuenge their owne  
deaths vpon their enemies, with more fiercenesse  
than is credibile to be thought, gaue the onfet, and  
werthely a great number of their enemies, inso  
much that those of Galloway and the Picts fight  
ing in the fore ward with them of Argile, Athole,  
and such other as were in the battell with the kings,  
were in great danger to be put to the worke: which  
Graime perceiuing (by whome the most part of the  
armie was ruled, and that by commandement of  
both the kings) called forth a number of the Island  
men, who were appointed to attend the cariage, and  
sent them with all diligence to the fore ward to the  
succors of them of Galloway, being then at the  
point to haue fought refuge by flight. But by the  
comming of these Island-men to their succors, they  
toke courage afresh, so that the battell was againe  
most fiercelie renewed, and so continued a space  
with great slaughter on both parts, till finallie the  
Britains being oppressed with the multitude of their  
enemies, and not able longer to indure, fell to run  
ning abacke, thinking to saue themselves in certaine  
bogs, moasses, and marish grounds neere vnto the  
place of the battell: but such cofferels, and other as  
remained with the Scottish cariage, seeing the dis  
comfure of their aduersaries, ran forth and pursu  
ed them into those marishes, killing and taking no  
small number of them. There were slaine in this bat  
tell of the Britains, about 15 thousand, and of the  
Scots and Picts more than foure thousand.  
The Britains hauing received this ouerthrow,  
saw no helpe which waite to reconer their losses, but  
onlie to sue for peace at the victors hands. They  
sent therefore an orator vnto the Scottish & Pictish  
kings, beseeching them humble to grant them a  
peace, euen with what conditions it should please  
them to prescribe. The kings not moued onlie with  
the present fortune of the Britains, but also partlie  
with their owne, hauing lost no small number of  
right worthy personages in the battell, were con  
tent to grant a peace vpon these conditions: That  
the Britains should in no wise receiue anie lieuten  
ant or armie hereafter from Rome, nor suffer anie  
enemie of the Scottish and Pictish estates, of what na  
tion soeuer he were, to passe through their countrie.  
They should enter into no league with anie citie or  
nation, nor be about to make anie warres with  
out consent of the Scottish and Pictish kings, and fur  
ther should be readie to serue them against all ma  
ner of enemies whensoever they should be sent for.  
Moreover, they should remoue with their wiues,  
children, and whole families out of all those coun  
tries, lying betwixt Aine and Humber, resigning

the possession of the same vnto the Scottishmen and  
Picts.

Also they should giue thre score thousand peces  
of gold then current to the Scottish & Pictish kings,  
towards the dispatch of their soldiors wages, and  
further should yald as a tribute twentie thousand  
peces of gold, to be paid yerelie vnto the generall  
vics of the victors. They should likewise deliuer  
one hundred hostages of such as the two kings should  
appoint, betwixt the age of eightene and thirtie  
yers. These conditions of peace though they seemed  
verie strict & greuous to the British nobilitie, yet  
for that they vnderstood not how to make a better  
bargaine, they perswaded the multitude to accept  
them, and so a league therevpon was concluded a  
mongst those people, and the publike state of the  
land brought to a more quiet rule than it had bene  
before. Thus were the Britains made tributarie to  
the Scottishmen and Picts, about 500 yeres after  
Iulius Cesar had brought them in subiection to the  
Romans, being in the yere after the birth of our  
Saviour 446, and of Eugenius his reigne ouer the  
Scottishmen the fienthy.

In this season was the Ile of Albion fore infected  
with the heresie of the Pelagians, and therefore  
pope Celestine sent one Paladius a learned man  
vnto the Scots, to persue them from that infecti  
on, and ordeined him bishop, the first in Scotland  
that had his inuestiture from Rome: for all the other  
before him were ordeined by the voices or suffrages  
of the people, choosing them forth among the monks  
and priests called Culdeis, as the Scottish chronicles  
do report. Paladius with right god and whole some  
exhortations purged the Scots and Picts of fundie  
superstitious rites of their old gentillie idolatrie,  
till those daies used amongst them, wherevpon he is  
named and reputed for the Scottishmenes apostle.  
Paelieth at Fordun, a towne in Aernes, where  
his reliques remained, and were long after had in  
great estimation.

Whosoever he instituted one Seruan bishop of the  
Orkenies, that he might instruct the inhabitants  
there in the faith of Christ, which as yet they had not  
receiued: and one Teruan, whome he himselfe had  
baptised, he made archbishop of Pictland. In these  
daies also manie strange sights were sene in sun  
drie parts of Britaine before the last mentioned o  
uerthrow: the moone being in plaine opposition to  
the sunne, when it should be most round, appeared in  
a quadrant figure. At Forke it rained blood: and  
trees in sundrie places being blasted, withered and  
died. The market place, or rather (if ye will so tearme  
it) Cheapeside in London opened, so that a great hole  
appeared, and manie houses were swallowed vp. A  
bout the same season also (as is supposed) liued that  
huge personage Finnacoell, a Scottishman borne  
of seven cubites in height. He was a great hunter,  
and soe feared of all men by reason of his mightie  
stature, and large lims: manie fables go abroad of  
him, not so agreeable to the likelihood of truth, as  
ought to be registred in an historie, and therefore  
here passed ouer with silence.

The Romane empire being brought into irreco  
uerable ruine by the Vandals, Gothes, Hunnes,  
Frenchmen, and other barbarous nations, occupi  
eng sundrie parts and positions thereof, put the  
Britains out of all hope to haue anie assistance  
from the emperors, which caused them to remaine in  
quiet certein yeres without attempting any exploit  
against the Scots or Picts, and so duclie paid their  
covenanted tribute, though sore against their wills,  
if they might otherwise haue remedied it. At the last  
about ten yeres after the conclusion of this last peace,  
it chanced that one Conan the sonne of the aboue  
mentioned

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The Brit  
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Scots and  
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436. H. B.

The heresie  
of the Pelag  
ians.  
Paladius  
sent into  
Scotland.

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adius liue  
more in Ire  
land.

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compted the  
apostle of  
Scotland.

Seruan bi  
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Unketh  
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ders appeard.

Finnacoell  
the great  
hunner.

Conanus a  
Britaine go  
eth about to  
persuade his  
countrie men  
to breake the  
peace conclu  
ed with the  
Scots and  
Picts.

mentioned Conanus, descended of the blond of the Detanj, sometimes kings of the Britains, soe maligne to see his countrie thus brought into thraldome of the Scottish nation, and devising how to find some rebz, called together the most part of the British nobilitie, by secret message home to a manour place which he had within a thicke wood in the countrie of Kent, and there opening vnto them a great peece of his mind, perswaded them with the weightiest reasons he could imagine, to leue warre againe. 10

Here the nobles were of sundrie opinions: for some alwaerted with the note of bondage, would gladly haue had warres: other hauing regard to their sons lieng in hostage with the enimies, would in no wise consent thereto: by reason whereof this counsell brake vp without conclusion of anie effect. When ech man was returned to his home, there had bene some amongst them, that gaue knowledge to the confederate kings what motion had bene made, and what was intended against them. Whereupon they immediatlie determined, not onelie to cause the hostages to be executed, but also to pursue the rebels with fierce and cruell warres. Yet before they practised anie violence, they sent their ambassadoz vnto the Britains, to vnderstand their full meaning, and to declare vnto them further certeine articles which the said kings required to haue performed without all delays, or else to loke for open warre out of hand.

The chiefest points of which articles were these. First that the Britains should not assemble together in counsell without licence of the Scottish and Pictish kings, notwithstanding that their ancient lawes they might vse at their pleasure, but they should receive no stranger into their countrie being a Roman or a Frenchman, neither merchant nor other. Their old hostages they should receive home againe, and deliuer in exchange of them twice so manie in number of the like age and degree, as was covenanted by the former league. The commons of the land vnderstanding what was demanded by these ambassadoz, were in a wonderfull rage, and would haue made a great sturre if they had not bene quieted by the lords, who for their paines taken herein, got them an euill report amongst the inferior sort of people, as though through their want of stomach onlie, the common-wealth was brought in to such a miserable estate, that looke what it pleased the enimie to charge the British nation with, no man durst once speake against it.

This grudge of the commons increased so farre forth against their superiours, that after the Scottish and Pictish ambassadoz were returned home, with answer agreeable to their demandes, their arose incontinentlie a great commotion of the people, conspiring together the utter destruction of the whole nobilitie. But their furie was repressed, so that they were ouerthrowne in battell at two severall times with great slaughter and bloodshed, whereupon they withdrew into the mountins, and there kept themselves, making raises vpon the nobilitie, and fetching booties alwaie from the heards and flocks of cattell belonging to the lords and gentlemen: but finally through famine which began to oppresse both parties, they perceived what need the one had of the others helpe, and so they agreed. This ciuill warre soe decayed the force of the Britains, for beside the great slaughter that was made betwixt them, by the avoiding of the commons out of their houses, the ground laie vntilled, thereof ensued a marvellous

great scarfitie and dearth of all things, by reason whereof an innumerable sort of people died. Yet shortly after followed such plentie, that those that were left alieue forgetting the passed miseries, gaue themselves to all kind of vice, which took such root in the hearts of the more part of them, that for anie man to vse anie manner of vertue amongst them, was a readie meane to procure great enie and hatred.

In the meane time liued the Scottish and Pictish kings in god quiet and rest, applying their studies onelie how to instruct their people now after the warres were once ended, in laudable exercises and necessarie occupations, conuenient for the time of peace, whereby their realmes might flourish in welth and prosperitie without dread of anie foreign power. For they saw such tokens of ruine in the British estate, as small likelihood appeared, that the same should at anie time be able to recover againe the former force and dignitie. Finally the Scottish king Eugenius hauing aduanced the estate of his countrie vnto more felicitie and wealth than anie of his predecessors had euer done before him, after he had reigned thirtie yeeres, he ended his life about the fourth yeere of Leo, that usurped the empire of Constantinople.

But forasmuch as Eugenius left no issue behind him, his brother named Dongard succeeded in the estate. He began his reigne in the yeere 470, and his chiefest studie was, according to his brothers example, to prouide for the maintenance of god orders and iudice, appointing in euerie quarter men of god fame and report to haue the administration vnder him, with commandement that they should diligently foresee, that euerie man might inioy his owne. He himselfe took vpon him also to see to the repairing of such castles as were decayed, and to the building vp of new in places where he thought most expedient, specially nere to the British borders, for he well considered that peace increased riches, riches pride and presumption, with other sinnes, which could not long indure without the plague of wars. Therefore he doubting the changes of seasonall fortune, thought god in time of peace to prouide for the dangers of warre, when the same should happen vnto him.

These ciuill policies and princelie prouisions for defense of his countrie and subiects increased the fame of Dongard mightilie, but that which he did towards the advancement of religion did most excellently set forth his commendation. First, all such religious men as followed the trade of life taught by Paladius and others, which came with him from Rome, he caused them to be highly reuerenced: and for the maintenance of their liuing, he assigned forth lands, houses, and other kinds of reuenues in diuers places of his realme, and granted not onelie vnto them, but also vnto all other, being within anie orders of clergie, sundrie priuileges, appointing that the churches & abbeies with other holie places should be infranchised and taken for sanctuaries, that all such as fled to the same for safegard of their liues, should be suffered to rest in peace, so long as they kept them within the same.

About the same time also, and whilst these things were thus a doing in Scotland, the Britains being alwaerted of their seruile estate, through the setting on of Conanus, conspired together, and took aduise by what meanes they might best take to deliuer themselves from the thraldome of Scots and Picts, and vpon aduise taken they concluded to send ouer into Britaine Armozike some honorable ambassage vnto Androenus the king of that countrie for aid. Wherevnto was the archbishop of London appointed

The Britains hauing respect to their sonnes & kindred lieng in hostage would not agree to breake the peace.

The kings of the Scots & Picts offended with the conspyracie of the Britains, preferred vnto them new articles to be performed.

Immoderate feruencie intruded vpon the Britains by the proud and cruell Scots, if it be true.

The commons of Britaine offended with their gouernours.

The commons of Britaine conspire against the nobles.

One estate of men cannot liue without helpe of another.

Superstition with respect to war.

The Scots apply themselves to peace.

The death of Eugenius the Scottish king.

Dongard, Dongard king of Scots.

The death of Dongard by preservation of justice and god order.

The repairing of castles by Dongard.

The Scots and Picts make their approach.

The Scots and Picts approach nere to the Britains.

Dongard exhorteth his people to fight manfully.

The boundless liberality of Dongard towards his churchmen.

Dongard's death.

The Scots and Picts come out to Britaine.

The things of the British name are put backe.

ted as this archbishop Constant appointed men to ge British in e thys wi die, he im was mad sperous u into grea Denonsh England forthwith be promil recover to mainti shed desir For 1 common should be appointe daies aft the lords in erectt ing apt t rie man of the all mics, so sent of t to recom beheld sa same bu Scots a them ou When the Scots a to meet their pol thire, a where the next the erin wards t camped nere to of Sco that nig day, an getting there of persu liantly, the orde breake mics te We t diuerse how th had lod die in o to inco be rich entlie euerie pointe take a to yeell ning b and cr Britai the mi Where

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Superfluous  
ociety occasion  
of vice.

The Scots  
applied them-  
selves to  
peace.

The death of  
Eugenius the  
Scottish  
king.

Dongard,  
Dongard  
king of  
Scots.  
461. H.B.  
The death of  
Dongard for  
preparation  
of justice and  
good orders.  
The repairing  
of castles by  
Dongard.

The bound-  
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of Dongard  
towards  
charymen.

Sandwich.

The Scots  
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to Wisth  
Armothe  
aid.

Advent into  
Eugene  
the Br-  
noble Wisth  
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Constantine  
commanded  
the Wisth  
472.

The assembly  
of the Wisth  
472.

The great  
wonder of  
the Wisth  
472.

The Scots  
at Wisth  
472.

Dongard re-  
sisted his  
people to fight  
472.

The names of  
the Wisth  
472.

ted as chiefe ambassador to go on that message, which  
archbishop vfed such diligence in the matter, that  
Constantine the sonne of the said Androenus was  
appointed by his father with a competent power of  
men to go ouer into great Britaine to the aid of the  
Wisth inhabitants there. Whereupon, when the men  
& Wisth with all necessarie prouision were once rea-  
die, he embarked at Saint Malo, where the assemble  
was made, and taking the sea, sailed forth with pro-  
sperous wind and weather, which brought him safelie  
into great Britaine, where he landed at Eotnes in  
Deuonshire, as you shall find in the chronicles of  
England. He was receiued with no small ioy, and  
forthwith proclaimed king of Britaine, whereupon  
he promised to assaie to the bittermost of his power to  
recover againe their whole lands and liberties, and  
to mainteine them in the same according to their wi-  
shed desires.

For the more speedie accomplishment hereof,  
commandement was first given, that all able men  
should be in a readinesse, and come together at a place  
appointed nere to the riuer of Humber within fortie  
daies after. Which order being taken by the aduise of  
the lords and nobles of the realme, the same was put  
in execution with such diligence, that few or more be-  
ing apt to beare arms, withdrew themselves, eue-  
rie man in manner comming to the appointed place  
of the assemble, and offering to go against the eni-  
mies, so that it was a wonder to consider the con-  
sent of the people now ioined in one mind and will  
to reconer their former libertie. When Constantine  
beheld such notable numbers of men, he supposed the  
same would haue sufficed not onelic to vanquish the  
Scots and Picts, but also viterlie to destroye a race  
them out of all the confines of Albion.

When the newes of all this preparation for warres  
which the Britains made, was once signified to the  
Scots and Picts, they likewise made their apperles  
to meet with them in the field, and thereupon raising  
their powers, came forth with the same into Forke-  
shire, and pitched their camps within foure miles  
where Constantine with his people was lodged, and  
the next day after, understanding how nere vnto  
the enimie they were, they raised and marched for-  
wards till they came within sight of him, as then in-  
camped with his people aloft vpon certeine hils,  
nere to the aforesaid riuer side. Here both the kings  
of Scots and Picts lodging with their armies for  
that night, made readie for battell against the next  
day, and in the morning Dongard the Scottish king  
getting him to a little hill, called his men together,  
& there exhorted them by sundrie comfo:table means  
of perswasion to put awaie all feare, and to fight ba-  
liantly, assuring them of victorie if they would keepe  
the order of battell by him appointed, and not rashlie  
breake forth of the same in following vpon the eni-  
mies when they fell to retiring backe.

He had scarce made an end of his wordes, but that  
diuerse of the standing watch came in, and declared  
how the Britains began to auaile the hils where they  
had lodged, and that the Picts were got forth alrea-  
die in order of battell, and were marching forwarde  
to incounter them. Dongard thetuing himselfe to  
be right iofull of these newes, commanded incontine-  
ntlie, that the standards should aduance forth, and  
euerie man to attend the same according to his ap-  
pointed order. Also that no man should presume to  
take anie prisoner before the end of the battell, nor  
to yeeld himselfe so long as life lasted. So that ioi-  
ning with his enimies, there followed a verie fierce  
and cruell battell. At length both the wings of the  
Britains gaue backe from the Scottishmen & Picts,  
the middle ward abiding the brunt verie stoutlie.  
Where Constantine himselfe stood like a valiant

chieftaine, doing his endeour to the bittermost of  
his power, vpon whome Dongard earnestlie preas-  
sing, and entring into the thickest throng of his eni-  
mies, was there beaten downe amongst the Armo-  
like Britains, and being about to get vp againe by  
helpe of his weapon, was againe felled to the earth,  
and slaine with manie a sore wound.

Diuers of the Scots discomfited with this great  
misshap, fell to running awaie: other kindled with  
more wrath lay about them more egerlie. The Picts  
also, for their part fought most constantlie, so that the  
battell continuing vntill none date with doubtfull  
successe, at length the Britains were constrained  
something to giue backe, & after taking themselves  
to fearefull flight, declared that the victorie remained  
with their enimies. Where died in this mortall battell  
nere to the point of 16 thousand of the Britains, and  
of the Scots & Picts aboue 14 thousand, with Don-  
gard and the Scottish king. Constantine the day next  
after the battell, withdrew southwards. The Scots  
carried away with them the corps of their dead king,  
and conueieng it into the Ile of Iona, now called  
Colmekill, there buried it in kingle wise. Dongard  
was thus slaine, in the first yere of his reigne, after  
the birth of our Sauter 475 yeres, and about the se-  
cond yere of Zeno the emperour.

After him succeeded in gouernment of the Sco-  
tish kingdome Constantine the brother of the  
about rehearsed Eugenius, a prince unlike in noble  
vertues vnto his brother the said Eugenius. For  
though in him there appeared some good tokens of  
commendable towardlinesse, as he seemed out-  
wardlie to shew, yet was he giuen more vnto wan-  
ton pleasure and lust, than to the regard of the god  
rule and gouernment of his subiects, a deflower of  
virgins, a rauisher of honest matrones, and about  
all, a fauourer of backbiters and slanderers; neuer  
shewing anie iofull countenance amongst his no-  
bles, but amongst scoffing fellows and other vile per-  
sons he was as pleasant and merie as the iocundest  
man alike. Thus though he represented the Wisth  
king Constantine in name, yet in manners he far  
differed from him: for the Wisth Constantine stu-  
dieng to aduance the commonwealth of his subiects,  
trained them in laudable exercises, & reduced them  
from their former euill vices vnto ciuill order and  
good customs. Contrariwise, the Scottish Constan-  
tine did nothing worthie praise at all, after he was  
once instituted king, but followed still his owne in-  
ordinate lust and sensuall appetite.

He granted peace vnto the Britains they scarce  
requiring the same, releasing not onelic the tribute,  
but also deliuering vp into their hands by secret  
meanes diuers castles standing vpon the riuer of  
Humber. Manie other things he was about to haue  
done to the great preiudice and hinderance of the  
Scottish estate, had not the nobles of the realme the  
soner withstood his rash and vnadvised attempts.  
Such malice also was ingendred in the hearts of the  
most part of the nobilitie towards him, that had it  
not bene through the wholesome admonition & per-  
suasion of Dongall of Galloway, a noble man of  
right reuerend authoritie amongst them, they had le-  
uied ciuill wars against him, but the foresaid Don-  
gall declaring to them the great danger and incon-  
uenience that might thereof insue, restrained their  
wrathfull minds from enterprising anie thing a-  
gainst him by force, so that for certeine yeres they  
suffered and bare with this his misordered gouern-  
ment.

In the meane while the Picts noting the want of  
all vertuous qualitties thus in the king of Scots, and  
againe what tokens of valiant courage appeared in  
the king of the Britains, doubted least if he should  
seke

Dongard is  
slaine.

The Bri-  
tains are put  
to flight.

465. H.B.  
461. H.B.

Constantine  
the first citi-  
zen at  
name: a crea-  
ted king of  
Scots.

Constantine  
the Scottish  
king nothing  
like in nobis  
conditons  
vnto Con-  
stantine king  
of the Wisth.

Peace gran-  
ted vnto the  
Britains, and  
diuers castles  
deliuered into  
their hands.

The good  
counsell of  
Dongall.

The Picts  
stand in feare  
of the king of  
Britaine.

felke to reuenge old iniuries against them, they  
 ſhould be little able to match him without aid of the  
 Scots (whereof they had ſmall truſt now, by reaſon  
 of the inſufficientie of the Scottiſh king) they deuised  
 a meane how to rid the Britiſh king out of the waie,  
 and ſo appointing certaine ſlie fellows to go into  
 Britaine for the accompliſhment of their deuised  
 purpoſe, at length the ſame was brought to paſſe, as  
 in the Engliſh chronicles ye ſhall find more at large,  
 though in the ſame chronicles there is mention  
 made but of one Pict that ſhould worke this feat,  
 where the Scottiſh writers record of diuers, which ne-  
 uertheleſſe were apprehended, and after bound both  
 hand and foot, were caſt into a mightie great fire, and  
 therein burnt to aſhes in moſt miſerable wiſe, as by  
 the ſaid Scottiſh writers it appeareth. The death of  
 this Conſtantine king of Britains happened in the  
 15 yeare of Conſtantine king of Scots, neither liued  
 he long after: for hauing rauſhed a noble mans  
 daughter, borne in the weſterne Iles, he was ſlaine  
 by his father in the night ſeaſon, after he had reigned  
 in great infamie for his reprochfull life, the ſpace of  
 17 yeeres.

Constantine  
the Scottish  
king is slaine  
by one whose  
daughter he  
had rauished.  
Anno 481.

*Dongall.*  
Dongall the  
sonne of Don-  
gard is made  
king of Scot-  
land.

The politike  
rule of Don-  
gall.

17 heres.  
**T**hen was Dongall his nephew, as sonne to his brother Dongard, proclaimed king, a prince of disposition indifferent either to peace or warre though in the beginning of his reigne he shewed himselfe more desirous of peace than of warres, by reason the state of the common-wealth so required, considering how things stood not all in the best order, though his predecessors negligence. Dongall therefore desirous of a reformation, appointed men of great wisdome and good fame to be iudges and officers vnder him, who in redressing misdoers, in punishing transgressions, & in deciding of all strifes and contentions betwixt partie & partie, did so well their endeavour, that peace and concord thereupon insuing, the people recovered peaceable rest and quietnesse, to their no small comfort and contentation.

Constantine  
a monk elected  
king of  
Britain.

Mortigerns  
 treason.  
 Constantius  
 murdered.

In this meane while that things passed thus a-  
mong the Scots, by the procurement of one North-  
gerne, Constantine the eldest sonne of the late de-  
ceased Constantine king of Britains, was taken  
out of an abbey, where he was thorne a monke, and  
advanced to the kingdome: but being not met of  
himselfe to gouerne, Northgerne had the whole rule  
committed to his hands, whereupon he first caused  
the league to be renewed betwixt the Britains, the  
Scots, and Picts, and appointed a guard of the same  
Scots and Picts to be attendant on the kings per-  
son: in the end also he procured some of them to mur-  
der the king, and after put all the said Scots and  
Picts to death, as well the guiltie as the vnguiltie, and  
finallie made himselfe king, as in the historie of  
England you shall find more at large expressed.

The Scots and Wias (for displeasure that their countreimen which had bene appointed to gard the person of Constantius king of the Britains, were maliciouslie circumvented, & the more part of them wrongfullie executed) made sundrie roades and forraies into the Britissh borders, neither sparing fire nor sword where they came. So that the said Mortimer by a greuous report informed hereof, caused an armie with all speed to be sent, and appointed Guitellus the prince of Wales to haue the leading thereof against the enimies: Whilste he (doubting least the people would not be ruled by him, for that it was known how he would haue made awaie Constantines chylzen) kept him about London, & durst not commit himselfe so much to the sight of a multitude, as to go forth in that iournie in his owne person.

Enitellus general of the British army

Gustellus, in respect of the loue which he bare to his countrie, purposing to serue truelie in defense

therof, chanced vpon his approach to the borders to take the number of five hundred of the enimies, being aduanced from the residue to fetch a bottie. These Guitellus caused to be hanged, as condemned for robbers and pillers of the countrie afore arie ouerture of warre was denounced. Wherevpon such other as escaped by flight, and had sene their fellows thus executed, declared vnto their gouernors what had happened vnto their fellows. The confederate kings, being in a great chafe heerewith, gather together their people, and haile forward with all speed toward the enimies, who at the first shewed manifest tokens that they were sore afraid of the Scottish and Irish powber: wherevpon Guitellus their generall with comfortabie words willed them to be of good courage, and not to doubt of victorie, hauing so iust a cause to fight with truce-breakers, and such as were giuen more vnto pillage and spoile, than to arie ofther commendable exercise or piaeife of warre.

With such and sundrie other the like words the Britains being emboldened, as might well appeare by their change of countenances, Cusellus therevpon removed his campe more nere unto his enemies, so that at the first and for certeine daies together, there chanced onelic diuers skirmishes betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. But at length the one being sore moued against the other, they came in a pight field. The beginning of which battell was verie fierce and doubtfull. For on that side where Donagall the Scottish king fought, the Britains thorowly began to preuaile, through the fauirt fighting of his people: which danger Calanus the Pictish king quicklie perceiuing, forthwith provided remedie: for taking with him certeine bands out of his owne battell, willing the restore to stand to it manfully, and in no wise to giue ground to the enimie, he himselfe with the said bands fetcht a compasse about, and set vpon the backs of them that so had ouermatched the Scots.

His sudden chance sore disordered the Britains, and immediatlie the Scots encouraged afresh, aduanced their enemies with more eger minds than they had done at the first, so that maintainantie both the wings of the Britishe armie were utterlie discomfited. And herewith a certeine number of the Pikes were commanded by their king to make halle to win the campe of the Britains, that such as sought to escape by flight, should find no refuge in the same. Thus the Britains being chased and slaine on euertie side, they knew not whither to flee: so that in the end a great number of them throwing awaie their weapons, yelbed themselves, most humble craving mercie at their enemies hands. There were slaine in this battell aboue twentie thousand of the Britains, together with their generall Gwendolus, and a great number of other of the nobilitie. There died also of the Scots and Pikes nere hand foure thousand. The prisoners with the spoile of the field were diuided by appointment of the kings amongst the souldiers. Which done, they marched forth into the countrie to conquer castels and towines, such as stood in their waie.

In the meane time, the Britains being sore distressed with the overthow, assembled a council at London, there to devise by what means they might best defend their countrie from the imminent danger in the which it now stood. Fortigerna as one gillie in conscience, doubted least through want of god wils in his commons, he should not be able to withstand the mightie invasion of his enemies, whereupon he was minded to haue anointed the realme, but there were of his council that abused him to the contrarie, holding, that better it was for him to trie the bittermost point of fortunes hap, than with

Control for  
the amount  
belonging.

The Duke  
and Prince  
kings gaine  
their power  
reist the  
tains.  
Gunsling  
courage  
appalled  
of his men  
warre with  
comfortable  
swords.

The Ex-  
taining  
a pipe  
with the  
Scots and  
Plut.  
The Sco  
are put be  
Galane  
of Pato  
coureth  
Scots.

The wings of the White-tails put forth flight. The canopies of the White-tails were raised. The White-tails charged.

Whither  
lie.  
Guitell  
twenty  
sand 25:  
tains  
fourth  
sand 30:  
and 35:  
ains.

3 court  
helden a  
London

of 210,000  
to doubling  
er- hundred  
ne, people, 5  
to have fed  
of his re-

Cloisterly life  
conferred to  
send for aid in-  
to Germany.

Hengist and  
Horsus retet-  
ned in service  
with Alotri-  
geric.

The Saxons  
together with  
a power of  
Britains are  
sent to the bor-  
ders of the e-  
minency coun-  
ties.

The Saxons  
in hope of good  
successe be-  
gin the wars  
against the  
Danes with

The king of  
Dias lendeth  
aid vnto  
the Scottish  
king.

The king of  
the Picts  
conquished.  
The Saxons  
gave praise,  
and the Bzi-  
gians noted of  
fame.

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all speed to  
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Scottish and  
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in to unite  
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ains the like  
hting of his  
Dially king  
remedie: for  
is there bat-  
nfullie, and  
he him selfe  
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matched the

the Britains,  
astroly, affa-  
is than they  
ttle both the  
lie discomf-  
of the Picts  
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ch as fought  
in the same,  
ine on euerie  
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ble craning  
were slaine in  
he Britains,  
, and a great  
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onland. The  
re slaid by  
he souldiers,  
e countrie to  
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ring fore dis-  
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d the realme,  
uised him to  
as for him to  
ap, than with  
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enemies  
the enemies  
be changes.

The Scottish  
and Dially  
kings gather  
their people to  
reist the Brit-  
tains.  
Counsellors  
courage the  
appalled king  
of his men,  
warre such  
comfortable  
words,

The Pict  
kings come in  
a night field  
with the  
Scots and  
Picts.

The Scots  
are put backe,  
Calanus king  
of Picts suc-  
cureth the  
Scots.

The swinge  
of the Brit-  
tains put to  
flight.

The campe  
of the Brit-  
tains won.  
The Pict  
kings chafed,  
knowing not  
whither to  
fle.

Withall with  
thence they  
saw the  
land of the  
Brittains slaine.  
Forceth them  
saw Scots  
and Picts  
slaine.

A counsell  
holden at  
London.

Wortgerne  
doubting the  
haired of his  
people, would  
have fled out  
of his realme.

Wortgerne is  
conuincit to  
leave for aid in  
Germany.

Wortgerne and  
his retel-  
lions forme  
with Wort-  
gerne.

The Sarons  
gather to the  
quiere of  
Brittains are  
driven be-  
hind the co-  
untee count-  
ies.

The Sarons  
take of good  
hande be-  
cause they  
were the  
first to flye.

The king of  
Brittains  
was slaine  
by the  
Scots.

The king of  
Brittains  
was slaine  
by the  
Scots.

dispos to to yeld at the first blow of his sword  
hand, considering the abundance of treasure which  
he had in store, wherewith he might wage souldiers  
and men of warre out of Germanie & other places,  
in number sufficient to match with his enemies.  
This counsell as the best was folloved, and messen-  
gers with commission & sufficient instructions sent  
with all speed into Germanie, to retaine a number  
of Sarons, and to bring them over into Britaine, to  
sarie against the Scots and Picts in wages with  
Wortgerne.

At the same time there were amongst those Sar-  
ons two brethren, descended by rightfull lineage of  
the princes of that nation, who being reputed for va-  
liant captains, appointed with the Britissh commis-  
saries for a certeine summe of monie to take up  
their prescribed number of men, & to receiue charge  
of them as colonels, aswell for their conuay ouer  
into Britaine, as also for their seruice there, after  
their arrival. The one of these two brethren was cal-  
led Hengist or Engist, and the other Horsa, who ha-  
uing their appointed numbers once filled, conti-  
nuing about ten thousand souldiers in the whole, they  
bestowed them abroad in thirtie hulls, hoies, and  
plaits, and in the same transported them ouer into  
Britaine, in the 449 yere after Christ, as our histo-  
ries doe affirme: where they were receiued with  
great ioy and gladnesse of Wortgerne, who trusted  
by their aid to overcome his fierce and dreadfull en-  
mies.

Therefore when they had refreshed themselves  
somewhat after their trauell by sea, they were sent  
forth with an other armie which Wortgerne had as-  
sembled of his owne subjects the Britains, to the  
frontiers of the enemies countrie, where at their first  
comming they passed ouer the riuer of Humber, be-  
fore the Scots or Picts had knowledge that any  
such people were come in support of the Britains to  
bid them battell. They being therefore amazed with  
the strangenesse of the thing, some of them fled into  
the inner parts of their countrie, & other that made  
but sozie shift, fell into the hands of the Sarons, who  
to begin their enterpryse with blood, slawe all such as  
they could laie hands vpon, without any respect of  
person. Great was the slaughter by them commit-  
ted in all those parties where they passed, namelie a-  
bout the riuer of Ene. And when they had made an  
end there, they entred into Northumberland, and so  
into the dales about Berwik, next adioining vnto  
Dialand, destroying all before them with fire and  
sword.

The Pictissh king in the meane time had sent vn-  
to Dongall the king of Scots to come with all speed  
to support him against the dreadfull invasion of the  
enemies, whose force being now increased with a  
powder of Sarons, would worke much mischief, if  
the same were not the more speedilie in the begin-  
ning repressed: but hearing that the Sarons and  
Britains daile approached, he thought not good to sa-  
rie for the comming of the Scots, but halted forth  
with his owne powder to encounter his aduersaries,  
and rashlie giuing battell, he was overcome, and  
thereby lost no small number of his people. In this  
conflict the Sarons wan them a great name for  
their high valiance, where contrarilie the Britains  
got them no small note of gillie cowardise, fighting  
so faintlie, that their captains had much ado to cause  
them to keepe their ground, being readie still to haue  
run awaie: which their faintnesse of stomach being  
noted of Hengist, euen then put him in no small  
confidence that it should be an easie matter for him  
to conquire them at his pleasure, when time and oc-  
casion might serue thereto.

The Pictissh nation hauing receiued this grieuous

ouerthrow at the hands of their cruell enemies, sent  
againe an other ambassage vnto the Scottish king  
Congall, to signifie to him by way of lamentation,  
what losse had happened to them by that most cruell  
people the Sarons void of all religion and mercie,  
and what mischief by the same people was inten-  
ded, aswell against Scots as Picts, vnto the great  
danger of the utter ruine of both nations, if the en-  
mies in time were not resisted. They that were  
sent, declared all this matter vnto king Congall,  
and as they had in commission, besought him of spe-  
die succors. Congall not onlie moued for the harms  
and losses of the Picts his friends and allies, but al-  
so much more for the likelihood of the imminent dan-  
ger and perill towarde himselfe and his owne peo-  
ple, determined speedilie to go with all his power,  
and to ioine with the Picts, as fullie resolved to pre-  
uent that mischief which was like to follow, if the  
violent rage of the enemies were not the sooner re-  
sisted.

He sent word therefore to the Pictissh king, that  
if he might keepe off the enemies by light skirmishes  
and incursions for a small time, he would come to  
his aid shortly, with all the whole puissance of his  
realme. And herewithall he commanded by open  
proclamation, that all those within his dominions,  
which were able to beare armour should by the twen-  
tith day after assemble together at the south side of  
Calidon wood, all and euerie of them bringing then  
and there with them vittels sufficient to serue them  
for two moneths. According to the which proclama-  
tion, there came together at the day and place assign-  
ed, about the number of 40000 able men, fit and  
mete for the warres. On the morrow after, when  
Congall had taken the musters & bew of his whole  
numbers, he set forth towards the place where  
he vnderstood that the king of the Picts as then loo-  
ged, who had likewise assembled his people, and in  
campe taried for the comming of the Scottish armie.  
On the first day after, both the kings met together,  
and shewed great tokens of intire loue and friend-  
ship the one towards the other. After this they go to  
heare diuine seruice, where they make their deuout  
prayers vnto almightie God for their good speed and  
luckie successe in that tourne: which being done,  
they march forth toward the enemies, as then lieng  
in campe not past ten miles from them. Here at the  
first sight of the enemies, diuers of the Scots and  
Picts being stricken with feare to behold so great a  
multitude, as the like had not bene seene in those  
parties manie a day before, they scale away and se-  
cretlie hid themselves in the next woods. But the  
kings, to giue example to other, caused them that  
were thus skole away, to be sought out, & brought  
again into the campe, where they were hanged in  
open sight of all the armie.

The Sarons & Britains also vpon the approach of  
their enemies gathered their companies together, &  
maintenantly herewith the Sarons encouraged  
with such comfortable speech as Hengist uttered a-  
mongest them, required to haue battell without de-  
lay: whose example the Britains following, shewed  
themselves also right willing therevnto. Congall  
the Scottish king perceiving the enemies to make  
readie for battell, went likewise amongst his folks,  
and exhorted them in best wisse he could, to play the  
men. The like also did Calanus the Pictissh king a-  
mongest his people, omitting nothing that might  
encourage them to fight manfullie. After this, the  
battell on both sides comming forward to ioune, the  
arrows and darts flew frechlie betwixt them, but  
neither part minding to giue place for all the shot,  
at length they ioined at handblowes, first the Bri-  
tains in the right wing with the Scots in the left  
wing;

The Picts  
effronce sol-  
cit the Scots  
for aid.

Congall prom-  
ised to aid the  
Picts.

Proouision  
made by the  
Scots to aid  
the Picts.

The Scottish  
and Pictissh  
kings assem-  
ble together  
with there  
powers.

The Scots  
and Picts  
come within  
sight of the  
enemies.

The Scots  
through com-  
fort of Heng-  
ists exhorta-  
tion desire  
battell.

The Scottish  
and Pictissh  
kings exhort  
their people to  
fight valiant-  
lie.

The battell  
is begun.

The Britains fled.

A great tempest.

The Saxons close themselves together.

The Scots and Picts pursue the Britains.

The Saxons assault the Scots and Picts dispersed in pursuit of the Britains.

Hengist purposed at the first to make conquest of the Britains.

Hengist returned to London.

Hengist offered to send for more aid into Germany.

Hengist's offers disliked of some of the nobilitie of Britaine.

The honors showed unto Hengist by Hlothgerne.

Britains sent to defend the borders, are distressed.

wing; but the Britains not able long to indure against the force of the Scots, gaue backe and fled. In the meane while came a great shower of raine, mixt with such a tempest of haile, that the hardiest there wished himsele thence, the storme beating so fast vpon them, that one might vnderneath see another, so that the Scottishmen and Picts wist not whether were better to pursue the Britains that fled, or to keepe their places.

On the other part, the Saxons according to their maner in time of any present danger, closed themselves together and drew nere vnto their chiefest standards. Finally the tempest no longer began to cease, but the Scots and Picts leauing their order of battell, fell to follow the chase of the Britains, supposing the victorie had bene whole theirs. Which the Saxons (now after that the element began to cleare by) plainelie perceiuing, by commandement of Hengist their generall, assailed the Scots and Picts here and there disperfed about the spoile and slaughter of the Britains, and made such murdres of them on euery side where they found them, that pittie it was to behold. Those that escaped by flight, neuer staied till they were gotten into places farre enough out of danger. This was a blacke day with the Scots and Picts. Neither was it verie isfull to the Britains, of whome no small number died in the place by the enemies sword lamentable to see. Hengist hauing thus gotten the victorie, withdrew to Porke, leauing those countries betwixt Eline and Ewed in the enemies handes, of purpose ceasing from further indamaging them, that the Britains might haue neighbours whome to feare: for that (as he thought) should make much for his purpose, already hauing determined to make a conquest of this Ile.

When summer then was well nere passed, he placed his souldiers in harbrough to lodge for the winter season, and went himselfe to London, where he counselled Hlothgerne to send of his owne people to the borders of his enemies, to keepe the same from their inuasions till the next spring, against which time he promised to cause such notable numbers of his countrymen to come to his aid, as should suffice not onelie to vanquish the Scottishmen and Picts, but also utterly to destroy both the nations, or at least wise to driue them forth of the whole countrey. This offer vnto some of the nobilitie was not greatly liked, as euer suspecting that which followed, least in time to come Hengist should seeke the dominion of the realme in placing his owne people, and expelling the former inhabitants. But Hlothgerne did not onelie giue him most hartie thanks for those his offers, but also thanked by the maner of his intertainment, which he vsed towards him, that he thought he could not do vnto him too much honor for such notable seruice as he had done already, and trusted he should do hereafter. According to Hengist's aduise also, there was a crue of men of warre of Britains sent vnto the borders to the number of five thousand, who shortly after their comming thither, were quicklie dispatched and made awaite in sundrie skirmishes and incounters with the Scots and Picts, that assailed those places which they were appointed to defend.

Shortly after was sent thither also another company, double in number to the first, to redenge the deaths of their fellows; but they finding fortune as froward vnto them as the former had done before, sped much what a like, for in sundrie confliats blunders of them being slaine, and diuers other by treason of the borderers themselves deliuered captiue into the aduersaries hands, the residue that was left, perceiving in what danger they stood, thence they

might not trust their owne countrymen, returned backe into the inner parts of the land, and so left the borders altogether unfurnished. In this meane while a new supplie of five thousand Saxons, with their wives and children, came ouer into this land, in eightene hoies, and amongst other came Hengist's wife and his daughter the ladie Kylenea. Shortly after king Hlothgerne gaue vnto Hengist and his Saxons a great part of the countrey called Lindseie, with a castell of great strength called Thongcastre. Some haue written that Hengist required of Hlothgerne so much ground as he might compass with an ore hide, and hauing that granted, he took a nightie ore hide, and cut it into small thongs, and so compassing about a right strong plot of ground with those thongs line wise, began there the foundation of a castell, which took name of those thongs, wherewith the plot of ground was first measured, and so was it called Thong-castell. But vpon what consideration so euer it took that name, certene it is by record of all the Scottish histories, that there the Saxons first inhabited after their entring into Britaine.

When Hengist had set things in order for the placing of his people there in dwellings (appointed them by Hlothgerne) according as seemed best vnto his politike head and craftie forecalt, he took forth the souldiers and men of warre, ordered vnder certene capitaines and officers of bands, and led them forward by slow iournies as it were staing for the comming of the Britains. Hlothgerne had gathered as then an huge host of his subiects, and appointed his generall lieutenant ouer them his sonne Hlothgerne, a yong man of great force and valiance, but so that he should be ordered in all things by the aduise and discretion of Hengist, whose authority for the warres he commanded chiefe to be followed.

When both the armies of Saxons and Britains were met together, Hengist led them ouer the riuers of Humber and Eline, marching directlie towards the place where he thought the enemies laie. The Scottish and Pictish kings, hauing knowledge of such preparation made by the Britains, they gathered their powers together, to the number of 60000 men, furnished with provision of vittels for a long time. But before their comming to the riuers of Eline, vpon knowledge had that the Saxons and Britains were passed the same, they made straight towards them, in purpose to haue giuen battell without longer protracting of time: hotobest comming to the place where they were lodged, they found them so strongly incamped, that no aduantage could be perceiued which waie they might be constrained to raise and come forth of their strength to receiue battell vpon some even ground, which Hengist of purpose for a time seemed to deferre.

Betwixt them also and the armies of the two kings there was a baillie, in the botome full of mires and marshy grounds, which the Scottishmen and Picts must needs passe, yet they could find meanes to doo ante notable displeasure to the enemies. Wherefore at length they determined with turfe and fagots to make passage ouer those mires, which being accomplished in the night following, the next morning they passed ouer and got them vnto certene hilles lieng right ouer against the Saxon and British camps, some of them taking their lodgings vpon the brow of front of an hill so nere to the lodgings of their enemies, that they might throwe a dart into their campe: and hereof they took no small occasion to worke a feat against their aduersaries, to their great annoiance and veratton.

There was growing in that place, where they were

A picture of the Scots.

A picture of the Saxons.

A picture of the Saxons.

A picture of the Saxons.

The tumult and care raised in the campe of the Saxons.

Hengist called his people together.

The Saxons and Britons against the Scots and Picts.

60000 of Saxons and Britons to meet the enemies.

Congals expedition to the Scots.

Hengist's long time to give battell.

Hengist's hope to fight manfully.

The Scots and Picts give the charge.

The Saxons in danger to lose the overthrow.

An ambush of five thousand men.

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A new power  
of Sarons  
commeth ouer  
into Britaine

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The Sarons  
first inhabites  
in Britaine.

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The Sarons  
and Britons  
against the  
Sarons and  
Picts.

60000 of  
Sarons and  
Picts com-  
to meet their  
enemies.

Hengist pro-  
longeth time  
to giue battell

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id meanes to do  
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small occasion to  
ies, to their great

place, where they  
were

Thengist of  
the Sarons.

Thengist  
wollare rai-  
to on the  
camp of the  
Sarons.

Hengist cal-  
led his peo-  
ple together.

Thengist ex-  
horteth the  
Sarons.

The Sarons  
& Picts giue  
the charge.

The Sarons  
recharge to  
beat the ouer-  
throw.

Thengist of  
the Sarons  
cometh to  
the battell.

were thus incamped, verie much of that kind of  
beath or ling, which the Scottishmen call hadder. Of  
which beath or hadder, they gathered a great quanti-  
tie together, and binding it in bundles like unto sa-  
gots, in the night season they set the same on fire,  
tumbling it downe the hill, on that side where the  
Sarons laie. The wind in that instant being some-  
what aloft, caused these bundles of ling to blase and  
burne vehementlie, and hereto standing that waies  
forth, droue the flame so fircinable amongst the  
tents and cabins of the Sarons, that the fire cat-  
ching in the straw and twigs which they had conched  
together vnder them in stead of beds, increased the  
feare amongst the Sarons wonderfullie, by reason  
that the blasing bundles of the ling or hadder, still  
comming downe the hill vpon them, seemed as  
though the same had fallen from above, and euen  
forth of the heauen it selfe.

Great was the tumult and noise throughout the  
whole campe, with such roing of beastes, and run-  
ning vp and downe both of them and of the horses  
which were there in the campe, that if heauen and  
earth had gone together, there could not haue bene  
an more terrible noise nor clamor. At length, when the  
Sarons had done what they could to quench the  
fire, and to appease the trouble, not without some by-  
rore and disorder raised on each side, they got them  
with their armor and weapons forth into the next  
field, which Hengist himselfe perceiving (having first  
done what he could to stay them) inuaded with a  
company of his choicest men of warre, he got him  
vp into a little hill next adioining, and there gaue  
knowledge by the sound of a trumpet that all his  
people should draw thither vnto him. After this,  
when they were come together, he disposed them in  
order of battell with all diligence, abiding for the  
spring of the daie, to understand more certeinlie the  
meaning of his enemies.

The Scots and Picts supposing the enemies to be  
farre disordered, by reason of the fire descended  
downe from the hill, fullie determined to assaile  
them in their camps: but vpon their approach to the  
same, perceiving how the Sarons were gotten  
forth, and stood readie in good order of battell, min-  
ding to defend their ground, both the kings thought  
it best to tarie till the morning, yet they made anie  
exploit, for doubt of perils that might befall thereof.  
In the breake of the daie Congall came amongst  
his people, exhorting them to remember their way-  
thie elders, and by their example to chuse rather to  
die in defense of their countrie & ancient liberties,  
than by cowardize to saue a dishonest life, which (if  
their chance was to be vanquished) they should passe  
in great thraldome and miserie. The Pictish king  
also with like words encouraged his men to do val-  
iantlie. Neither was Hengist slow in perswading his  
Sarons to plaie the men, that obtaining the victorie  
they might deliuer themselves from terro: of all eni-  
mies from thenceforth in Britaine.

Whilste he was thus exhorting his people, the  
Scots and Picts with great force and violence be-  
gan to giue the charge vpon him, which whilste the  
Sarons and Britains went about to defend, they  
were beaten downe by heaps so fiercelie on each side,  
that the discomfiture had light vpon them forthwith,  
had not Hengist by sound of trumpet called forth a-  
bout three thousand fresh men to their succors, which  
he had placed in an ambush a little before the spring  
of the daie within a thicke groue of wood, fast by his  
campe, appointing them to remaine there in a readi-  
nesse, to come at his call, vpon what danger soeuer  
happened. These most fiercelie setting vpon the  
backes of the Scots, brought them freight out of all  
order: for they being occupied with the other Sar-

ons before, and now assailed of these behind, they had  
vnicath some for anie aduantage to turne their  
weapons. In the meane time the Picts being mat-  
ched with the Britains did put them to flight, and  
chased them out of the field, not ceassing to pursue  
them in the chase, till they came to a riuier in the which  
a great number of them were drowned, as they iea-  
pard to passe ouer the same, and to saue them-  
selues by swimming. On the other side, the Scots  
being fore handled by the Sarons, both before and  
behind, were at the length constrained to giue  
ground and breake forth by flight, & so to escape the  
cruell hands of the enemies. Spanie were slaine in  
the chase, and some taken prisoners. The residue get-  
ting away, fled straight to the Picts: but Congall  
himselfe, through helpe of his household seruants es-  
caped to the top of an high hill, and saved himselfe  
all wounded as he was.

The Picts returning from the chase, and under-  
standing how the Sarons had giuen the Scots the  
ouerthrow, and that they were now marching for-  
ward to encounter also with them, determined not to  
abide their coming at that time. And so night ap-  
proching yet the Sarons had got sight of them, order  
was giuen by commandement of their king, that  
all their carriage, and a great quantitie of logs and  
sagots, should be placed and piled together before  
them, and in the darke of the night to be set on fire,  
which being executed according to the appointment,  
when the fire was once kindled, the Picts with the  
Scots which were got vnto them, departed as secre-  
lie as they might, and staid not to make alwaie, till  
they were farre enough out of the danger of the Sar-  
ons. Hengist hauing thus got the victorie, and per-  
ceiving no enemie abroad to bid him battell, muste-  
red his men, and found that he had lost in this tour-  
nie as good as foure thousand of one and other. Af-  
ter this, hee withdreweth to York, and leauing his  
armie there, went himselfe vnto London, where  
hee was receiued with ioy enough by king Clo-  
tigne.

Shortlie after, vpon knowledge that Aurelius  
Ambrose, and Alfer, the sonnes of king Constantine  
prepared to come ouer with a mightie armie of Ar-  
morike Britains, and other Frenchmen, to claime  
the crowne of Britaine, as lawfullie descended to  
them from their father: the Sarons were sent for  
out of the north parts, and had dwellings appointed  
vnto them in Kent, to be at hand if need were to re-  
sist anie such attempted inuasion. But shortlie after,  
for a policie, Hengist caused it to be bointed abroad,  
that the Scots and Picts meant effones to inuade  
the British confines, & therefore was there an other  
power of Sarons called into the land, and placed in  
the north parts, to defend the same against the  
Scots and Picts. Deca the sonne of Hengist had the  
leading of these Sarons, who brought them ouer, be-  
ing ten thousand men of warre, in skie plaits, and  
skie hoies. They brought with them also their wiues  
and children, and settled themselves in the north parts  
betwixt the riuier of Humber and the borders of the  
Pictish dominions. And euen then it began to take  
the name of Northumberland, which is as you wold  
say, the land by north the riuier of Humber, and so it  
doth continue.

Shortlie after, Clotigne forsaking his lawfull  
wife, married the labie Korena or Kowen, Hengists  
daughter, to the high offense of God, and great dis-  
pleasure of his subiects. And in the meane time, De-  
ca not attempting anie exploit against the Scots  
and Picts, rather fought to get into his hands all the  
fortresses betwixt Tine and Humber, euen from the  
east sea to the west: which his purposed intent he  
greatlie aduanced, & winning castles and fortresses  
there

The Brit-  
tains put to  
flight by the  
Picts.

The Scots  
forced to die.

Congall was  
wounded, but  
yet escapeth  
through helpe  
of his household  
seruants.

The policie of  
the Picts to  
escape out of  
danger.

Aurelius Am-  
brose & Alfer,  
sons to king  
Constantine.

The Sarons  
placed in  
Kent.

A new power  
of Sarons  
came ouer  
with their  
captain Dece.

Northumber-  
land when it  
first began to  
be so called.

Clotigne  
married Hen-  
gists daugh-  
ter.

Yorke in pos-  
session of  
Hengist.

Wortigerne  
deposed by his  
subjects.  
Wortimer cho-  
sen to gouerne  
the Britains.  
The Bri-  
tains require  
aid of the  
Scots and  
Picts a-  
gainst the  
Saxons.

The answer  
of Congall  
k. of Scots  
vnto the Bri-  
tish messen-  
gers.

Upon what  
conditions  
Congall co-  
venanted to  
support the  
Britains.

A league con-  
cluded be-  
twixt Scots  
Picts and  
Britains.

there in those parties, some by force, and some by sur-  
render: and amongst other places of importance, he  
first got possession of Yorke, and feigning accusati-  
ons against manie of the nobles and gentlemen,  
surrendering that they would betraie the countrie vnto  
the Scots & Picts, he put diuerse of them to death,  
some secretly, and others openly, as consuit of such  
offences as were forged and laid against them.

Hereupon the Britains for the stay of such mis-  
chiefe as they saw at hand, deposed Wortigerne from  
his kingly seat, and placed his sonne Wortimer in  
his roome, which being done, ambassadoes were sent  
both vnto the Scots and Picts, to require their aid  
and support against the cruell oppression of the Sax-  
ons, who sought not onelie by craftie meanes and  
fraudulent waies to attaine the dominion of the  
whole Ile, but also to extinguish and utterly subuert  
the faith of Christ, and the vse of his religion through-  
out the same. Therefore they earnestlie desired the  
Scottish and Pictish kings, to assist them against  
such common enemies as had bene called into the  
realme, not by publike consent of the nobles, but on-  
lie by the priuate commandement and ordinance of  
Wortimerne, to helpe as well toward the subduing of  
the Scots and Picts, as also to repress all commo-  
tions of the Britains, which they might happilie raise  
against him for his wicked tyrannie vsed amongst  
them, as his guiltie conscience might put him still in  
feare of.

The Scottish king Congall (vnto whome first the  
ambassadoes were sent) for answer declared, that he  
was forie to hinder and into what danger the mis-  
erable christians of Britaine were thus fallen, and  
therefore if nothing else might moue him to ioine  
with the Britains against the Saxons, yet that  
were sufficient cause to inforce him to doe the best he  
could, to helpe to deliuer the whole Ile from such an  
ethnik generation, as not onelie vsed the rites and  
ceremonies of their false religion, and that openlie  
among the christians, with doing sacrifice in the ho-  
nor and worship of their hellish gods, to the great  
horror and terrible offense of the beholders consci-  
ences; but also sought by all meanes they could de-  
uise, how to deströie and quench vnto the faith of  
our Saviour Christ in all places where they might  
get the vpper hand.

He promised therefore to imploye his whole puis-  
sance to recover out of the enemies hands all such  
countreies as late betwixt the frontiers of his domi-  
nion and the riner of Humber, and further to aid the  
Britains to drine them quite out of the Ile, if the  
Britains would assure him, from thenceforth neuer  
to make claime, title nor interest, to any of the coun-  
tries aforesaid, lieng betwixt the said riner of Hum-  
ber and the confines of his realme; but to leaue the  
same in the hands of the Scottishmen and Picts, to  
haue hold and inioy for euermore in quiet: which to  
performe, the ambassadoes had (amongest other  
things) already promised in name of all the British  
nation, as a recompense or meed to haue the same  
and succors of the Scots. The like answer the same  
ambassadoes receiued of the Pictish king, and retur-  
ning therewith vnto Wortimer, declared afoze him  
and his counsell how they had sped.

Shortlie after, for the more and better assurance  
of all promises, covenants and articles passed be-  
twixt the Scottishmen, Picts, and Britains, there  
was an amitie and bond of peace now renewed, ra-  
tified and established, according to the tenor of the  
ancient league, which had bene concluded in times  
past betwixt them, with some new conditions of a-  
greement included in the same: all old iniuries  
being ended and quieted clearelie betwixt them, so  
that no cause of grudge or displeasure might bee

thought to remaine in remembrance. The first en-  
terprise put in execution after the concluding of this  
league, was made by the Scots against Decca and  
his Saxons, which (as partlie ye haue heard) had  
nestled themselves betwixt the riuers of Tine and  
Humber.

Against those Scots, as they were verie earnest-  
lie occupied in ouerthrowing castles and towres,  
with slaughter of such Saxons as stood at defense,  
Decca commeth into the field with an armie ready  
to encounter with them, but perceiuing the multi-  
tude of his enemies to be such, as he doubted least he  
should not be well able to match with them, he staied  
a while from giuing the onser: but in the end percei-  
uing he could not retire backe but to his great disad-  
uantage, he boldlie gaue signe to his people to set  
vpon their enemies: which they fiercelie executing, it  
was hard to tell for a while to whether part the victo-  
rie would incline. But at length the Saxons not able  
to susteine the force of the Scots, ouerpressing them  
with multitude, began to giue backe: which Decca  
perceiuing, did what he could to hem them in from  
running awaie, but yet notwithstanding all that he  
could doe, scarce at length ouercomming regard to  
their captains commandement, shame of rebuke  
was quite set apart, and so they toke them to their  
feet, and fled awaie so fast as they might, the Scots  
pursuing after them amaine.

Decca yet escaped with diuerse of his nobles, and  
comming to the mouth of Humber, got a ship, and  
sailed forth in the same with great danger, till at  
length he arriued with in the Thames. The slaughter  
of the Saxons vpon the discomfiture was great, spe-  
ciallie in the chase, for the Scottishmen calling to re-  
membrance that they had to doe with infidels, and  
with the enemies of the christian faith, were so eager  
vpon them, that they saued few or none that fell into  
their hands. About the same time was Wortimer en-  
tered into Kent against Hengist and his Saxons  
there, and encountering with them in battell, slew ten  
thousand of them, and chased the residue forth of that  
countrie. Thus Kent returned vnto the Britains,  
and the countreies beyond Humber northwards vnto  
the Scots and Picts, according to the tenour of  
the league before mentioned.

Hengist and his sonne Decca (who a little before  
this battell in Kent was come vnto his father) with  
the residue of them that escaped, hasted with all speed  
toward Northumberland, in purpose to remaine in  
that countrie till they had recovered their strength  
by some power to be sent ouer vnto them out of  
their owne countrie: but being repelled with no  
small slaughter from thence by the Scots and Picts,  
they withdrew vnto the mouth of Humber, where  
getting certelie vessels, they passed ouer into  
Saronie, leauing a great sort of their nation behind  
them, dispersed abroad here and there in this Ile, as  
fortune then best serued. Wortimer hauing got the  
victorie, as before is mentioned, vsed not the same  
verie cruellie, for taking onelie from the Saxons  
which were taken prisoners their armor and wea-  
pon, he suffered them to depart into their countrie:  
other of the same nation being but husbandmen, and  
as it were poore laborers of the ground, he permitted  
to tarie in the countrie with their wiues & children,  
as seruants vnto the Britains.

After this, Wortimer gaue order for the repairing  
of churches, and restoring of the christian religion in-  
to the state of the former puritie thereof, as then fore  
decayed, partlie through the euill example taken by  
dallie conuersation amongst the Saxons, and part-  
lie also by the infectiue heresie of the Pelagians, as  
then mightlie spread ouer the most part of Britaine.  
At length the said Wortimer through treason of his  
stepmother

The Saxons  
inueste the  
rivers of  
Northumber-  
land.

The Saxons  
inueste the  
rivers of  
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The Saxons  
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The Saxons  
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The Saxons  
inueste the  
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Northumber-  
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stepmother  
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The Scots  
made the bo-  
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thunderland.

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The Scots  
incounter  
with the  
Scots.

The Scots  
banquished by  
the Scots.

his nobles, and  
got a ship, and  
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was great, spe-  
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s. Clozinger en-  
nd his Sarons  
battell, due ten  
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to the Britains,  
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Decca shortly  
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The Scots  
banquished by  
Britains and  
expelled out  
of Kent.

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The Scots  
flee out of  
Britaine.

Clozinger be-  
sith the victo-  
rie modellist.

o: the repairing  
tan religion in-  
cof, as then fore  
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rons, and part  
Delagians, as  
rt of Britaine.  
) treason of his  
stepmother

The heretic  
of the Dela-  
gians.

stepmother Morena was poisoned, and died. Then  
was Clozingerne againe restored to the rule of the  
kingdome, first forced by oth to promise neuer to aid  
the Sarons, nor to receiue by way of aid anie for-  
eine people into the realme. Clozingerne then resto-  
red thus vnto the crowne, shewed such diligence in  
causing due administration of iustice without rigor  
to be executed, and prouision made for the resisting  
of all inuasions that might be attempted by anie for-  
eine power, that his praise was great amongst all  
his subiects, who to shew their good willes likewise  
towards him as to their naturall pince, were not  
slacke in honoring him aswell by gifts and presents,  
as by all other manner of waies. He found means  
also to renew the league with the Scots and Pits,  
with like conditions and articles, as it was conclu-  
ded lastlie betwixt them and his sonne Clozimer.  
But notwithstanding his politike proceeding, thus  
to avoid all incontinence that might happen, thort-  
lie after Hengist returned, and what by force and sub-  
till shifts, at length got possession of the meier part of  
Britaine, so that the Britains were constrained to  
flee into Wales, whither also Clozingerne fled, and re-  
mained there a certaine time, till at length Aurel-  
ug Ambrosius, and Viter, the sonnes of king Con-  
stantine came ouer out of little Britaine, and desie-  
ging Clozingerne in a castell, burnt him with the  
house and all, when they could not otherwise come by  
him, according to that which Merlin the British  
soothsayer had prophesied before. It is folishlie sup-  
posed that this Merlin was got by a spirit of that kind  
which are called Incubi, that is to vnderstand, such  
as conceiuing mans seed from him (and therewith by  
illusion taking vpon them the shape and figure of  
man) doe lie with women, and vse them after the ma-  
ner of carnall copulation.

Merline  
was be-  
come  
the  
Scots  
and Pits.

Merline  
was be-  
come  
the  
Scots  
and Pits.

Clozingerne  
was be-  
come  
the  
Scots  
and Pits.

Merline  
was be-  
come  
the  
Scots  
and Pits.

Merline  
was be-  
come  
the  
Scots  
and Pits.

Merline  
was be-  
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Scots  
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Merline  
was be-  
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Merline  
was be-  
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and Pits.

Merline  
was be-  
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Scots  
and Pits.

Merline  
was be-  
come  
the  
Scots  
and Pits.

Merline  
was be-  
come  
the  
Scots  
and Pits.

In this place Hector Boetius by the way reciteth a  
like tale of two, of such illusions of spirits, wrought  
not long before his time in Scotland, which somewhat  
abridging the same we haue here inscribed. In the  
yeere 1480, saith he, it chanced as a Scottish ship de-  
parted out of the Forth towards Flanders, there  
rose a wonderfull great tempest of wind and wea-  
ther, so outrageous, that the maister of the ship with  
other the mariners wondered not a little what the  
matter ment to see such weather at that time of the  
yeere, for it was about the middell of summer. At  
length when the furious pirrie & rage of winds still  
increased, in such wise that all those within the ship  
looked for present death, there was a woman vnder-  
neath the hatches, called vnto them aboue, and wil-  
led them to throw hir into the sea, that all the residue  
by Gods grace might yet be saved: and thereupon  
told them, how she had bene haunted a long time with  
a spirit, daile comming vnto hir in mans likeness,  
and that euen as then he was with hir, vsing his il-  
lusive pleasure after the manner of carnall copulation.  
In the ship there chanced also to be a priest, who by the  
maisters appointment going downe to this woman,  
and finding hir like a most wretched and desperate  
person, lamenting hir great misfortune and mise-  
rable estate, vsed such wholsome admonitions and  
comfortable aduertisements, willing hir to repent  
and hope for mercie at the hands of God, that at  
length the seeming right penitent for hir greuous  
offences committed, and fetching sundrie sighes e-  
uen from the bottom of hir heart, being witness (as  
shold appeare) of the same, there issued forth of the  
pumpe of the ship a foule and euill fauored blackie  
cloud, with a mightie terrible noise, flame, smoke and  
stinke, which presentlie fell into the sea. And sudder-  
lie therupon the tempest ceased, and the ship passing  
in great quiet the residue of hir iourne, arrived in  
safetie at the place whither she was bound.

Not long before the hap hereof, there was in like  
manner a yong man dwelling in Carroth, within a  
village there, not passing 14 miles from Aberdine,  
verie faire & comelie of shape, who declared by waie  
of complaint vnto the bishop of that diocesse, how  
there was a spirit which haunted him in shape of a  
woman, so faire and beautifull a thing, that he neuer  
saw the like, the which would come into his chamber  
at nights, and with pleasant intiments allure him  
to haue to doe with hir, & that by no maner of means  
he could be rid of hir. The bishop like a wise man ad-  
uised him to remoue into some other countrie, and  
to giue himselfe to fasting and prayer, so to auoid his  
hands of that wicked spirit. The yong man follow-  
ing the bishops counsell, within a few daies was de-  
liuered from further temptation.

About the same time also, there was in the coun-  
trie of Spar, a yong gentlewoman of excellent beau-  
tie, and daughter vnto a noble man there, refusing  
sundrie wealthie mariages offered to hir by hir fa-  
ther, and other friends. At length she promised with  
child, and being rigorously compelled by hir parents  
to tell who was the father, she confessed that a cer-  
teine yong man used nightlie to come vnto hir, and  
kept hir companie, and sometimes in the day also, but  
how or from whence he came, or by what means he  
went awaie, she was not able to declare. Her pa-  
rents not greatly crediting hir words, laid diligent  
watch, to vnderstand what he was that had defiled  
their house: and within thre daies after, vpon signi-  
fication giuen by one of the maidens, that the forni-  
cator was at that verie instant with their daughter,  
incontinentlie thereupon, making fast the doores,  
they enter the chamber with a great manie of tor-  
ches and lights, where they find in their daughters  
armes a foule monstrous thing, verie horrible to be-  
hold. Here a number comming hastilie in, to behold  
this euill fauored sight, amongst other there was a  
priest of verie honest life, not ignorant (as was  
thought) in knowledge of holie scripture.

This priest (all other being afraid) and some of  
them running their waies, began to recite the begin-  
ning of Saint Johns gospel, and comming to these  
words, *verbum caro factum est*, suddenlie the wic-  
ked spirit making a verie sore and terrible roaring  
noise, due his waies, taking the rofe of the chamber  
awate with him, the hangings and coverings of the  
bed being also burnt therewith. The gentlewoman  
was yet preserved, and within thre or foure daies af-  
ter was deliuered of such a mishapen thing, as the  
like before had not bene seene, which the midwives  
and women, such as were present at hir labor, to a-  
uoid the dishonor of hir house, immediatlie burnt in  
a great fire, made in the chamber for the same in-  
tent. Thus much out of Hector Boetius, which, with  
more, he hath written to proue that all is not feined  
which is written of the illusions of diuels and euill  
spirits, the credit whereof I leaue with the author.

Now to retorne where I left touching Aurelius  
Ambrose. We shall vnderstand, that he hauing once  
subdued and dispatched his aduersarie Clozingerne,  
determined to make warres against Hengist and  
his Sarons, to proue if his chance might be to reco-  
uer the realme out of their hands, and so to restore as-  
gaine the christian religion. But first yer he attempt-  
ed anie exploit against the enimies, he sent ambas-  
sadors both vnto Congall the Scottish king, and also  
vnto one Roth a towardlie yong gentleman, and of  
verie comelie personage, as then reigning among  
the Pits, requiring them both to aid him in so ne-  
cessarie an enterprise as he had in hand against the  
enimies of Christ and his religion. Whereupon both  
these kings, weling with themselves the dutie of all  
christian princes, in respect of the aduancement of  
I. J. the

A yong man  
haunted with  
a spirit.

Aurelius  
Ambrose para-  
polish make  
warres a-  
gainst the  
Sarons.

Ambassadors  
sent vnto the  
Scots and  
Pits to re-  
quire their aid  
against the  
Sarons.

The Scots and Picts promise to aid the Britains against the Saxons. The league renewed betwixt Britains, Picts, and Scots.

Aurelius Ambrose maketh an oration.

Aurelius Ambrose proclaimed king of Britaine.

Conranus generall of the Scots.

Loth king of the Picts.

Spaheshell.

The Britons and Saxons encounter in battell.

The Armoike Britains

The Saxons discouraged.

the cause of faith, and suppressing of ethnike idolatrie, promised their helpe to the uttermost of their powers against the Saxons, who had in such tyrannike sort subverted and abolished the christian profession within the British confines. And therefore the old league, according to the articles and covenants afore time concluded betwixt the three nations, was once againe renewed, and an armie prepared by euerie of them, to meet at a place and day appointed, for the better expedition of this their attempted voyage.

First Aurelius Ambrose, with such power as he brought with him south of France, & joining therunto a great multitude of those Britains which had escaped the Saxons hands, either by withdrawing themselves into Wales, or else by conuelling themselves into the countries of the Scots and Picts, set forth toward toward the Scottish armie. But first calling together those Britains that he had about him, and going vp to a little hill, where he might be heard of them all, he made a long oration by waie of complaint, of the great injuries and cruell practises used by Hengist, against the lineage of king Constantine, and the whole estate of the British common-wealth: also of the horrible persecution made by him and his people the Saxons, against the professors of the christian religion. All which matter he handled in words so pittifull, his talke yet fauoring of the Romane eloquence, that the minds of the souldiers being kindled therewith, required nothing but battell, as men not doubting but by his wise and politike conduct to achieve some glorious victorie. And to the end all thing might be done in better order, according to his appointment, immediatlie they proclaimed him king. Which was by account of the Scottish chronicles, in the yere 498, after that Maximian with his sonne Maximian had reigned 17 yeres in the whole.

Aurelius in this wise being established king of Britaine passed forth with his people, and within six daies after met with the armies of the Scots and Picts. Generall of the Scots at that time was one Conranus brother to king Congall, who was troubled with the gout, so that he could not come himselfe in person. Loth the Pictish king was there himselfe amongst his people, verie desirous to shew some proofe of his manlie prowesse and manhood. Aurelius Ambrose shewed all the honor that might be deuised, as well to the one as to the other of those two nations, promising to requite them with as much friendship when time and occasion should craue the like assistance. These three mightie armies therefore being thus assembled, marched forth towards a place called Spaheshell, where they understood that Hengist with his power as then did sojorne. Where then both the camps were pitched, and one lieng not farre from the other: at the first certeine light skirmishes were procured by both parts betwixt the light hostilitie, wherewith at length being the more prouoked to displeasure, they came into the field with their whole maine battels, verie fiercelie incountering ech other, so that (as it appeared) their force was not so great, but their mortall hate was even as much, or rather more, if the histories saie right.

The Armoike Britains with a new kind of order in their fight, sore troubled the Saxons, in persuing their battels, with their men arrayed in certeine wards, broad behind and narrow before, wedgethwise. The Scots also & Picts bare downe both the wings of the Saxons, in such manner, that the standards of all the three nations, Scots, Picts, and Britains, were at point almost to meet, hauing made waie thereunto through the middest of their enemies. Wherewith the Saxons (being sore discouraged) began to giue backe; and finally, notwithstanding all

that Hengist could saie or do to haue staied them, they fell to running awaie, and fled amaine, which when he thoughtlie saw, & perceived that there was no recoverie, he himselfe (in manner the last man that abode) fled likewise his waies out of the field, with an ambushment of hostilitie about him, but being pursued by Aurelius verie fiercelie, he was run through the bodie by him with a spear, and so was there staine out of hand, in the 488 yere of Christ, and 40 after his coming into this Ile. Whobit the other of the Saxons conueied his sonne Deca (being also sore wounded) awaie with them vp into the next mountains, whither they fled for their refuge, leauing the dead bodie of his father Hengist in the field, to their high reproch, there to be spoiled and abused of his enemies.

Aurelius Ambrose hauing thus got the upper hand of his enemies, hasted forth with all speed unto London, where hauing both the citie and towne deliuered into his hands, he recovered the whole land from the possession of the Saxons: and such of them as were apt men, able to brace armor, and to serue in the warres, he commanded to depart south of the land. The other that were minded to carrie behind their fellowes that were thus forced to depart, became subiects to the Britains, and conuanted to become christians. Thus much haue I written touching Aurelius Ambrose, according to the report of the Scottish writers, but more hereof ye may read in the historie of England, where ye shall find this matter set forth more at large. For that which we write here, is but to shew in what sort the Scottish writers make relation of the warres which their nation had with the Saxons, when they began first to set foot here in this land.

To our purpose then. In the meane time Aurelius hauing thus recovered the land out of the Saxons hands, and now remaining at London, did all the honor he could imagine, both unto Loth the Pictish king, and also unto Conranus generall of the Scottishmen, acknowledging how that by their assistance he had got the upper hand of his enemies, and so he willed to haue it notified amongst his subiects. Hereto he caused the league to be renewed betwixt the Scots, Picts, & Britains, the ancient ordinance for the countries beyond Humber, being appointed to remaine vnto the Scottishmen and Picts: also that the Saxons should be reputed common enemies to all the three nations, and that upon invasion made by anye foreyn power, the Scots, Picts, and Britains, should aid one another as occasion serued.

This league being concluded with these articles of covenants, was the more stronglie confirmed, by reason of such assistance and alliance as then also ensued. For whereas Aurelius had two sisters, the one named Anne, and the other Ada, virgins both, Anne being the elder, was giuen in marriage vnto king Loth, by whome certeine yeares after he had issue two sonnes, Mordeus, and Maluan or Calwan, with a daughter called Chametes: Ada being the younger sister was married vnto Conranus, generall (as is said) of the Scottish armie. Whobit the liued not past two yeares after, but died in trauell of child, which also died with the mother: and so ended the alliance of Aurelius and Conranus. The Britains being deliuered through the victorie and means afore rehearsed from the cruell hands of the Saxons, inioied loifull peace certeine yeares after, but in the meane time diners of those Saxons which were licenced to remaine in Britaine, counterfeiting to become christians, used neuertheless to make sacrifice vnto idols, according to the maner of the gentiles, whereof their pitties being accused and condemned, suffered death by fire for that offense.

sense, accordi whilist these king of the S departed this na, otherwif pompe and acuer the Scotil and glorie.

After his A great rei admitted B. n our 512, and Anasastus. i ranus, being that the sonne age, should be the gouernam maisters, to discipline, acc of made and a quietnesse, no matter to his the disturba ment within h circuit round all maner off nishment to b lish or kin.

And among stood to be vset this (as he th husbandmen a ing enill intre hands, durst ne by reason ther red anie mane out remedie to therefore, that the maner of e fsted in a boik tours thereto c that those whi wards be foun matter plaine then be sure to of their offense.

This custom inditements, Conranus him present at assil ministred, eitl within some so the iustices sa Scots thus fu people, Aurell sick of a consi weakenesse, th depaired; wh Hengist being power of Sax Boetius saith) land.

After the bzo time fore sicke that to avoid d Britains, abou gainst the enin caused himself those presence incounting w although with was glad to t neths, and the into tlinchett

The death of Congall.

Conranus.

Conranus created king of Scotland. fol. 113.

London.

The earned assistance of Conranus by maintenance of god powers among his subiects.

By support of Scots and Picts to him as certaintie he got the victorie of the Saxons.

The king present at assil.

Aurelius sheweth the of a conuention.

Deca and Chametes come into Britaine.

Anne the daughter of Aurelius giuen in marriage vnto Loth king of Picts. Ada married vnto Conranus.

Conranus sheweth the of a conuention.

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the death of  
Congall.

Hengist is  
Aurelius  
Ambrose  
the king  
of Britain.

the death of  
Congall.

the death of  
Congall.

the death of  
Congall.

the death of  
Congall.

the death of  
Congall.

sense, accordinglie as the law did then appoint them. Whilest these things were thus in hand, Congall king of the Scots being worne with long sicknesse, departed this life, and was buried in the Ile of Jona, otherwise called Colmekill, with all kingly pompe and accustomed ceremonies. He reigned ouer the Scottishmen about 20 yeares in great fame and glorie.

After his deceasse, his brother Conranus with a great reioicing of all the Scottish nation was admitted k. in the yeare after the birth of our Sau- our 512, and the 22 of the reigne of the emperor Anastasius. This Conranus otherwise called Co- ranus, being established king, first toke order that the sonnes of his brother Congall being within age, should be brought vp in the Ile of Span, vnder the gouernance of certeine wise instructors & schole- maisters, to be trained in learning and vertuous discipline, according to an ancient ordinance there- of made and enacted. Also doubting least peace and quietnesse, now after long warres, should minister matter to his people of raising some commotion, to the disturbance of all ciuill order & politike gouerne- ment within his realme, he rode as it had bene in circuit round about the same, making inquirie of all manner offenders, on whome he caused due pu- nishment to be executed, without respect either of kith or kin.

And amongst other enormities which he vnder- stood to be vsed in manner through all his countries, this (as he thought) was most grievous, that the husbandmen and other commons of the countrie, be- ing euill intreated and misused at the gentlemen's hands, durst not complaine, nor procure anie redres; by reason whereof, when they were oppressed, or suffer- ed anie manner of wrong or iniurie, they were with- out remedie to haue the same reformed; he ordeined therefore, that the names of all such offenders, with the manner of their offenses, should be secretlie regi- stred in a booke euerie yeare, by certeine inquisi- tors thereto chosen and appointed. And if it chanced that those which were thus accused, might after- wards be found guiltie before the kings iustices by matter plainelie proued against them; they should then be sure to be punished according to the measure of their offenses.

This custome of accusations, commonlie called Condeniments, continueth euen vnto these our daies. Conranus himselfe (as is reported) vsed much to be present at assises and sessions to see the lawes due- lie ministered, either else to passe the time in hunting within some forrest or chase, nere to the place where the iustices sat. Now whilest Conranus king of Scots thus studied for the good gouernement of his people, Aurelius Ambrose the king of Britaine fell sicke of a consumption, which brought him to such weakenesse, that all recouerie of health in him was despaired; whereof Decca and Pascentius somes to Hengist being aduertised, returned with a mightie powder of Sarons into Britaine, which (as Hector Boetius saith) they named at that present Hengists land.

After the brother of Aurelius laie also at the same time for sicke of a flux in the parties of Wales, so that to auoid dissention that was raised among the Britains, about the appointing of a generall to go a- gainst the enemies, Aurelius euen sicke as he was, caused himselfe to be caried forth in a litter; with whose presence his people were so encouraged, that incounting with the Sarons they won the victorie, although with such losse on their side, that Aurelius was glad to take truce for the space of foure mo- neths, and therewith breakeing vp his campe, went into Winchester, and sent ambassadours vnto the

Scottish and Pictish kings for aid against the time when the truce should expire, which was granted, and so he prouided for all things readie for the warres a- gainst the appointed time of their assemble. Decca also sent his brother Pascentius into Germanie for more aid, but as some write, he was taken by con- trarie winds into Ireland, & getting a great power of men together there, he came backe to his brother with the same. But whether he had those men out of Ireland or Germanie, sure it is that the power of the Sarons was greatlie increased therewith. In the meane time died Aurelius Ambrose, who was poisoned by a mischievous monke, a Saron bozne, named Coga or Coga (as some booke haue) that toke vpon him to be skilfull in physicke, and a monke by profession. His death was sore lamented of the Britains: but contrariwise, the Sarons re- ioiced greatlie thereof, so that immediatlie after, Decca with his power inuadeth the Britains, using great crueltie in all places wherefoer he came.

In the meane time the Scottish and Pictish armies were come for ward towards Aurelius, according to promise made vnto his ambassadours; but when his death was certeinlie knowen amongst them, the capitains and leaders of both those armies, resolved to returne home againe, and so they did, for that they doubted in what state and order things should stand amongst the Britains now after the deceasse of their late king. After the death of Aurelius Am- brose, his brother Uter was made king of Britaine, and falling in loue with the wife of Gothlois duke of Cornewall, he did not onelie force hir to lie with him; but also to the end he might inioy hir the more skellie, he caused not to pursue hir husband to rid him out of the waie, whome at length he toke within a castell into the which he was fled, & forthwith caused him to be executed, surmising mater against him, for that he had forsaken one of the capitains called Pa- thaliad, in battell against the Sarons. By the wife of this Gothlois, Uter had issue the great Arthur, and because he had no legitimat sonne, he appointed that Arthur should succeed him in gouernement of the realme. Herewith Loth the Pictish king was not a little moued, disdainning that Arthur being a bastard, and begot of another mans wife in adul- rie, should be preferred before his sons the rightfull heires of the British kingdome: and therefore by ambassadours he did what he could to dissuade U- ter from making anie such ordinance. But when he saw that he could not remoue him from his opinion, he thought best to content himselfe with silence, till the time serued better for his purpose. At length when the wars were againe renewed betwixt Uter and Decca the Saron king, Loth in reuenge of the iniurie done to him and his children, ioined himselfe to the Sarons, and was with them at the battell, in which the Britains got the victorie by the presence of saint Germane that holie bishop of Aurer, as the Scottish writers make mention. Which battell as the same is set forth by Hector Boetius, because it touched the state of the Picts, we haue thought good here to expresse.

It was therefore about the feast of Easter, when the armies came into the field, the Sarons with the Picts on the one side, & the Britains on the other, of whom no small number (being either growen to be idolaters through conuersation with the Sarons, either els infected with the heresie of the Pelagians) euen there in campe, by hearing such good sermons as saint Germane preached amongst them, were conuerted to the true beliefe, receiuing at the same time the sacrament of the Lords bodie, together in companie with other of the faithfull christians. Fi- nallie when both parties were readie to giue battell,

Aurelius  
Ambrose was  
poisoned by this  
monke.

The Scottish  
armie returne  
home againe.

Uter begat  
Arthur.

S. Germane  
preacheth vnto  
the campe.

The younger  
Occa nephew  
to the former  
Occa by his  
brother Wil-  
fius.  
Both contra-  
rie to his oth-  
er credence  
aided the Bri-  
tains against  
the Saxons.  
Colgerne or  
Colgerme a  
Saxon is  
sent for by  
Occa.

Decca therefore being fierce of nature, to the end to  
indamage his enemies the more, sent into Germa-  
nie for one Colgerme or Colgerne, a man of great  
estimation and birth amongst the Saxons, to come  
ouer with a power vnto him into England, promi-

When fifth the Britains (whome the Scots & Poles  
so often had subdued) had at sundrie times banished  
the Saxons, why should they feare in such wile  
to fight with them in common defense of their coun-  
trie, and revenge of such injuries as they had lately  
receiued at their hands, fifth the righteous God (as  
all good men ought to trull) is ener ready to aduance  
a righteous quarrell. And where it was bated a-  
mongest them, that the Saxons were so huge of  
 stature, and mightie of limbe, that no force was able  
to withstand them, it was certeinly knowne, that  
the Scots & Poles were indued with no lesse mighty  
finesse and strength of bodie than the Saxons; so that  
if they were not of like stomachs, that reared in their  
 owne southfull cowardize, & not in natures worthie,  
 hauing done hir part in brislowing hir gifts vpon  
 them touching bodillie force, in such plentifull man-  
ner,

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there was no  
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ner, as no other nation bid lightlie anie waies sur  
mount them.

Spanie other arguments were alledged and laid  
forth to remoue feare out of their hearts, and to in  
courage them to fight, inso much that in the end it  
appeared the same wrought the wished effect, in  
such wise, that they generallie required battell, of  
fering to live and die at their captains feet, and to  
follow them whither soever it should please their  
kings and liege lords to appoint them. Herewith the  
kings being satisfied, forth they march towards their  
enemies, whome they found ready to receive them,  
and that with such rigorous violence, that in the  
end, after great slaughter made on both parts, the  
Scots and Pias were put to flight, the Sarons pur  
suing in the chase till the darke night caused them to  
withdraw & returne into their campe. The next day  
following, the Scottish king with the residue of his  
armie basted away with all speed towards Gallo  
way, and the Pias king withdraw into Pictland.

The Sarons being the victorie most cruellie, fine all  
such of the Pictish and Scottish nations as they met  
with, in all places betwixt Tine and Tward. Then  
did Decca create the forenamed Colgerne duke of  
Northumberland, who repairing all such castles and  
strong houses, as he thought expedient to have kept,  
placed garrisons of souldiers in the same to de  
fend the countie against all manner of enemies. Af  
ter this, Decca turned his power against the Bri  
tains, which in the last battell had aided the Scots  
and Pias, as before is partly touched. The Bri  
tains receiving a great overthrow in battell, After  
the British king was glad with such as might escape  
the enemies hands, to withdraw into Wales, lea  
ving the residue of his countie unto the Sarons,  
who thereupon recovered not onlie the citie of  
London, yielding it selfe unto them for doubt of  
some long siege, but also all those countie and pro  
vinces which hengist the first of the Sarons that  
reigned as king within the boundis of Albion at a  
nie time, had holden or inticed, and ceased not af  
ter recoverie of the same, to bere and disquiet the  
Scots, Britains, and Pias, with continuall incur  
sions, hoping by such means to keepe them still occu  
pied. In the midst of this trouble After B. of the Bri  
tains departed this world, poisoned (as some haue  
written) by drinking water taken out of a fontaine  
which the Sarons had inuened. He died in the  
yeare after the birth of our Saviour 521, and in the  
eighteenth of his owne reigne. After his decesse,

Loth king of the Pias sent his ambassadours unto  
the lords, and other the states of the British domi  
nions, requiring them, according to the accustomed  
lawes and ancient ordinances of the realme, to re  
ceive him as king, sith he had married the sister and  
heire of the two brethren Aurelius Ambrose, and Uter,  
their two last kings, being as then both deces  
sed, without leaving behind them anie lawfull issue,  
by treason whereof their estate was fallen unto him,  
so inioy the same during his life, having married (as  
is said) their owne naturall and lawfull borne sister,  
and after the decesse of him and his wife the said  
sister, then it ought by course of the lawes of all  
realmes and countie to defend unto such issue as  
he had begot of hir, which was two sonnes, the one  
named Gododred, and the other Maluan, or Galwan,  
as some do call him.

The Britains disdainfullie being the Pictish am  
bassadours that came with this message, refused not  
onlie to come under subiection of Loth, but also de  
mied that his sonnes begot of his lawfull wife, the  
sister of Aurelius and Uter, should haue ante rule or  
gouvernement amongst them, as those that were  
no Britains borne, but strangers unto them, being

both borne and bred in a forein countie. Those  
ambassadours then having their answer, and be  
ing sent home with reproch, the Britains contrarie  
to the lawes of all nations, proclaimed Arthur, being  
a bastard borne, king of their realme, and forthwith  
assembling their powers under his leading, mar  
ched on against the Sarons, in purpose to abate  
some part of their strength, before the Pias (which  
was doubted would shortly come to passe) should  
soine with them.

Wherefore having procured aid of the Armoike Bri  
tains forth of France, they fought with their enemies  
within ten miles of London at the first, where the  
Sarons being at two severall times vanquished,  
were constrained not only to paie tribute, but also to  
receive magistrates to governe them by the said Ar  
thurs appointment, with other grievous articles of  
agreement, to the great reioicing of the Britains, for  
these so luckie beginnings in the first exploits of their  
late elected king. Afterwards was London easilie  
won by the Britains, wherein Arthur remaining for a  
season, took advise with his nobles how to proceed in  
his warres against the rest of the Sarons. Finally  
having prepared a mightie armie, he determined to  
go against those which inhabited beyond Humber  
northwards, with whome (as he had certaine know  
ledge) the Pias were joined: for Loth coming to  
agreement with Colgerne, concluded a league with  
him, whereby they were bound to aid one another a  
gainst the Britains, as common enemies and ad  
versaries to them both.

The Britains at their coming into Northshire  
pitched their campe not farre off from their enemies,  
who were already joined together and encamped a  
broad in the field. The next day after, knowledge be  
ing had that they should have battell, Arthur appoin  
ted Howell leader of the Armoike Britains to in  
counter with the battell of the Pias, and he himse  
lf to match with the Sarons. Thus they met together  
on both parts verie fiercelie, and a sore battell was  
fought there betwixt them, so that for a good space it  
was doubtfull whether part should have the advan  
tage of the day, but at length the Pias were put to  
flight, which advanced the Britains to the gaine of  
the whole field. For the Sarons, after they perceived  
how the Pias were discomfited, dreading to abide  
the whole brunt by themselves, betooke them also to  
their heels, and made their race towards Yorke, as  
fast as their feet might beare them.

Arthur pursuing them thither, besieged the citie  
almost three months together, but the Sarons de  
fended the walles so stoutlie, making often issues  
forth upon the Britains, that till hunger began to  
constrain them, they cared little for the siege. In the  
end, when they were determined to have yielded by  
the citie, they had knowledge, how there was an  
huge armie of Pias and Sarons newlie assembled,  
and ready to come forward to their succors, also that  
king Decca (escaping from the battell wherein he had  
received the overthrow at Arthurs hands, and flee  
ing afterward into Germanie) was now returned  
with a new power, and arrived within the mouth of  
Humber. Which newes caused them to deferre all  
communication, in hope that if they might abide the  
siege but for a small time, the Britains should short  
lie be compassed in on each side, and oppressed on the  
sudden.

Arthur heard of the coming of their succours  
in like manner, and iudging it no wisdome to farie  
the coming of his so puissant enemies, considering  
that a number of diseased and sicke persons he had  
already in his host, by reason of their long aboad  
in the field, raised his siege, and withdrew himselfe to  
spedilie as was possible with his whole armie into  
Wales,

Arthur pro  
claimed king  
of Britaine.

Arthur goeth  
forth against  
the Sarons.

The Armo  
ike Britains  
in aid of  
Arthur.

The Sarons  
vanquished,  
are constrain  
ed to pay tri  
bute to the  
Britains.

London is  
won by the  
Britains.

Arthur rais  
eth a power  
against the  
Pias.

A league con  
cluded be  
twixt Loth  
& Colgerne.

Howell leader  
of the Armo  
ike Britains

The Pias  
put to flight;

The Sarons  
chased, made  
their race to  
wards Yorke.

Yorke besieged

Decca return  
eth out of  
Germanie  
with a new  
power.

Arthur rais  
eth his siege

Arthur retur-  
neth to Lon-  
don.

Arthur dis-  
cometh the  
Sarons  
twice in battel  
& then againe  
lateth siege to  
Yorke and  
winneith it.

Arthur bleth  
the victorie  
with gentle-  
nesse.

The Bri-  
tains iour-  
ning for the  
winter time  
with in Yorke,  
gave themselves  
vnto banket-  
ting & volup-  
tuousnesse.

Christmasse  
bankets re-  
sembling the  
feasts Bac-  
chanalia.

The Bri-  
tains throug  
rest and ease  
became vnapt  
to susteine the  
paines of  
warres.  
A league con-  
cluded be-  
twixt Arthur  
king of Bri-  
taine, & Loth  
king of Pits.

Wales, where he appointed the Armozike Britains to foraine for that winter, with other of the meaner sort of his owne souldiers: whilst he took the residue of his chosen bands, and went to London, there to prouide that no rebellion should be raised among the Sarons of Kent, or other of the countries nere about. In the beginning of the next spring, he gathered his host together againe, and with the same went forth against Colgerme and Decca, who being issued forth of Northumberland, were entered into the British confines, spoiling and wasting the countrie with their accustomed crueltie.

Whereupon encountering them thwice in battell, he obtained the victorie, and then besieging Yorke, at length he entered into that citie, by meanes of a Britaine, who dwelling amongst the Sarons there, in the night season conueied a sort of Britains into the citie, the which breaking open the gates in the dead of the night, did let in all the whole host. Where Arthur would not suffer his men to make any great murder of the enemies, which were content to yield themselves, but vied them very gently, thereby to win more praise amongst all those that heard of his twofold victories. The Britains hauing thus conquered the citie of Yorke, manie seats of armes were daily practised betwixt them and the Sarons, which held possession still of the countrie thereabouts. But the Britains lieng in that citie all the summer and winter following, at length began to take their ease, namelie in the depth of winter, and therewith gaue themselves to banketting, drinking, plaie, and other kinds of voluptuous pleasures, so that it seemed they trusted more to their passed victories, than to their present force, not fearing such dangers as was like to follow.

It is thought of some, that about the same time, Arthur first instituted, that the feast of Christmasse should be kept with such excesse of meats and drinks, in all kinds of inordinate banketting and reuell for the space of thirtene daies together, according to the custome vied still through both the realmes of England and Scotland euen vnto this day, resembling the feasts which the gentiles vied to keepe in the honor of their drunken god Bacchus, called in Latin Bacchanalia: wherein all kinds of beaustie lust and sensuall voluptuousnes was put in vze. But whence neuer, or by whome fouer this insatiable gourmandise came vp amongst vs, fuerlie a great abuse it is, to see the people at such a solemne feast, where they ought to be occupied in thanks giuing to almighty God, for the sending downe of his onelie begotten sonne amongst vs, to giue themselves in manner wholie to gluttonie, and excesseuall filling of their bellies, with such maner of lewd and wanton pastimes, as though they should rather celebrat the same feasts of Bacchanalia, and those other which the gentiles also kept, called Floralia, and Priapalia, than the remembrance of Christs natiuitie, who abhorreth all maner of such excesse.

But now to my purpose. When the next summer was once come, Arthur led forth his Britains against their enemies, but by reason of such ease and pleasure as they had taken whilst they sojourned in Yorke, being now come into the field, they were able to abide no paines, so that no good was done of certeine yeers after, till finally Arthur ioynd in league with Loth king of the Pits. The conditions of which league were these. That Arthur during his naturall life should reigne as king of the Britains, and after his decease, the kingdome to remaine vnto Godfred and his issue, if he chanced to haue anie. That the Pits should aid the Britains against the Sarons, and haue all such land as might be recovered of them beyond Humber. Also the league which was betwixt

them and the Scots, they should duly obserue. Godfred should marrie the daughter of Cadwalan a noble man amongst the Britains, and of highest authority next vnto Arthur himselfe: the children of this marriage to be brought vp with their grandfather in Britaine, till they came to yerres of discretion. Cadwalan the brother of the foresaid Godfred, should serue king Arthur, and receiue at his hands large intertainment, and great possessions to maintaine therewith his estate.

Other articles there were comprised in this league, according as was thought requisite for the maintenance of stable friendship betwixt these kings and their nations. So that Arthur hauing concluded this league, and still being desirous to purge the whole Ile of all miscreants and enemies of the christian faith, he sent vnto the Scottish and Pitsish kings, requirring them on the behalfe of that dutie which they ought vnto the aduancement of Christs religion, to assemble their powers, & to meet him at Wiminouth, whither he would repaire to ioine with them, at such day as they would appoint, from thence to march forth against the Sarons.

Loth king of the Pits, and Contranus king of the Scottishmen, failed not in this so necessarie an enterprise, but agreeable to Arthurs request, within few daies after they came forward, and ioining with the Britains, forth they went against the Sarons, whom they vnderstood to be already in campe, vnder the conduct of their king Decca, in purpose to stop their passage. When both the armies were appoched nere together, they prepared to the battell, and first Colgerme duke of Northumberland mounting vpon a light gelding, rode almost euen hard to the face of the Pits, where they stood in their order of battell right frontlie, and there uttering manie reprochfull words vnto Loth, and other of his nobles, for breach of their promised friendship to him and his Sarons, declared that he trusted they shoulde see iust punishment light vpon them for this falshood and vntruths sake, in thus ioining with their former enemies against their most trustie friends and steadfast allies.

The Pitsish king not greatlie moued herewith, commanded his standards to aduance forward, and the Sarons likewise halied apace towards them, so that the one being come within danger of shot of the other, the Pits let sic their arrowes verie freshlie. Arthur in the meane time hauing set his people in a raie, exhorted them to fight manfully: and so lone as he perceived that the fraie was begun by the Pits, he in semblable wise comanded the Britains to giue the onset, so that immediatlie there ensued a sore conflict, the Scots being in the right wing, & slaying Chelzike one of the chiefest captains amongst the Sarons, quicklie discomfited that wing with the which they were first matched. Colgerme with his Sarons encountering (as is said) with the Pits, placed in the left wing, rushed in amongst his enemies (vpon an earnest desire to be reuenged of his aduersarie king Loth) with such violence, that at their first encounter he ouerthrew the same Loth: but immediatlie thereupon two Pitsish hoisemen running at Colgerme sidelingwise, bare him quite throug.

In the meane time, Loth by meane of his strong habergeon escaping without hurt, was relieved by such as stood about him, and ressed againe to his companie: but Colgerme being dead before he could be recovered from amongst the throng of his enemies, his men were so discomfited therewith, that straightwaies thereupon they fell to running away. The maine battell of the Sarons being thus left bare on both sides, began to giue backe, which Arthur perceiving, the more earnestlie pressed forth vpon them, so that in the end Decca being constrained to

Decca con-  
strained to fle.

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the Sarons  
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The opinion  
which men  
had conceiued  
of his wit &  
courage.

Arthurs  
prowess.

Arthurs ex-  
ception to the  
people.

The Sarons  
are put to  
flight.

Decca offer made  
by the Sarons  
vnto king  
Arthur.

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of highest autho-  
children of this  
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his hands large  
ins to mainteine

Porzied mar-  
richly the  
daughter of  
one Cawolan  
a Britaine.

Cawolan  
Cawolan in  
uice with  
Arthur.

ed in this league,  
e for the mainte-  
these kings and  
ig concluded this  
opurge the whole  
s of the christian  
Pitich kings, re-  
dutie which they  
hills religion, to  
in at Tinnmouth,  
with them, at such  
thence to march

Arthur sen-  
deth ambassa-  
dors vnto the  
kings of  
Scots and  
Picts.

ranus king of the  
cellarie an enter-  
uelf, within few  
id ioining with the  
he Saxons, whom  
ampe, under the  
rpose to stop their  
re approached nere  
tell, and first Col-  
mounting vpon a  
jard to the face of  
eir order of battell  
manie reprochfull  
nobles, for breach  
and his Saxons,  
to se iust punish-  
shood and vntuths  
former enemies a-  
nd stedfast allies.

Scots, Picts  
and Britains  
toine together  
against the  
Saxons.

Colgerme  
proueth A.

moved here with,  
ance forward, and  
towards them, so  
nger of shot of the  
wes berie freshlie.  
set his people in a  
fultie: and so lone  
as begun by the  
adeth the Britains  
attie there insued  
e right twing, & lea-  
captains amongst  
that twing with the  
olgerme with his  
with the Picts, pla-  
rongst his enemies  
nged of his aduer-  
ce, that at their first  
e Loth: but imme-  
stem running at  
quite through.  
neane of his strong  
t, was relieved by  
ged againe to his  
ead before he could  
throng of his eni-  
ed therewith, that  
to running away.  
ons being thus left  
backe, which Arthur  
preased forth vpon  
cing constrained to  
fle.

Colgerme  
run through  
by his aduer-  
saries.

The Sax-  
are put to  
flight.

die, and receiuing a fore wound, had much adoe to be  
conueied awaie by some of his horsemen, the Brit-  
tains pursued so fiercelie vpon him. At length being  
brought vnto the sea side, he got vessels, and escaped  
ouer into Germanie. This victorie being thus atchi-  
ued, constrained the Saxons to yeld vnto king Ar-  
thur, simple submitting themselves vnto his mercie,  
who of his clemencie was contented to pardon them  
of life and goods, vpon condition they would become  
christians, and from thenceforth neuer after to make  
anie warres vpon their neighbors the Britains,  
Scots, or Picts. But if they would not agree here-  
vnto, then leauing their goods, armes, and weapon  
behind them, they should auoid the land, & that within  
13 daies next ensuing.

Anie of the Saxons that could get passage, sail-  
ed ouer into Germanie. Other feining themselves  
to become christians, remained in the land, looking  
one day for better hap & fortune. Diuerse that were  
not able by means of pouertie to get awaie within  
the time appointed, and yet refusing to be christened,  
were put to death, according to the proclamation set  
forth for the same purpose, so that in comparison be-  
rie few amongst them receiued the christian faith  
sincerelie, and with a true meaning mind. Things be-  
ing thus quieted in Northumberland, Arthur toke  
order for the repairing of churches abroad in the  
countrie, which the Saxons had ouerthrowne or de-  
faced: & namelie in the citie of Porke he bestowed  
great cost, where the cruell infidels had done much  
hurt vpon churches, and other religious houses.

In the yere following, Arthur had newes how the  
Saxons which held the Ile of Wight, ioining with  
the Kentish Saxons, had done great displeasures  
vnto the Britains, on that side of the Thames, kil-  
ling & sleaing an huge number of them with great  
crueltie, wherewith being fore moued, he drew to-  
wards London with his armie, purposing bitterlie to  
despoile all the east & south Saxons, since otherwise  
he could not prouide for the suertie of his subiects, be-  
ing still in danger to be murdered and robbed, so  
long as anie of that wicked generation of the Sax-  
ons remained here amongst them.

By means also of the league, he had with him in  
his iourne ten thousand Picts, & as manie Scots:  
Eugenius nephew to king Conran by his brother  
Congall being generall ouer the Scots, and Por-  
zied the sonne of king Loth by his wife Anne, go-  
uerning the Picts, a lustie yong gentleman, berie  
wittie and forwardlie in all his doings. Further-  
more, Arthur vnderstanding that hurt rest and ease  
had done amongst his men of warre, caused them to  
keepe the field in all this iourne, and passing by Lon-  
don, lodged them a little beside the riuier of Thames.  
But he himselfe with some of his nobles, entred in-  
to the citie, causing supplications to be made vnto  
almightie God three daies together, for good successe  
to follow against the Saxons. On the fourth day  
bearing diuine seruice celebrated by the bishop of  
London, and causing a sermon to be made in the  
market place, he committed himselfe and his whole  
armie vnto the tuition of Christ, and his mother the  
virgine, whose image in stead of a badge he bare in  
his shield continuallie from that day forward, as di-  
uerse heretofore haue written. After this, issuing  
forth of the citie, he willed all his men to be of good  
comfort, as they that fought in a iust quarell against  
Pagans, and enemies of the faith. Porzied and his  
father in law Cawolan passed on before the battels  
with five thousand horsemen, and being come with-  
in five miles of the Saxons, who likewise were as-  
sembled in campe, there came from them vnto Ar-  
thur ambassadors, requiring him to stae his iour-  
ne, for they were readie (if they might haue libertie to

to doe) to depart out of the land with their goods and  
substance, without further molesting the Britains,  
either by one meanes or other.

Arthur would neither consent herevnto, nor yet  
grant a truce for three daies, for the which they made  
earnest sute, but had their depart for that time, one-  
lie assuring them that he would not come passing  
two miles forwards for that day, so that if they  
thought good, they might returne to him in the mor-  
ning, and haue answer what the chieffest gouernors  
of his host thought touching their request, by whom  
he would haue the matter more throughly debated.  
In the meane time, whilest the Britains were buied  
with hearing of these ambassadors, and taking ad-  
uise what was best to doe touching their demand, the  
Saxons marched forth with all speed, and comming  
vpon Porzied and Cawolan at vntwares, they gaue  
the onfet freshlie vpon them, and that verie much to  
the disaduantage of the Britains and Picts, who not-  
withstanding, through the earnest exhortation of  
their captains, receiued their enemies berie fiercelie,  
in doing that which was possible for so small a num-  
ber to doe, howbeit in the end oppressed with multi-  
tude, they were forced to fle, and so did, not resting  
till they came in sight of the whole armie. In which  
flight, Porzied and Cawolan by helpe of their soul-  
diers, being mounted vpon their horses, escaped  
without hurt, though they lost no small number of  
their companie, as well in the fight as in the chase.

The Saxons ambassadors being not yet departed  
out of the British campe, were herevpon staid till  
the next morning, and then had answer given them,  
that from thenceforth the Britains were not minded  
to heare anie messengers of the Saxons comming  
to intreat of peace, since it was manifest enough,  
they ment nothing but falshood, as well appeared in  
that they had against the law of armes, whilest their  
ambassadors were in communication, distressed  
part of the British armie, and therefore they should  
assure themselves, to haue at Arthur's hands nothing  
but cruell war to the vttermost of his power, in re-  
uenge of such their great vntuths and coked dea-  
lings. They had scarce receiued their answer, but that  
there came from the Saxons forthie other ambassa-  
dors, being men of great authoritie amongst them,  
to excuse that which had happened ouer night, in lai-  
eng the fault vpon a sort of vndiscreet persons, no-  
thing prouide vnto that which the gouernors of the ar-  
mie had done, touching the sending of their ambas-  
sadors, and therevpon had without their aduise made  
that skirnish.

But Arthur iudging that there was some new  
subtill practise in hand, vnder ppretense of this new  
ambassage, commanded as well these that came last,  
as the other which came first, to be kept in the mar-  
shals tent, that in no wise they should escape, whilest  
he himselfe in the second watch of the night departed  
out of his campe, with all his puissance, which he di-  
uided into three battels, and hauing marched three  
miles forward, he was vpon his enemies per they  
vnderstand anie thing of his comming, insomuch that  
the Britains had staine and chased the watch of the  
Saxons campe, before it was certeinlie knowne  
what the matter ment. Whereof also insued such a tu-  
mult and noise amongst the Saxons, running vp  
and downe, calling and crieng one to another, as it  
happeneth in such cases of extreme feare, that the best  
advised amongst them wold not well what to doe.  
Wherevpon Porzied desirous to reuenge his last o-  
uerthrowe, brake in also vpon his enemies berie  
fiercelie.

But some of them hauing gotten them into their  
armes, stood at their defense awhile amongst their  
carts and carriages, and so resisted the Britains on  
that

The Saxons  
comming vpon  
Porzied and  
Cawolan  
put them with  
their people to  
the worke.

What answer  
the Saxons  
ambassadors  
had at Ar-  
thurs hands.

The excuse of  
the Saxons.

The sudden  
invasion made  
by the Bri-  
tains vpon the  
Saxons.

The great tu-  
mult in the  
Saxons  
campe.

Porzied de-  
sirous to be re-  
uenged.

The Saxons  
are put to the  
flight.

The crueltie  
of the Brit-  
tains in slay-  
ing the Sax-  
ons.

Arthur's mu-  
nificence.

A conspiracie  
practised a-  
gainst Con-  
rane.

An evil offi-  
cer.

A presump-  
tion act.

The determi-  
nation of the  
murderers to

that side for a season: other of the Saxons having no leasure to arme themselves, nor to draw into any order of battell, by reason of the sudden impression of the Britains, brake forth of the campe on the contrarie side, & fled so fast as their feet might beare them. But being pursued by the British hostemen, and beaten downe, a great number of them ran into the next river, and there were drowned, choosing rather that kind of death, than so crueltie to be murdered by the aduersaries hands: verelie the Britains shewed no mercie that day, for so manie as came within their danger, died without redemption. And this bloudie battell made an end of such an huge number of Saxons, that it was thought they should neuer have recovered againe any puissance able to haue indamaged the Britains in any manner of losse.

Arthur having thus vanquished his enemies, gave licence vnto those nobles which he had detained (as is said) in his campe, being sent vnto him as ambassadors, to depart ouer into Germanie, appointing the residue of such Saxons as were men of no defence, to remaine still in the land, paying a yerele tribute vnto the Britains, and also with condition that they should become christians. The Scottis men and Brits which had aided the Britains in this tourne, sojourned a while after at London, where Arthur feasted & banketted them in most roiall wise, shewing them all the honoz that might be deuised, and afterwards sent them home verie princelie rewarded with manie great gifts and rich presents. Whilste such businesse as ye haue heard was thus in hand betwixt the Saxons & Britains, the estate of the Scottis common-wealth was gouerned by great wisdom and policie, without any notable trouble or disorder. But finally, when king Conrane began to waraged, and that such as had the chiefe dowings binder him, sought not the execution of iustice, but their owne commodities, to the hinderance of a multitude, the people began to repine thereat, and to practice a conspiracie with diuerse of the nobles against Conrane, and those which ruled by his appointment.

It chanced that there was one Concet, a man of base birth, assigned by the kings commission to be chiefe iustice, or as it were chancelor: for the administration of the lawes in Murrey land, a person passing full of rigorous crueltie, especiallie in iudgements of life and death, and in gathering vp of all manner of forfeitures of penall lawes, which he did onelie to purchase fauor of the king, by the enriching of his coffers, in respect whereof he had small regard either of right or wrong, so that there were hope of somewhat to be gotten. Amongest other the violent doings of this Concet, he caused diuerse merchantmen of the towne of Forres in Murrey land (as then the chiefe towne of all that countrie) to be accused of treason by a light information, and in the end executed without any apparant matter, onelie vpon a conetous desire to haue their goods and riches, because they were men of great wealth and substance. Diuerse noble men of the countrie thereabouts, and namelie of the towne of Forres, being partlie of kin vnto those merchants, were sore offended with this act, and hereupon they first came vnto Concet, and reuiled him with manie high reprochfull words, and afterwards fell vpon him in the place of open iudgement where he sat as then in his iudgement seate, & there murdered him, getting them forthwith vp into the mounteins, to auoid the danger which they knew vnpowable for them to escape, if they should happen to be taken while Conrane should be liuing.

After this, they deuised how they might increase their heinous deed and bold enterprize with an other farre more horrible and notable, which was to slea

the king himselfe, as the originall cause of all such mischiefes that then reigned in the realme through the vniuersitie government of his trustie ministers and courtous magistrats, hoping withall to obtaine the fauor of some of the noble men, whom they knew to maligne the king and his counsell most extremelie, and thereby in short time to be assured of their pardon. Shortly after it chanced that one Donald also governor of Atholl, a man in great fauor and trust with the king, had vnderstanding that these outlawes intended, and thereupon practised with them by priuie messengers, that they should come in secret manner vnto Cuierlochty, where the king sojourned, promising them by most assured meanes of oaths and vowes, that they should haue all the furtherance he could deuise towards the atchuing of their enterprize.

Hereupon these outlawes, according to their instructions, came in secret wise vnto Cuierlochty, and were closelie conueied into Conrans bedchamber by Donalds meanes, who as though he had knowne nothing of the matter, got himselfe quickelie out of the waite when he saw them once entered within the doore of the chamber. Conrane the king perceiuing how he was betrayed, and that his enemies were got into his chamber ready to murder him, slept forth of his bed, and falling downe vpon his knees besought them to take pitie of his age, and not to defile their hands in the blood of their naturall lord and king, considering the fault was not his, if they had bene any waies tormented. Whobey they doubting nothing but least he should escape their hands, straightwaies dispatched him out of life, and withall made haste awaie. This was the end of king Conrane, in the 20 yere of his reigne, being the 16 of Arthurs dominion ouer the Britains, the first of the emperoz Justinianus, and in the yere after the birth of our Saniel 531. But his corps was buried in the abbey of Jona, otherwaie called Colmekill, with such funerall pompe and erequies, as in those daies were vse.

After him succeeded his nephew Eugenius, the sonne of his brother Congall, the which Eugenius (as aboue is said) was with Arthur in the last mentioned tourne against the Saxons. There were that counselled him in the beginning of his reigne (which he began in Argile, being placed there vpon the chaire of marble) that he should see in any wise the authozs of his uncles death bulie punished, to the example of others, that they should not attempt the like hereafter against their liege lord and crowned king: but he contrariwise did not onelie forgie the offense, but also receiued the forenamed Donald with other the murderers into his seruice, and made them of his priuie counsell, which caused manie men to suspect, least he himselfe had bene of counsell therewith in committing that murder. The talke whereof was so common in all mens mouths, namely lie amongst the common people, that the queene Doluager late wife to king Conrane, doubting not onelie the suertie of hir owne life, but also of hir two sons (which she had by the said Conrane, the one named Regiman, and the other Aidan) fled with them ouer into Ireland, where within few yeres after, she died with the one of hir sonnes, that is to say, Regiman: the other Aidan was honorable brought vp by the king of that countrie, according to his birth and degree.

Eugenius in the beginning of his reigne, to winn thereby the peoples fauor, demeaned himselfe most gentlie in all his proceedings, doing nothing that tasted in any part of crueltie. He would oftentimes sit amongst the iudges himselfe, and if he suspected least any man had wrong, he would licence them to

Big of king  
Eugenius co-  
uers his  
people.

Commeda-  
ble woman-  
hood.

The victori-  
ous conquest  
ascribed to  
Arthur.

This crastie  
no final doubt  
worle of the  
great victories  
ascribed vnto  
Arthur.

Geffrey of  
Monmouth.

The Brit-  
tains repen-  
teth the sin-  
full league  
concluded  
with the  
Saxons.  
The request  
of the Brit-  
tains to haue  
one of their  
owne nation  
appointed to  
succede king  
Arthur.

Reginold  
king of the  
Brittains  
ought chieflie  
about all day  
to be punished  
Eugenius  
in place of  
his predecessor  
for his death.

The queene  
Doluager  
with hir two  
sonnes into  
Ireland.

Constantine  
proclaimed  
their appa-  
rent & prince  
of Brittain.

pleas  
were  
of rig-  
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Arthur set  
teth forward  
toward the  
Scots and  
Picts.  
Humber a fa-  
tall place for  
the Britains  
to be banqui-  
shed in.

Bishops tra-  
uell betwixt  
the parties to  
bring them to  
communica-  
tion for a  
peace.

Spordred and  
Eugenius  
were persua-  
ded unto  
peace.

The Bri-  
tains would  
not consent to  
haue anie  
peace talked  
vpon.

The battell is  
begun.

A cruell bat-  
tell.

A cruell po-  
lice.  
This was  
one of the  
Picts.

The Bri-  
tains put to  
flight.

Twentie  
thousand of  
Scots and  
Picts slaine.  
Spordred is  
slaine.

men, to withstand the landing of the Saxons, if they should fortune to attempt anie inuasion. That done, he passed forth with the residue of his people towards the Scots & Picts, who were already assembled in campe, and were come as farre as the riuer of Humber, where to the banks thereof they had pitched their tents, as in a place fatal for the Britains to be banquished in. Both the armies being brought here into order of battell, the one in sight of the other, there were certaine bishops of those three nations that took great pains to ride to and fro betwixt them, to exhort the kings unto peace and concord, considering what mischief and great bloodshed should ensue, if upon wilfullness they would take to trie that by dint of sword, which they might make an end of by means of amiable treatie and friendly agreement. Again, they could not do the thing that might more content the Saxons, common enemies to christian religion, than if by their encountering together in battell, they should so infectible their whole powers, whereby the Saxons might haue ready means and occasion offered to execute their greedy desires to conquer the whole Ile. Spordred and Eugenius were persuaded by this earnest trauell of the bishops, to put their matter in compromise, and to lay away their armour and weapon, if they might haue assurance that the league made with kingloth should in euery point be observed. Arthur likewise at the sute of the same bishops, would haue bene contented for his part to haue agreed hereunto; but other of the Britains, namely those that were of kin and alliance unto Constantine their prince, could in no wise be persuaded thereunto; but rather with manie reprochfull words rebuked the bishops for their vntimely sute, seeing the enemies ready ranged in battell at point to giue the onset, so that (as they alleaged) it might be doubted what they meant by their motion, unless they went about to betray the armie, under pretense of a cloaked treatie for an vnprofitable agreement. These or such like words were vnnethy ended, when suddenly the noise being raised on both sides, the battels rushed together right fiercelie. The Britains had the disadvantage of the place, being so incumbered with mires, bogs, and mosses, that they could not well aid themselves, nor handle their weapons to anie purpose. Yet did the battell continue a long time, to the destruction of such numbers of men; that the riuer Humber (where vnto the which this field was fought) was so mingled with blood, that the water thereof being all coloured red, carried no small number of dead bodies downe into the sea. In the midst of the fight, there was one with lowd voice in the British tong cried out to the Britains (of purpose prompted thereunto) that Arthur with other of the nobles on his side were slaine, and therefore it were but follie to trust anie longer vpon victory, but rather were it wisdom for euery man by flight to prouide for his owne safetie.

This voice wonderfullie encouraged the Scottish men and Picts, but the Britains were put in such feare therewith, that the most part of them immediately hereupon fell to running away. Others of them iudging this to be but some craftie and subtil practice of the enemies devised of purpose, as it was in deed, to discomfort them with, abode by it still: manfully continuing in fight, till they were beaten downe and slaine in maner euery mothers sonne. This victorie being thus hardlie got, cost more mens liues than anie other had done of manie yeares before; for of the Scots and Picts being banquishers, there died in that mostall battell about 20000 men, together with Spordred, and a great number of the nobilitie of both the nations, of the Britains and

such other as were with them in aid, they were slaine, what in battell and what in chase, at the point of 30000, among whome was Arthur himselfe, with Catuan or Caluan (as some booke haue) brother vnto Spordred, who bare such good will and intire loue vnto his lord and maister the said Arthur, that he fought that day most earnestlie on his side against his owne naturall brother the said Spordred. Also there were killed Caline and Calolan, with the most part of all the residue of the British nobilitie, and manie prisoners taken, by reason that Humber kept them in from fleeing anie way forth on the one side, which prisoners also were afterwards slaine, the gentlemen onely excepted.

The day next after the battell, the campe of the Britains was rifled, and amongst other rich spoiles there was found quene Guainoze Arthurs wife, with a great number of other ladies and gentlewomen. The whole spoile of the campe and field being equallye diuided by lots betwixt them, the Scots had for their parts certaine faire charrets laden with rich fuste and teluels, also horses and armours, besides sundrie noble men, whom they had to their prisoners. Vnto the Picts fell for their portion quene Guainoze, with the ladies and gentlewomen, and diuers other of the noble men, besides a great quantitie of other rich prete and boties. These prisoners, which the Picts had, were conueied into a castell in Angus, called Dunbarre, a place of great strength in those daies, though at this present there remaineth nothing but the name with the ruines thereof. In which castell they were detained vnder sure ward, during the residue of their naturall liues. In witness whereof there be remaining vnto this day, the graues and monuments where manie of these captiue Britains were buried, in the fields of a towne in that countie called Segill, not past 10 miles from Dunbarre: but amongst the residue, that of Guainoze is most famous.

There goeth a plaine tale ouer all that countie, told for an assured truth, that if anie woman chance to tread vpon that graue, they shall remaine barren without bringing forth anie issue more than the said Guainoze did. But whether this be true or not, certaine it is (as Boetius writeth) that there dare no woman come nere that graue, not onely eschewing it themselves, but also commanding their daughters to beware thereof. This bloudie battell weakened so much the forces both of the Scots, Picts, and Britains, that manie a day after they were not able to recover againe their former states and dignities. The yeare also that these three nations encountered thus cruellie together, was after the birth of our Saviour 542, the 26 of Arthurs reigne ouer the Britains, and the 11 of Eugenius his gouernement ouer the Scottishmen.

In the same yere before the battell, were scene manie strange sights in Albion. Grassie and heards in Potheshire appeared to bee all stained with blood. There vnto Camelion, a cow brought forth a calfe with two heads. Also an ewe brought forth a lambe that was both male and female. The sunne appeared about none daies all wholie of a bloudie colour. The element appeared full of bright flares to euery mans sight continually for the space of two daies together. In Wales there was a battell betwene crows and pies on the one side, and rauen on the other, with such a slaughter of them, as before that time had not bene heard of.

But to proceed. Eugenius king of the Scots at his returne from the battell, gaue to those that had escaped with life, and abid by him in the chiefe danger of the fight, manie bounteous & large rewards. The sonnes and next kinsfolke of such as were slaine

Arthur with  
30000 Brit-  
ish slaine.  
Caluan  
slaine.

Caline and  
Calolan  
slaine.

Quene  
Guainoze  
taken.  
The spoile  
of the Brit-  
ish camp  
divided.

Dunbarre  
Angus, not  
that in An-  
gus.

The table of  
quene Guai-  
nozes graue  
buried in An-  
gus.

542.  
8. H.B.

Strange and  
vnnethy  
wonders.

Eugenius  
sworeth his  
foesliars.

Eugenius go-  
uerne his  
people with  
clemencie.

Constantine  
crowned king  
of Britaine.

The cruellie  
of the Bri-  
tains in mar-  
shing the in-  
nocent childre  
of Spordred.  
The lineage of  
Spordred  
descendeth.

The Saxons  
came into  
England, and  
the Brit-  
ish into  
Wales.

Constantine  
king of Brit-  
tain, his  
sonne  
Constantine  
king of  
England.

Constantine  
king of  
England  
into  
Scotland  
and  
Wales.

Constantine  
king of  
England  
into  
Scotland  
and  
Wales.

Eugenius  
king of  
Scotland  
into  
England.

Constantine  
king of  
England  
into  
Scotland.

Eugenius  
king of  
Scotland  
into  
England.

slaine, be-  
land & li-  
be a with  
their an-  
countrie,  
warding  
which no  
amongst  
he gouer-  
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the same  
such as he  
lie murther  
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to saue the  
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B. Consta-  
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his name  
haue with  
reigned ce-  
dren died,  
for soe he  
about, and  
pleasing him  
at length  
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king Enge-  
life, withou  
or intestine  
of his reign

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Name

Arthur was  
30000 Brit-  
tains slain,  
Catholus  
Name.

Quene  
Guinevere  
then.  
The spoll  
of the Brit-  
comp blun-

Dunbarre in  
Angus, not  
that in Lou-  
thian.

The fable of  
quene Gu-  
nevere graue  
buried in An-  
gus.

542.  
8. H.B.

Strange and  
unkethy toone  
ders.

Eugenius  
swarthy his  
soldiers.

Eugenius  
swarthy his  
soldiers.

name, he also advanced to sundrie preferments of  
land & livings, that they imioient the same, might  
be a witnesse in time to come of the good service of  
their ancestors, thewed in defense of their king and  
countrie, and also of his princelie liberalitie, in re-  
warding the same upon their issue and pogenie. By  
which noble beneuolence, he wan him such loue  
amongst his people, that afterwards it seemed hoto  
he gouerned the state of his kingdome moze by cle-  
mencie, than by anie rigour of lawes. The Britains  
immediatlie vpon knowledge had that Arthur was  
slaine, crowned Constantine his successor in the  
British kingdome, and for that there should remaine  
none amongst them aluie to make anie claime to  
the same kingdome, other than he with his issue, or  
such as he should appoint to succeed him, they cruel-  
lie murdered thousands children, in most pittifull  
wise running vnto their mothers lap, beseeching hir  
to saue their liues, according to hir motherlie dutie.  
They were brought vp in Catholane their fathers  
grand fathers house, and being thus made auaile, the  
familie and lineage of their father the foresaid Mo-  
dyed was utterlie thereby extinguished.

The Saxons at the same time hauing aduertise-  
ment what losse the Britains had sustained, not on-  
lie by the death of their most valiant king and chief  
teine Arthur, but also for the slaughter of such a mul-  
titude of their nation as died in the battell, they pre-  
pare a mightie nauie of ships, and passe ouer the  
same into England, where being landed, they castie  
beat downe the Britains, and drue them with their  
B. Constantine into Wales, so recouering all that  
part of the land which Hengist sometimes held, & after  
his name was afterwards called England. Some  
haue written, how that after king Constantine had  
reigned certaine yeres in Wales, his wife and chil-  
dren died, whereupon wearing wearie of this world, he  
forsooke his earthly kingdome, in hope of that other  
aboue, and secretly departed into Ireland, where ap-  
plying himselfe for a time in ministering to the poore,  
at length being knowne, by the perswasion of a  
monke he became one of his cote and profession.

Afterwards being sent by the bishop of the dis-  
cesse ouer into Scotland, to instruct the people of that  
countrie in the true faith and articles of the christian  
religion, he there suffered martyrdome by the hands  
of most wicked and godlesse persons, and was at  
length (but manie yeres after his death) canonized  
a saint, and sundrie churches (as are to be seene euen  
vnto this day) built and dedicated vnto him in Scot-  
land by authoritie of the bishops there. At the same  
time that the said Constantine was driven into  
Wales, there reigned among the Englishmen one  
Aurimike the first (as Beda saith) from Hengist. The  
same Aurimike though he were not christened him-  
selfe, yet he permitted the christian faith to be pre-  
achd amongst his people, and concluding a league  
with the Scottishmen and Picts, kept the same inuol-  
olate during his life time most sincerlie. The Scottish  
king Eugenius also liued in peace the residue of his  
life, without anie trouble either by foreign enemies,  
or intestine sedition, & at length died in the 38 yere  
of his reigne, after the birth of our Saviour 559.

After his funerall obsequies finished in Colme-  
kill, where he lieth buried amongst his ances-  
tors, his brother Conuall was chosen to succeed him  
in administration of the kingdome, a paterne of such  
inclination to vertue and godlines, as all men may  
lustie wonder thereat. He bare such zealous deuot-  
ion towards the worshipping of the crosse (a thing to  
put men in remembrance of Christs passion as he  
take it) that which way soeuer he rode (as it is repo-  
ted) he had the same borne before him; and at  
his getting vp and lighding downe from his horse,

he with all the multitude of people standing about  
him, would worship it, kneeling downe, & reuerent-  
lie kissing it. This crosse was of silver with a crucifix  
thereon, and letters grauen in a plate fastened to the  
staffe, containing these two words: *Christianorum  
gloria*. He commanded also that the signe of the  
crosse should be set vpon the tops of steeples, and on  
the highest towers of the gates of castles & towines.  
Whereouer he forbad the crosse to be grauen or pain-  
ted vpon anie pauement, least anie man should  
vnrerentlie tread vpon it. Furthermore he had  
priests and other religious men in such honoz, as no-  
thing could be more, appointing them to haue the  
tenths of all those fruits which the earth yelded.  
Sundrie ordinances he made also, for the grieuous  
punishment of all such as in anie wise misused a  
priest, or other religious person: as he that gaue any  
of them a blow, should lose his hand for it: and he  
that slue one of them, should forfeit his goods, and be  
burned quicke. Again, he bestowed manie rich  
treasures, and gaue diuers great gifts vnto churches,  
prouiding the ministers of sufficient livings, and ap-  
pointed that they should haue their houses nere vnto  
their churches, to be ready to execute that which  
appertained vnto their offices, when anie need re-  
quired.

The king being thus vertuouslie disposed, caused  
the whole number of his subjects by his example to  
be the better affectioned towards the aduancement  
of religion. The report and fame whereof moued  
that holie man saint Colme or Colombe, to come  
ouer south of Ireland (where he had the gouernance  
of sundrie houses of monks) with twelue other ver-  
tuous persons into Albion, and there gathering toge-  
ther a great number of monks, being here and  
there dispersed abroad in the countrie, he placed  
them orderlie in such houses, as king Conuall had  
built and founded for that purpose, appointing a-  
mongst them rulers & ministers, such as he thought  
most conuenient. But saint Colme himselfe, and  
the other tidelue, which he brought ouer with him  
from Ireland, placing themselves to inhabit in the  
Ile of Jona, now called Colmekill, toke great  
paines to instruct the Scots and Picts in the true ar-  
ticles of the faith.

Amongst the Picts at the same time the heresie of  
Pelagius had infected the minds of many, by meane  
that diuerse of that nation hauing dwelled a long  
time in Britaine, returning into their countrie,  
brought that pestilent doctrine home with them, and  
taught it vnto other. Saint Colme therefore infor-  
med hereof, passed into Louthian vnto Budeus as  
then king of the Picts, earnestlie travelling to in-  
struct both him and his people in the right belife, and  
to extirpe out of their hearts all erroneous opinions  
of that damnable sect of the Pelagians lore. At the  
same time, that blessed man Kentigern, otherwile  
called Gungo, gouerned the church of Glasgowe, as  
bishop of the same, who resorting into the companie  
of this saint Colme, had much conference with him,  
to both their comforts, concerning the true articles  
of our faith.

This Kentigern was descended of the blood rof-  
all of the Pictish kings, as son vnto that vertuous  
woman Chamertes or Chameto, daughter vnto Loth  
king of the Picts, whome a yong lustie gentleman,  
or (as some haue written) the last mentioned Eu-  
genius the Scottish king rauished by force, and be-  
got of hir the said Kentigern. He was greatlie in  
fauour with the foresaid Budeus the Pictish king,  
as one that was nere of his blood. For the same  
Budeus was nephew vnto the foresaid Loth by his  
brother called Apelethor, and therefore succeeded in  
the kingdome of the Picts, after that Mordred was  
slaine,

Crosses set  
vpon the tops  
of steeples.

Conuall be-  
notion to-  
wards church  
men.

Conuall libe-  
ralitie toward  
churches.

Saint Colme  
commeth out  
south of Ire-  
land into  
Scotland.

The heresie  
of Pelagius  
in Britaine.

Kentigern  
bishop of Glas-  
gow, other-  
wile called  
Gungo, bi-  
shop of Wales.

Chametes or  
Chameto was  
father of Eu-  
genius king  
of Scotland,  
of which rau-  
ishment the  
bare the fore-  
said Kentigern.

The castell of  
Calidon now  
Dounheld.

The bishops  
see of Doun-  
held.

Saint Colme  
returneth into  
Ireland.

Saint Colme  
cometh againe  
into Scot-  
land, bringing  
with him Ai-  
dan sonne to  
king Conran.

The death of  
Conuall.

578. H.B.

Saint Colme  
present at the  
buriall of king  
Conuall.

Kinnatill elec-  
ted king of  
Scotland.

Saint Colme  
and Aidan re-  
ceiued by  
Kinnatill.

The prophesy  
of Kinnatill.

The death of  
Kinnatill.  
Kinnatill li-  
eng vpon his  
death bed, fir-  
rendereth his  
kingdome in-  
to Aidans  
hands.

saime, as before is expressed. Bentigerne went with  
saint Colme vnto the castell of Calidon, otherwise  
called Dounheld, where they remained six moneths  
in a monastierie there, builded by king Conuall, tea-  
ching and preaching vnto the people of Athole, Cali-  
don, and Angus, that in great numbers came vnto  
them, to heare their goodlie instructions. There is in  
the same place, where the said castell sometimes stood,  
a church dedicated vnto saint Colme, built of faire  
square stone, being at this day a bishops see, com-  
monlie called Dounheld, indowled with manie faire  
reuenues and great possessions, for the maintenance  
of the bishop and his canons.

At the six moneths end, those two vertuous per-  
sons taking their leaue each of other, not without  
shedding of teares, departed in sunder. Bentigerne  
returning into Glasgou, and saint Colme into Ire-  
land, where reporting manie things, touching the  
great vertue and holines of king Conuall, and with  
what deuotion he had bene receiued both of him and  
his people, he moued manie to wonder greatlie  
thereat, to heare that a king in the midst of all his  
allurements to pleasure, should yet be so mindfull of  
diuine meditations and godlie exercises. In the yere  
following, saint Colme prepared to returne into  
Scotland, taking Aidan ouer with him thither, by  
commandement of king Conuall, which Aidan (as  
ye haue heard) to auoid the traines of Eugenis, fled  
ouer into Ireland with his mother, for doubt to bee  
made away by the same Eugenis. Saint Colme  
taking the sea with this Aidan, and coming on land  
on the coasts of Scotland, was no sooner there ar-  
riued, but that presentlie he had knowledge how the  
king was dead, being the yere of his reigne the 10,  
and after the birth of our Saviour 579.

Saint Colme then being throughlie certified of  
his death, and that the corps was forwarde on the  
way towards Colmekill, there to be buried, he  
thought it a peece of his dutie to go thither to be  
at the funeral, and so doing, was as one of the chiefe-  
est there in executing of the obsequies. Which being en-  
ded, and hearing that Kinnatill the brother of Con-  
uall was intyponized king in Argile, by the free elec-  
tion of all the estates, he neuerthelesse kept on his  
former purposed iourne, and came vnto Kinnatill,  
bringing Aidan with him (appointed by Conuall to  
haue receiued the gouernement of the kingdome if  
he had liued) they were both receiued with all bene-  
uolence of the said Kinnatill contrarie to most mens  
expectation: insomuch that imbracing Aidan, he bad  
him be of good cheere, for it should shortly come to  
passe, that he should attaine to the possession of his  
grandfathers dominions, and haue issue that should  
succeed him, to the great reliefe of the Scottish com-  
mon-wealth.

By what spirit of prophesie he vttered these wordes,  
it is vncertaine, but sure it is that his purpose was  
to haue giuen ouer the gouernement of the king-  
dome (as he confessed himselfe lieng vpon his death  
bed) and to haue restored it vnto Aidan who had a  
right therevnto. Howbeit being preuented by death,  
he could not haue time to accomplish his desire, for  
within twentie daies after his cozonation, being  
surpised with a grievous disease of a catarrhe  
rheume, and the squinancie, he was constrained to  
keepe his chamber, committing the publike admini-  
stration of the realme vnto Aidan. Wherevpon follo-  
wed a feuer through increasing of a flagmatike hu-  
mor bred by long rest, that after 14 moneths space  
vnbodied his ghost, which by instruction of saint  
Colme, being present with him at the houre of his  
death, he rendered in most deuout soile into the hands  
of his redeemer; appointing his kingdome as it  
were by deliuerie of scissin, euen there vpon his death

bed vnto the foresaid Aidan.

After that the bodie of this Kinnatill was in-  
terred, according to the maner, in Colmekill,  
Aidan receiued the crowne, sitting vpon the marble  
stone, after the custome in those daies vsed, by the  
hands of that holie father saint Colme. Who willing  
that silence might be kept, laid his right hand vpon  
the kings head, and in his left hand holding his  
crozier staffe, made a brieffe exhortation, as well  
to the king as to his people, admonishing them  
of their duties each towards other, but especiallie he  
exhorted them vnto peace and concord, and before all  
things to remember to walke in the waies of the  
Lord, for in so doing they might hope for wealth and  
prosperitie in the state of their commonwealth, with  
all other good graces, whereas otherwise, if either  
the people forgot their duties towards God, or that  
the king regarded not dutie to execute or fulfill his  
office, in giuing God thanks for his bountious libe-  
ralitie and high benefites bestowed vpon him, it  
should come to passe, that intestine seditions, conspi-  
racies, and other mischiefs should rise among them,  
to the irreuerable losse of the realme, by bringing  
the same into danger to be ouerrun with some for-  
rein power, if they did not repent in time, and call to  
God for his fauour, that it might please him to re-  
duce them againe into the right path of his lawes  
& ordinances, whensoever they should so fall from the  
same. When saint Colme had made an end of these  
or the like his wholesome aduertisements, all the peo-  
ple reioicing thereat, promised with one voice, and  
therewith bound to follow the same, and to be euer  
readie to obeye the commandement of their prince,  
and the holie instructions of their bishops and other  
the ecclesiasticall ministers. The assemble being once  
dissolued, the king departed into Galloway, and  
there deliuered the countie of certeine Wiltish ro-  
bers that had invaded it. After this, studing to  
mainteine good orders and quiet rule through his do-  
minions, he appointed an assemble of the chiefe-  
estes of his realme, to be holden yereleie in three se-  
uerall parties thereof, as in Galloway, Loughjuba-  
ber, and Cathnesse, there to heare and determine all  
sutes and quarels of his subiects, & to giue order for  
the administration of the lawes and all publike af-  
faires, as they should see cause and occasion. He re-  
quired also saint Colme to be present euer with them,  
that matters touching religion might be the bet-  
ter provided for, and that the people might take all  
things done in those publike sessions in right god  
part, because such an holie and vertuous father of the  
church was amongst them, and hauing the chiefe-  
est authoritie.

Thus continued the realme in quiet state for cer-  
teine yeres together, till it chanced that diuers of  
the nobles being together on hunting, fell at vari-  
ance, and therevpon making a fraie, sundrie of them  
were slaine. The beginners and such as were most  
culpable were sought for by the kings officers, to  
haue bene had to ward, but they in disobeying the  
arrest, strooke and beat the officers verie sore, and im-  
mediatlie therewith fled vnto Brudeus king of the  
Pictas, so by wilfull exile to safe gard their liues. King  
Aidan according to the maner in such cases accusto-  
med, required to haue those outlaws deliuered vnto  
him, that he might do iustice vpon them according  
lie as they had deserued. Brudeus taking pittie of  
the yong gentlemen, alledged manie things in their  
excuse, still deferring to deliuer them, till at length  
hee procured warre to himselfe and his countie.  
For Aidan the Scottish king, offended in that he  
might not haue those rebels and publike offenders  
restored vnto him, caused a number of his people  
first to settie a great boote of cattell and prisoners out

Aidan.

Aidan recei-  
ued the crow-  
ne, sitting vpon  
the marble stone  
after the custome  
in those daies  
vsed, by the hands  
of that holie father  
saint Colme. Who  
willing that silence  
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to the king as to his  
people, admonishing  
them of their duties  
each towards other,  
but especiallie he  
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peace and concord,  
and before all things  
to remember to walke  
in the waies of the  
Lord, for in so doing  
they might hope for  
wealth and prosperi-  
tie in the state of  
their commonwealth,  
with all other good  
graces, whereas other-  
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or that the king re-  
garded not dutie to  
execute or fulfill his  
office, in giuing God  
thanks for his boun-  
tious liberalitie and  
high benefites be-  
stowed vpon him, it  
should come to passe,  
that intestine sedi-  
tions, conspi-  
racies, and other  
mischiefs should rise  
among them, to the  
irreuerable losse of  
the realme, by bring-  
ing the same into  
danger to be ouer-  
run with some for-  
rein power, if they  
did not repent in  
time, and call to God  
for his fauour, that  
it might please him  
to reduce them a-  
gain into the right  
path of his lawes &  
ordinances, when-  
soever they should  
so fall from the  
same.

The prince  
of the people.

The kings  
tourne into  
Galloway.

Aidan ap-  
pointed an as-  
semble of the  
chiefe-estes of  
his realme, to be  
holden yereleie  
in three seuerall  
parties thereof, as  
in Galloway, Lou-  
ghjuba-ber, and  
Cathnesse, there  
to heare and de-  
termine all sutes  
and quarels of his  
subiects, & to giue  
order for the ad-  
ministration of the  
lawes and all pub-  
like affaires, as they  
should see cause  
and occasion.

Saint Colme  
present at the  
buriall of king  
Conuall.

The death of  
Kinnatill.

The death of  
Kinnatill.

The death of  
Kinnatill.

The death of  
Kinnatill.

out of Ang  
Wherein  
rode into  
to a field, &  
from Calit  
with great  
the victorie  
Arthurnus  
sed not gre  
Colme tro  
and declar  
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as had infi  
lar the bra  
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wise suffer  
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of  
the same.

I was in  
Colmekill.

Aidan. Aidan recei-  
ued his inu-  
sion of the  
ho willing  
kingdome  
hand upon  
olding his  
as well  
the king  
pecialtie he  
before all  
ates of the  
wealth and  
wealth, with  
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od, or that  
or fulfill his  
ntious libe-  
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ions, conspi-  
morg them,  
by bringing  
th some for-  
e, and call to  
ic him to re-  
if his lawes  
fall from the  
n end of these  
s, all the peo-  
e voice, and  
nd to be euer  
f their pynce,  
ops and other  
le being once  
illoyay, and  
e Britissh rob-  
s, studieng to  
ough his do-  
of the chiefest  
elle in these  
s, Loughgub-  
determine all  
give order for  
all publike af-  
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out of Angus.

Wherewith the Picts being kindled, made a like  
rode into Galloway. Finallie the matter grew vi-  
to a field, which was foughten in Hentith, not farre  
from Calidon castell otherwise called Dounkelde,  
with great slaughter on both sides, though in the end  
the victorie yet remained with the Scots; but losing  
Arthurus the sonne of Aidan their king, they reioi-  
sed not greatlie at the gaine. That holie man saint  
Colme troubled with such newes, came vnto Aidan,  
and declaring vnto him how grievouslie he had of-  
fended almighty God, in procuring such mischief  
as had ensued of this warre, and reciting in particu-  
lar the branches thereof, he moued the king vnto  
such repentance for his trespass, that he whole sub-  
mitted himselfe vnto saint Colmes chastisement,  
who being about to depart in semblance soe offen-  
ded, the king got him by the sleue, and would in no  
wise suffer him to go from him, till he had declared  
vnto him some comfortable means how to redresse  
the matter, for the quieting of his conscience. At  
length saint Colme lamenting the kings case, suffe-  
red himselfe to be intreated, and thereupon repaired  
vnto Budeus the Pictissh king, mouing him by way  
of diuerse goodlie aduertisements to incline his af-  
fection vnto peace. At length he did so much by tra-  
uelling sundrie times to and fro betwixt the two  
kings, that he brought them vnto agreement, for all  
matters depending in controuersie betwixt them  
and their subjects.

Thus saint Colme hauing accomplished that which  
he came for, returned againe into the westerne Is-  
les vnto his wonted home, where he did by whole-  
some documents and vertuous examples instruct the  
seruants of God in the way of his lawes and com-  
mandements. In this meane time the Saxons ha-  
uing bynen and put backe the Britains into Wales,  
and occupying all the residue of their lands and coun-  
tries, they diuided the same into seuen parts, orde-  
ning seuen feuerall kings to gouerne the same as  
kingdomes.ouer that of Northumberland, adioi-  
ning next vnto the Picts, one Eadelfred reigned, a  
man of exceeding desire to enlarge his dominion. He  
went by all means he could deuise, to perswade Bu-  
deus the Pictissh king to renew the warres with the  
Scots, promising him all the aid he could make a-  
gainst them, not onelie for that he knew the Scots  
to haue bene euer enemies vnto the Saxons, but al-  
so for that he himselfe was descended of the nation  
called Agathypies, of the which the Picts (as was  
thought) were also come. But the cause why he wi-  
shed that there might be warres raised betwixt the  
Scots and Picts, was not for arie good will he bare  
to the Picts, but onelie to the end that their power  
being weakened through the same, he might haue a  
more easie preie of their countrie, the which he purpo-  
sed vpon occasion to inuade, and ioine vnto his owne  
kingdome of Northumberland.

Budeus at the first gaue no care vnto his earnest  
motions and large offers, but at length through the  
counsell and procurement of some of his nobles, cor-  
rupted by bribes receiued at Eadelfreds hands, and  
still putting into the kings head sundrie forged in-  
formations of the Scottisshmens dallie attempts a-  
gainst the Pictissh nation; he determined to ioine  
with the Saxons against them, and caused therupon  
warre to be proclaimed against the Scots, as those  
that had spoiled and robbed his subjects, contrarie to  
the league and all bonds of old friendship and former  
amitie betwixt them. The Scottissh king Aidan per-  
ceiuing the practise of the Saxons, and together ther-  
with the vnturth of the Picts, the better to be able to  
resist their malice, ioineth in league with the Bri-  
tains: this article being the chiefest in the whole co-

usant: that if the enemies first inuaded the Bri-  
tains, then an armie of Scots should be sent with  
all speed into Britaine, to helpe to defend the coun-  
trie against such inuasions: but if the Scots were  
first inuaded, then should the Britains in semblable  
manner come ouer to their aid.

The Saxons hauing knowledge of this appoint-  
ment betwixt Scots & Britains; to draw the Scots  
forth of their countrie, and so to haue them at more  
aduantage, procured the Picts to ioine with them:  
and so both their powers being vnitied together, en-  
tered into the Britissh confines. Aidan according to  
the covenant came straight vnto the aid of the Bri-  
tains. Eadelfred and Budeus refused to fight for  
certeine daies, as it were of purpose, thereby to loca-  
rie the Scots with watch and trauell, being as then  
far from home. Also they looked dallie to haue Cen-  
line king of the West Saxons to come vnto their aid:  
but the Scots and Britains hauing knowledge ther-  
of, first thought it best to incounter with him, before  
he should ioine with the other, and thus understand-  
ing that their onelie refuge remained in their ar-  
moz and weapons, gaue the onset so fiercelie vpon  
those Saxons, that at the first, sleaing Cutha Cen-  
lines sonne, with a great number of other, they easi-  
lie distressed and put the residue to flight.

Aidan would not suffer his men to pursue too far  
in the chase, but called them backe by the sound of a  
trumpet, who being assembled herewith about their  
standards, made such loy and triumph, as greater  
could not be deuised, what with dancing, singing,  
and plaicng on pipes and other instruments, accor-  
ding to the manner in those daies. But as they were  
thus in the midst of their chiefest mirth, suddenlie  
appeared the Saxons and Picts, which were with E-  
adelfred and Budeus, approaching towards them in  
good order of battell, with whom were also the resi-  
due of the West Saxons, that had escaped from the  
late bickering. Whereupon the Scots and Britains  
amazed with the sight hereof, were suddenlie strit-  
ken out of countenance, inso much that Aidan went  
amongst them, and with a bold countenance exhor-  
ted them to remember how valiantlie they had al-  
readie put to flight the other of their enemies, so that  
there was great hope for assured victorie of these  
likewise, if they would now shew the like manlie  
courage against them, as they had shewed before in  
assailing the other. Many other words he vied in ad-  
monishing them to fight manfullie, till the onset gi-  
uen by the enemies caused him to make an end.

The Saxons laid about them so stoutlie in the be-  
ginning, that they forced their adueraries, with  
whome they were matched, to giue backe. Neither  
did Eadelfred faile in that occasion to incourage  
them to follow the aduantage now thus gotten. Bu-  
deus with his Picts likewise made great slaughter  
in that wing of the Scots, with the which he incount-  
red; so that finallie the same Scots perceiuing the  
Britains beaten downe and soe distressed on their  
side, fell through discomfort thereof to running a-  
waie. There were slaine in this battell on the Sco-  
tisshmens side, Brennus lieutenant of (as they ter-  
med him) thane of the Ile of Man, with Dungan  
the kings third sonne, and no small number of other  
gentlemen besides. The king himselfe escaped by helpe  
of his sonne, who staeing to get his father out of the  
perille, was slaine (as is said) amongst the residue.  
On the Saxons side, there was slaine Eadwald E-  
adelfreds brother, and Cutha the king of West Saxons  
his sonne, as before ye haue heard, with a great num-  
ber of other. Eadelfred himselfe lost one of his eyes.  
Budeus the Pictissh king was hurt in the thigh, and  
besides this, he lost a great multitude of his people.  
Thus Eadelfred hauing got such a notable victorie

The Picts &  
Saxons en-  
ter into the  
land of the  
Britains.

Centine of  
Cecilin.

The Scots  
and Britains  
put the Sax-  
ons to flight,  
and slae Cu-  
tha the sonne  
of Centine  
king of the  
West Saxons.  
The trium-  
phant top  
made by the  
Scots and  
Britains vpon  
their new  
victorie.

The Saxons  
and Picts.

The sudden  
fear of the  
Scots and  
Picts, after all  
their great top  
& triumphing.

Aidan exhor-  
ted his men to  
manfullie.

The Saxons  
fight stoutlie.

Eadelfred.

Budeus &  
of the Picts  
maketh slaugh-  
ter of the  
Scots.

The Scots  
run awaie.

Eadelfred lost  
one of his eyes.  
Budeus hurt  
in the thigh.

At

Deilastone the place wher this battell was fought. Galloway invaded by the Scots.

Certaine companies of Saxons overthorne.

Passages through Shulloway lands.

The diligence of king Aidan in providing to resist his enemies.

The Scots and Britains dislodge. The Scots and Britains enter into Northumberland.

The fight betwixt Scots and Britains on the one side, and Saxons and Britons on the other.

The Saxons and Britons discomfited and chased.

at Deilastone in Britaine, he could not be so contented, but esstones assembling his people, and following againe with Hudeus and his Brits, the next summer after invaded Galloway, and began to rob and spoile that countrie, to the end he might either force the inhabitants, with other the countries next therunto adjoining, to yeld unto him; either els to byzing them into extreme povertie in waisting all afore him. But Aidan being advertised hereof, sent to the Britains for their couenanted aid, and comming forward with his owne people which he had assembled together, overthrew certaine companies of his enemies, as he found them dispersed abroad in seeking for prey: then passing by their maine armie, he cometh into Annandale, where he joineth with the Britains, being come so farre forward on their waie to meet him. The Saxons and Brits having knowledge of their enemies doings, wane such a place of advantage, as they thought it an easie matter for them in keeping the same, to distresse both the Scots and Britains through stopping by the passages, by the which they must of force passe, if they minded to come forth on that day. These passages late through certaine quicksands, and by a river which had but few fords passable.

The Scots and Britains, perceiving how they were thus inclosed, with all speed trencht their campe about, raising certaine bulwarks and turrets in places where they thought expedient, as though they had ment still there to have continued. Aidan himselfe toke such pains in seeing euerie thing done in due order, that his people moued more through his example than by anie exhortation, were most diligent in their duties, desirous of nothing so much as to haue occasion ministred, to shew some proofe of their worthie valiances. At length, when the enemies were most at quiet, and (as was supposed) nothing in doubt of anie attempt to be made by the Scots and Britains in the night season, leaving a great number of fires in their campe, they suddenly dislodge, and passing the water by secret fords, they entred into Cumberland, and so after passing into Northumberland, they waisted and destroyed with fire and sword all that came within their reach: the report of which their doings brought Cwelfred and Hudeus backe into that countrie to resist their invasion, neither resting day nor night, till they had got sight of their enemies.

The next day, the souldiers on both sides requiring battell, together they go with great noise and din both of men and instruments. So much hardinesse in the Saxons caused no small number of them to be slaine, rather chosing to die with reputation of manhood, than to gine backe neuer so little ground to the enemy. Thus the battell continued for a space, verie doubtfull which waie the victorie would incline. On the Britains and Scottishmens side, there were foure chiefe rulers amongst them, beside Aidan himselfe, as Constantius and Alencrinus Britains, Calan and Hordache Scottishmen. Each of these taking a seuerall charge vpon him, did earnestlie applie their bittermost indeuors therin, incouraging their bands to put awaie all cowardlie feare, and manfullie to stick to their tackle, since by victorie there was hope of eternall fame, beside suertie of life, and advancement to the common wealth of their countrie; where otherwisse they might loke for nothing, but the contrarie mishaps, as shame, rebuke, and impoyntable seruitude. So that the Scottishmen and Britains incouraged herewith, pressed vpon the enemies so sterrelie, that at length as well the Saxons as Brits were compelled to breake their arraie, & fall to plaine running awaie: the Scots following so rgerlie in the chase, that moze of their enemies were thought

to die in the sight, than be fore there had done in the battell.

S. Colme as yet being alieue, and within his monasterie in the Ile of Iona, had knowledge by diuine inspiration (as the Scottish chronicles make mention) of all these matters how they went; and at the verie time that the battels were in fight together, he had assembled a companie of verie vertuous and godlie disposed persons, making intercession for the prosperous speed of their king the foresaid Aidan: and at the verie instant (as it was knowne after) that the Saxons began to flee (as they which had the ouerthrow) that holie old father shewed great token of ioy and gladnesse, declaring vnto his brethren by the spirit of secret knowledge or prophesie, how Aidan had the better, and that his enemies were discomfited, willing them thereupon to gine vnto God thanks for the same. There was an huge multitude slaine in this conflict, but namelie the death of Cealine king of the West Saxons, with other two worthie captains of that nation, made the slaughter more sorrowfull on that side, the one of them was called Cialine, and the other Rubitelline.

The day next after the battell, the spoile of the field being gathered together, all that which was knowne to haue bene taken out of Galloway, and other countries of the Scots, was restored by the kings authoritie vnto the owners againe. The residue which remained was diuided amongst the souldiers, the tenth part onelie excepted, which was distributed vnto priests & curats, to bestow the same vpon ornaments for their churches. The banners and standards of the Saxons and Brits, with manie other rich offerings, king Aidan sent vnto the abbeie of Colmekill, there to remaine as perpetual monuments and tokens of so notable a victorie. The yere next ensuing, that holie father S. Colme nobel almost waisted through age, and hereto also sore troubled with a rheumatike humor, fell sicke and died. Some saie he ended his life in his house amongst his brethren, within the Ile of Iona, otherwisse called Colmekill; but S. Beda writeth, how he died in an Island called Ieu; where againe the Irish writers affirme, that he deceased in a towne in Ireland called Dume, & that his tombe is there in verie great veneration of the people: vpon the which are these Latine verses ingrauen for the lookers on to read, if they list:

*Hic in Duno, tumulo tumulantur in vno,  
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius.*

Saint Colme, Saint Patrike, and Brigitta pure,  
Thir three in Dune lies in ane sepulture.

Neither did Aidan the Scottish king liue long time after, for hearing (as is said) that saint Colme was dead, shortly thereupon, more through griefe than by force of sicknesse, he departed this world, after he had reigned 37 yeres in gouernement ouer the Scottishmen, he died about the yere of our Lord 606. In the daies of this Aidan there was sent into Albion from Gregorie the pope of Rome, diuers learned men (amongest whome were Augustinus and Mellitus) to instruct the English people in the faith of Christ, which as yet they had not received. By the earnest trauell and exhortation of these instructors, Ethelbert king of the Kentish Saxons was baptised with all his people. The British priests no; their doctrine the Saxons could in no wise abide, because (as is supposed) the one nation through a naturall hatred, still sought the destruction of the other. The South and East Saxons moued with the example of the Kentish Saxons, shortly after also renounced their old superstitious idolatrie, and likewise receiued the christian faith. Cwelfred king of Northumberland moued vnto displeasure herewith, sent word vnto these Saxons of the South parts (as

then all of English institution he would me into there into Scottish Brits, & therefore parted on Wasse, I land with thout the there to bodie, as south, th it, but I mongel continui monny who was the buri found t red with man m mande: the peo rallie b same b maine mon p

other

S. Colme

Certaine

The

Enethus

S. Colm

Eugeni

which

S. Colmes

606

Anglo

Ethelbert

The

S. Colme

then

re had done in the

no wish in his mo-  
knowledge by di-  
chronicles make  
they went and at  
were in fight toge-  
ate of verie vertu-  
making intercess-  
king the foresaid  
as it was knowne  
see (as they which  
ther shewed great  
ring unto his be-  
ledge or prophetic,  
his enemies were  
upon to giue unto  
was an huge mul-  
namely the death  
ns, with other two  
made the slaughter  
one of them was  
hitelline.

Colme in-  
ued with  
the spirit of  
secret know-  
ledge.

Colme king  
of westsaxon  
name.  
Whitelline  
of whitelline

ell, the spoile of the  
all that which was  
of Galloway, and  
was restored by the  
again. The resi-  
amongst the foul-  
sted, which was di-  
to bestow the same  
ies. The banners  
Wids, with manie  
ent into the abbey  
perpetuall monu-  
bitoxie. The pere  
Colme now almost  
also for troubled  
he and died. Some  
amongst his be-  
therwise called Col-  
he died in an Iland  
ish wyters affirme,  
eland called Dume,  
great veneration  
these Latine ver-  
read, if they list:  
latur in vno,  
shapim.

which betwixt  
Bellenden  
translateth.

Whan king  
the Scot-  
men, depart-  
eth this  
world.

606.

Angulimus  
and Apollin-  
sent into A-  
bion.

Edelbert  
baptized.

The Scot-  
hated toward  
the Brit-  
grievous.  
Sunder and  
Edelbert  
the christen  
faith.  
Edelbert  
displeasure.

ad Brigitta pure,  
sepulture.  
thy king lue long  
d) that saint Colme  
nose through griefe  
parted this world,  
in gouernement o-  
ut the yeare of our  
s Aidan there was  
the pope of Rome,  
whome were Augu-  
the English people  
they had not recei-  
exhortation of these  
the Kentish Saxons.  
The Britissh priests  
uld in no wise abide,  
ration through a na-  
tioned with the ex-  
hostile after all re-  
idolatrie, and like  
Edelbert king of  
ispleasure heretofore,  
the south parts (as  
then

then all of them generallie known by the name of  
Englishmen: that sith they had forsaken the old  
idolatrie: and ancient religion of their forefathers,  
he would sacrilegiously be no lesse cri-  
me vnto them than vnto the Scots and Britains.  
There lived in these daies that holie man called Aidan  
a second man borne: but dwelling amongst the  
Picts, whome he instructed in the right faith, and  
therefore was named the doctor of the Picts. He de-  
parted out of this life within the Iland called the  
Isle, lying about two miles off from the maine  
land within the sea, where the Forth hath entrie be-  
tween the same Isle, and an other called the Hebrides.  
There were three parishes fell at contention for his  
booke, as Aldham, Eborham, and Wyrdon, so far  
south, that they were at point to haue fought about  
it, but that by counsell of some discrete persons  
amongst them, it was ordered that they should  
continue in prayer for that night, and in the next  
morning stand to the order of the bishop of the diocesse,  
who was come thither the same time to be present at  
the buriall. The next day in the morning there was  
found three boies with three bodies decently cov-  
ered with clothes, so like in all resemblance, that no  
man might perceiue any difference. Then by com-  
mandement of the bishop, and with great top of all  
the people, the said three bodies were carried seuer-  
ally vnto the said three severall churches, and in the  
same buried in most solempne wise, where they re-  
maine vnto this day, in much honor with the com-  
mon people of the countries neare adjoining.

After that the corps of king Aidan was buried  
Ain Colmechill, the nobles of the realme assem-  
bled together in Argile; about the election of a new  
king. Where, by the generall voices of them all,  
Kenethus their the sonne of Comwall (sometime  
king of the Scottishmen, as before is mentioned)  
was now proclaimed king, and reigned according  
to the manner; but he lived not past foure moneths  
after, but died of a catastrophe chieftie falling downe  
into the windpipe, and so stopping by his lighte an-  
gels. He deliuered as it were the possession of his  
kingdome, by way of surrendering the same into the  
hands of Eugenius sonne to king Aidan, by consent  
of all the nobles, a little before he died, for that it  
was known he had a right there vnto after the de-  
cease of Kenethus.

This Eugenius was the fourth of that name,  
which had ruled ouer the Scottishmen. As it is  
said, saint Colme prophesied that he should be king  
long before his fathers death, for when all the houses  
of king Aidan were brought before him, and that day  
demanded of him which of them should reigne  
after him, he ouerpasing the residue (which he  
bestowed by secret knowledge should die in the year)  
appointed fourth this Eugenius, called by some also  
Eugenius, declaring that it should be onelie he. This  
Eugenius sheweth placed in the kingly seat, for  
got not such holie lessons and vertuous precepts,  
as the foresaid saint Colme had taught him in his  
youth, so that standing how to defend rather than  
which was his owne in peace and quietnesse, than to  
seek anie waies or means how to enlarge it, by  
wrongfull inuading upon other mens possessions;  
he grew into such fauour with all good men, as great  
reuerence could not be deuised. Vnto all offenders he was  
a sharpe iusticer, not sparing anie transgression of  
his lawes, neither in respect of nobilitie or other-  
wise, but rather those gentlemen which misused them-  
selves in breach of god orders, he chieftie gaue or-  
der to see them punished; where if they bebaued them-  
selves worthilie, and according to their calling, there  
was no prince more glad than he to aduance them  
vnto honor.

By these and the like his pious doings, he was  
both beloued of his people and also feared. He neu-  
ther fauoured the Picts nor Saxons of Northum-  
berland, for that the one nation being christen, per-  
sisted in their idolatrie, and the other called not by  
all manner of means to forsake them; but yet taking  
a truce with them both, he himselfe caused the same  
to be observed. In the tenth yeare of his reigne, Ed-  
welbert king of Westsaxons & Edred king of Nor-  
thumberland, with aid of the Picts, banquished Ed-  
wald king of Britains, and chased him into Scot-  
land, where he remained not long, sailing from  
thence into France, and purchasing aid  
of the king there named Cadwall, returned into  
Wales, where banquishing his enemies the Sax-  
ons, and slaying many thousands of them, he was  
replaced againe vnto his kingdome. About the same  
time was Edelbert king of Northumberland slain  
in battell, at a place called Maddingham, not far  
from the river of Humber, by Medwald and Edel-  
berth, the sonne being king of the east Angles, and the  
other of the middle Angles; in revenge of such iniu-  
ries as the same Edelbert had done vnto the Sax-  
ons of the countrie called Mercia, continuing as in  
the English historie more plainelie may appeare)  
all those Saxons from the river of Thames vnto the  
river of Merse in Lancashire. Then was one  
Cuthbert a right christian pius appointed to reigne  
in his place, by the assignement of the two foresaid  
kings Medwald and Edelberth.

Called these things were a doing, there were  
seuen sonnes of the aforesaid Edelbert, that detest-  
ing the vnture dealing of the Picts, which refused  
to aid their father in his necessitie, and doubting to  
fall into the hands of Edwin, got them to Eugenius  
the Scottish king for more succour of their liues.  
Their names were Cuthbert, Medwald, Edwald, Ed-  
win, Edric, Edmund, and Edric. Cuthbert the onelie  
daughter of Edelbert being taken amongst other  
prisoners, and escaping from hir taker, miraculou-  
ly got a bote in the river of Humber, and with the  
same taking the sea alone, without all humane helpe  
(as hath bene reported) she sailed south, at length  
safely arrived at the point of land which stretched  
forth into the sea, in the mouth of the Forth, called  
rain: hither, this day after hir name, saint Ebbes  
head, where being receiued by the bishop of that di-  
ocese, she was professed a nun, and after continuing  
in great perfectiō of observing that profession, she  
was instituted abbess of hir house, shewing still in  
trade of life an orderie example for hir flocke to fol-  
low.

Eugenius the Scottish king did long while receiue  
the sorrows of Edelbert, though their father had euer  
bene a cruell enimie against the Scottish nation;  
and within a while after their coming into Scot-  
land, hearing oftentimes the godlie sermons and  
preachings of the bishops and monks, who in those  
daies continuallie gaue themselves vnto that ex-  
ercise, they finally abhorred their superstitious idola-  
trie, and receiued baptisme, that salutiferous signe  
and sacrament of our christian religion. Whole chur-  
ches also, which the Saxons in time of the warres had  
ouerthrowen and destroyed in Galloway and other  
counties thereabouts, Eugenius caused to be re-  
pared; moreover also he repaired sundrie castles in  
those marches, and placed in them garrisons of sol-  
diers, to defend them against all inuasions that  
might happen. Thus continuing his reigne the space  
of fiftie yeares or thereabouts in honorable peace,  
to the great aduancement of the common weale of  
his subjects, he lastly died in the yeare 620, and was  
buried amongst his elders in the Ile of Jona, with  
in the monasterie of Colmechill.

Edelbert bene-  
quid.

Edelbert is  
relied vnto  
his kingdome.

Edelbert  
kingdome.

King Edel-  
bert name.

Edwin.

S. Ebbes  
head.

**Bonifacius** a  
godlike pre-  
cher.

About this time, that reuerend father and bishop Bonifacius Quirinus came forth of Italie into Scotland, to instruct the people in the faith of Christ there. Whether he were pope, and resigning by the papalitie came thus into Scotland (as some haue supposed) or whether he was sent from the pope called Bonifacius that succeeded Saninianus, it is not certainlie knowne; but certeinly it is, as the Scottish writers affirme, that vpon his first comming into Scotland he arrived in the water of Eide, comming on land at the mouth of a little riuer, which divideth the countrie of Colouie from Angus. His name is yet famous amongst the Scots elien vnto this day, for that he traueled through the West part of the land, in preaching and instructing the people to their confirmation in the faith; and erecting diuers churches in the honor of almightie God, which he dedica- ted to the name of saint Peter. And amongst other he built one at the place where he came ash land, an- other at a village called Culline, and passing thre miles from Dundee, and the third at Kellenmoth; where afterwards an house of canons of saint Au- gustines order was builded. At length he came into Rosse, continuing there the residue of his life, and is buried at Kollmarken.

**Polocke** a  
preacher.

**Polocke** were  
preachers in  
those daies.

There was also at the same time amongst the Scots an ancient godlike man named Polocke, who following such rules & doctrine as in his youth he had learned of Brandon that reuerend abbat, he ceased not to exhort the people of Orkney and Argile (in which countries he was most resedent) to flee and forsake their vicious liuing, and to endeavour themselves to imbrace vertue, to the comfort and health of their soules. This Polocke kept continuall companie with the forenamed Bonifacius after his comming into Scotland; and finally died also in Rosse, being about 94 yeares of age, and was buried in the church where Bonifacius lieth, though they of Argile say that his reliques rest among them in the church of Lismore, which is dedicated to his name.

**Ferqu-  
hard.**

**Ferquhard**  
king of Scot-  
land.

**Fiacre** getteth  
himselfe for to  
liue a solitarie  
life in France

After the deceasse of Eugenius, his son Fer- quhard succeeded in his place, for Eugenius had three sonnes, Ferquhard, Fiacre, and Donald. These being appointed by their father to be brought vp with Connane bishop of Sodor (that is, the bi- shop of Orkney) in vertuous discipline, did not altoget- her follow his godlike precepts and lessons. Ferqu- hard and Donald gladly gave eare to him, but they thought his instructions did not much appertene vnto their birth and degree: but Fiacre printing his diuine documents depelle in his heart, determined to forsake all worldlie pompe and dignitie, and to get him some whither farre from home, where he might serue God more frelie without let or inter- ruption of his friends or kinfolke. This being dis- posed, he got vpon him simple apparell, and went ouer into France, where seeking a solitarie place, wheras the bishop of Meaur gaue vnto him a peece of ground, in the which at this day he is worshipped with great deuotion.

There hath gone a tale in that countrie, that no woman might enter into the chappell where he lieth buried; for if anie doe, she hath some mishap that fal- leth vnto hir, as either the losse of sight, priuation of witte, or some such like. As touching the state of the Scottish commonwealth, vnder the gouerne- ment of Ferquhard, the same was quiet inough, & without trouble of outward enemies; but his sub- jects among themselves fell at such diuision, that e- uery part of the realme was full of murder, bur- ning, and other destructions of men and houses, with such spoiling, robbing, reuing, and all kinds of other mischiefs, that no where was any sweetnesse of life or goods: all the which misorders spring, were now

rished and mainteined through the kings owne di- ligence: for he mistaking his office and dutie, was of this opinion, that so long as the nobles and states of his realme were thus ready one to kill an other, there was no likelihood they should haue time to practise anie rebellion against him; and herevpon he rather holpe to further such discord amongst them, than take order for to appease it. But it came to passe by this means, that he was nothing regarded within a while amongst them, so that by means of other arbitrators which they chose by common agre- ment, all matters in controuersie were taken by- ended betwixt them, the king not once made priue thereinto.

At the same time it was noised abroad in the realme, that Ferquhard, besides other his wicked be- haviours, was also infected with the erroneous o- pinions of the Pelagian heresie. Which suspicion was the more increased, for that he used to haue sun- drie Whittish preests in his companie: the which na- tion had bene euer noted with the spot of that dam- nable infection. The nobilitie of the realme moued herewith, summoned him by an herald to come to a counsell, which they had appointed to hold of all the states, that they might there hinder him, if it were true or not which was commonlie reported of him. But he refusing to come at such summons, they assembled together, and besieged him in the castell wherein he had inclosed himselfe; and winning the place, got him into their hands; and immediatlie therevpon committed him to safe keeping. This done, they consulted together for the administration of the realme, whether they should quite depose Ferqu- hard, or restore him to his place. In fine they rest vpon this agreement to send an honorable ambas- sage into France vnto Fiacre, to require him to re- turne home into his countrie, and there to receiue the gouernement of the realme.

Fiacre (as the report goeth) hearing that there were diuers of the Scottish nobilitie comming to- wards him vpon this message, in his prayers des- cribed feruently of almightie God, that it might please him so to worke for him, that he might continue in his contemplatiue life still, and not be occasioned to resort vnto the troubles of the world; which all con- templatiue godlike men ought to abhorre. And euen as he had wished, it came to passe. For when those that were sent vnto him, came to the heremitage wherein he had his lodging, they found him (as ap- peared vnto them) so disfigured with the leprosie, that vpon his earnest refusal to forsake his solitarie life (which he professed to lead as an heremite) for anie worldlie preferment of kinglie gouernement, they were content to returne with that answer, that his infirmities (as they supposed) was such, as was not convenient for him that should haue anie publicke gouernement. This Fiacre had a sister named Si- ra, which hearing of hir brothers vertuous trade of life, came vnto him with a companie of godlie vi- gins, and being of him confirmed in his purposed intent of chastitie, she repaired into Champaigne in France, where she with hir fellowes remained in great holinesse of life, leaving in those parties a worthy memorie not forgotten amongst them thetill this day.

The foresaid ambassadours returning forth of France, declared in what plight of desolentie they had seene Fiacre, and how earnestlie he had refused the offer which they had made vnto him in name of all the states of Scotland. The Scottish nobilitie herevpon assembling together, chose forth foure of the ancientest peeres amongst them, to haue the rule and gouernement of the kingdome, till it were otherwise prouided. These were named by that age,

**Ferquhard**  
maintained  
will becom-

**The desperat  
end of king  
Ferquhard.**

612

**Donald.**  
Donald is  
Scotland.

**King Edwin**  
of Glouc.

**Embolden**  
sent into  
France

**France**  
sent into  
France

**France**

**France**  
sent into  
France

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e named by that  
age,

age, wardens, and had full authoritie to order things  
as seemed them good in all points. In the meane  
time Ferquhard remaining still in prison, and bre  
ed with sundrie diseases, to rid himselfe out of such  
miserie, flue himselfe in the 13 yeare of his reigne;  
and so nothing spared his owne life in the end, which  
had bene the occasion of the losse of so manie other  
mens liues in time of the ciuill discord, that he had  
euer nourished. After this wretched end of Ferqu  
hard, which happened in the yeare of our Lord 632,  
the lords of the land assembled themselves together  
in Argile, about the choosing of a new king, where  
by common consent, Donwald the third sonne of  
Eugenius, being called thither with bishop Conan  
out of the Ile of Man, was inuested king with  
great ioy and triumph.

This Donwald hauing taken on him the roiall  
administration, transforming himselfe into his  
fathers maners, reformed againe into the former  
estate such things as appertained vnto the common  
wealth, and had bene ante wise decayed and mis  
governed by the slothfull negligence of his prede  
cessor Ferquhard, by means whereof he quicklie  
grew into great fauor of his subjects. In the meane  
time Cadwallo king of the Britains, and Penda  
king of those Englishmen which inhabited that part  
of England ancientlie called Mercia, joining their  
powers together against Edwin king of Nor  
thumberland, deppriued him both of life and king  
dome. After this, passing through the whole coun  
trie, and entring into the confines of Ireland, they  
toke a great part of the same by force of arms from  
Hydeus king of the Picts, who in baine had sued  
for aid vnto Donwald king of Scotland, for that  
his vntuall had bene notified more than inough in  
times past. But Donwald being certified of Ed  
wins death, made means vnto Cadwallo king of  
the Britains by his ambassadours, that Cusfred the  
son of Edelstred might be restored vnto his fathers  
kingdome, which Edwin had wrongfullie usurped.

This being granted, Cusfred leauing his brethren  
still in Scotland, came into Northumberland,  
where by authoritie of Cadwallo and Penda he was  
inuested king of Bernicia, that is, of the countrie  
which is now called the marches. For at the same  
time they had diuided the kingdome of Northum  
berland into two kingdomes, appointing Cusfred (as  
is said) to reigne ouer the one called Bernicia, and  
one Strike ouer the other called Deira, a man of  
great wickednesse, as by his works most plainelie  
appeared. For certelie yeares after his aduance  
ment to that dignitie, he found means to marie one  
of his daughters vnto the foresaid Cusfred, persua  
ding the same Cusfred to consent with him in resso  
ring againe the hethenish religion throughout their  
whole dominion, & bitterlie to renounce the christian  
faith, which they had latelie before receiued by the  
instructions of the two bishops Conan & Pauline.  
But they intoid not long felicitie after so wicked  
and most diuillish purpose, for the princes of Albion  
vnder the leading of Cadwallo k. of the Britains,  
and Penda king of Mercia, with a great armie as  
sembled of Saxons, Britains, and Picts, entring  
into Northumberland, and encountering in battell  
with Strike and Cusfred, discomfited their power,  
and toke them prisoners, who being put into a com  
mon prison, flue each other to auoid sharper tortures,  
which by due execution they daile looked for.

Then was the kingdome of Northumberland gi  
uen vnto Donwald brother to Cusfred, both in respect  
of the right which he had thereto, and also of the zeale  
which he bare to the advancement of Christs religi  
on, shewing himselfe in consideration thereof, an  
earnest enimie to his brother Cusfred, and all his

partakers, in so much that in the day of the battell,  
he was one of the forwardest captains against them.  
Vnto this Donwald was sent a Scotilman called  
Corman, to instruct the Northumberland men in  
faith, and after him Aidan, as in the English historie  
ye may read more at large: finally he was slaine  
by Penda king of Mercia, as in the same historie  
appeareth. His death chanced in the third yeare of  
Donwald the Scottish king, who sore lamented the  
same, as of that prince whome he loued right intire  
lie. Neither liued the said king Donwald ante long  
time after the death of his deere friend; for that in  
the fifteenth yeare of his reigne, being got into a  
bote to fish in the water called Lochtaic for his re  
creation, his chance was to be drowned, by reason  
the bote sank under him. Certelie daies after,  
his bodie being found and taken vp, was buried  
amongst his ancestors in Colmekill, in the yeare  
of our Lord 647.

About the same time there liued in France three  
brethren of great holinesse of life, being sonnes vnto  
Whiltan king of Ireland, the which he begot of his  
wife Calghetes, descended of the lineage of the  
kings in Scotland. The names of which three bre  
thren were as followeth, Furcus, Follanus, and  
Altanus. Furcus professing himselfe a monke of  
saint Benets order, passed ouer into France, there  
to set forth and enlarge that profession, and being re  
ceined of king Cloduis, began the foundation of a  
monasterie there called Latnie, in the which he pla  
ced monks of that order, and began to sow in those  
parties the seeds of the gospell, but not without the  
darnell of mens traditions, as Iohn Bale saith in the  
14 centurie of the British writers. His two bre  
thren Follan and Altan followed him ouer into  
France, and both by word and example instructed the  
Frenchmen to embrace the faith of Christ, and to re  
nounce the religion of the gentiles.

So that it seemeth as yet, such as professed them  
selves to be monks, and men of religion (as they  
were called) had not left off to labour in the Lords  
vineyard, spending their time in reading the scrip  
tures, to instruct and teach others, and to exercise  
praier and thanksgiving: so as no small number by  
their wholesome doctrine and good example were  
converted to the christian faith. Follan at length  
was martyred in a monasterie which he had founded  
in France called Fosse. About the same time there  
was also a contention amongst them in Albion for  
keeping of the Easter day, the Scottish bishops and  
some of the Britains varieng in their account from  
all other prelates of the west: but at length through  
persuasion of the pope they confessed their error (if it  
ought so to be taken) and consented to celebrate that  
feast according to the account of other nations.  
These things chanced in the daies of king Don  
wald.

After the deceasse of Donwald, his nephew Fer  
quhard the sonne of his brother, the other Fer  
quhard, succeeded in gouernement of the realme, a  
man of quicke and liuelie spirit, but inclined neuer  
thelesse rather vnto euill than vnto good, speciallie af  
ter he had attained the crowne, insonmuch as it was  
commonlie spoken of him, that from a liberall and  
most gentle humane person, he was suddenlie chan  
ged into an insatiable and most cruell monster. Be  
fore he came to the crowne he was liberall beyond  
measure. There was no gentleman that wanted  
monie, either to redeeme his lands ingaged, or to  
bestow in dowry for the marriage of his daughter,  
but if he had wherewith to helpe him, he might ac  
count himselfe sure thereof. Priests and other de  
uout persons, speciallie such as were poore and in any  
necessitie, he oftentimes most bountifullie relieued  
daily.

I 2. H.B.

Donwald  
the Scottish  
king drowned  
645. H.B.Anno 854.  
Higebertus,  
Folensie mo  
nasterium,  
Strife about  
the celebra  
ting of the  
feast of EasterFer  
quhard.  
Ferquhard  
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that name cre  
ated king of  
Scotland.  
Ferquhard  
being king  
was courteous  
before he  
was king, he  
showed libe  
ralitie.

to their great ease and comfort. To be brieſe, ſuch a readineſſe was in him to helpe all men, that (as was thought) he could better be contented to want himſelfe, than to ſee other men haue need of anie thing that was in his poſſeſſion, ſo that all men iudged him moſt wortheie of all princelie authoritie. But after he was once placed in the kingle ſeat, he ſo altered his conditions, that men could not but wonder much therat. Where befoze he was knowne to be liberall, well deſpoſed, righteous, ſober, and a reformer of offences, he was now ſo forth with become couetous, twiſhed towards God, a tormentor of the iuſt and righteous people, and inſatiable in all vnlawfull affecti- ons. What which befoze time he had giuen vnto anie of the nobilitie, he now without all ſhame moſt vn- courteouſlie demanded to be to him reſtored, alledg- ing that he did but lend it for the time. And ſuch as went about to delay reſtitution, pretending anie ex- cuſe, he cauſed their goods to be confiscate, and alſo their bodies to be committed to priſon. And ſo then he found means without cauſe or matter to put ſome of them to cruell death. Such of the prelates as hee vnderſtood to be wealtheie, he reſſed not till he had plucked one matter or other vnto them, whereby they were ſure to forfeit all their treaſure vnto his coffers, that neuer might be filled.

The bishops of the realme, namelie those two reuerend fathers, Colman and Finnan, persecuting such wickednesse in the prince, blamed him thar pelie sundrie times for the same : and at length because they saw he regarded not their admonishments, he was by them excommunicated : whereof he so little passed, that when other went onto the church to heare diuine seruice, he would get him to the woods and forrests to hunt the hart, or some other game. Yetther were such wanting as were willing to keepe him companie : so readie is the nature of man at all times to follow licentious libertie. He used also, contrary to the custome of his countrie, to eat three meales a day, hauing such number of dishes and abundance of delicate fare, as the like had not bene used at anie time before those daies in that realme : and all to serue his greedie appetite, together with thers that followed his companie.

Of wines & other strong drincks he would part-  
cipate abundantlye at all times and places, without  
regard of health or honor, being exceedingly giuen  
vnto most beaustie drunkenness. He customably vs-  
ed to sit at supper till it were verie late in the night,  
hauing his banketting dishes and cuppes to come in  
one after another, till he were so mistempered, that  
being laid to sleepe, he would freight vomit out such  
beaustie gorges, as he had in such most gluttonous  
wise receiued. Herevnto he was so drowned in the  
filthie lust of the flesh, that he defiled his owne  
daughters : and for that his wife was about to dis-  
suade him from such villanie, he slue her with his  
owne hands. Thus continuing in his wickednesse  
certeine yeeres, at length the nobles began to con-  
spire against him, so that they would haue deuised a  
meane how to haue rid him out of the way, if bishop  
Colman had not forbidden them that practise, pro-  
phesying as it were by diuine inspiration, that Fer-  
nabard shoulde detestling his owne wicked doings,  
shoulde shortly be punished by the hands of almighty  
God, according to his desertings.

And sure his words proued true : for within a mo-  
neth after, as the same Fierquhar followed in chafe  
of a wolfe, the beast being all enraged by the pur-  
sute of the hounds, flue backe vpon the king, and  
snatching at him, did wound and bite him right soe  
in one of his sides, immediatlie wherevpon, whether  
through anguish of his hurt, or by some other occasi-  
on, he fell into a most filthy discale : for a venomous

humor with a soft consuming heat, did so eat and  
wast his members and lims, that a lothsome sight  
it was to behold the same: for out of his legs, feet,  
and yssue parts, there issued filthie corruption and  
matter, with so vile a fauour, that bunneth might any  
creature abide it. His bellie was swollen, as though  
he had bene infected with the broyle, and therto was  
it verie hard withall. Finally lice bred so abundan-  
tly in his secret parts, that he might in no wise be rid-  
de of cleaneled of them.

At length, when he had bene hered in this sort for the space of two yeeres together, or thereabouts, he began to call himselfe to remembrance, and to consider how this punishment was twofolke fallen vpon him for his sinnes, and therevpon causing bishop Colman to be fetched vnto him, being as then about 20 miles off, he confessed vnto him the whole summe of his offences, declaring himselfe right penitent for the same. Colman reioysing hereat, did not onelie release him of the sentence of excommunication, pronounced againstt him; but also willed him to be of comfort, and to put his confidence in the mercie of almightie God, who was readie to receiue all such sinners as turned vnto him with repentant hearts: so that being put in hope by these & the like words of Colman to haue forgiveness of his sinnes, with bitter teares he besought God to haue mercie vpon him: and humbly receiuing the sacrament, got him into simple clothing of heare and sackcloth. Then causing himselfe to be bozne into the next fields, he there yeldd vp the ghost in the presence of Colman, who (according to the dutie of a godd ghostlie father) was still about him, in exhorting him to committ himselfe wholie to the mercie of God, & not to doubt but he should be sure to attaine the same. Thus fiercequard ended his life, in the 8 yeere after he began his reigne ouer the Scottisshmen, and in the yeere of Grace 664.

In this Fferquhards daies bishop Aidan departed this world, and then was Finnan sent for forth of Scotland, to take vpon him the gouernment of the church of Lindesferne, where the bishops of Northumberland as then had their see. This Finnan was well learned, and no lesse renowned for his vertuous life than his predecessour Aidan. He died anon after the decesse of Fferquhard, and then was Colman remoued vnto that see of Lindesferne, who with his vertuous instructions and examples of holie life conuerted a great multitude of Saxons vnto the true worshipping of the liuing God. And amongst other was Penda sonne to the former Penda, king of Mercia. There be that write how Penda the father also was baptised by this Colman: and that the same Colman travelled through the most part of all the English prouinces, setting forth the word of life amongst the people, purchasing him great fame for his worthie merits. He came to the church of Lindesferne in the daies of Oswald that succeeded the last mentioned Fferquhard.

THIS Waltowin was the sonne of king Don-  
wald: and after that Iferquhard was dead and  
buried in Colmekill, he was inuested king: which  
function he right sufficientlie discharged, tending to  
mainteine peace with his neighbors the Britas, Sax-  
ons and Britains: giuing thereby a good example to  
be followed of his subiects. Vereto he had a speciall  
care for the administration of the lawes in due forme  
and order, causing offenders to be punished, that o-  
ther harmelesse persons might liue in quiet, so that  
by this means all things in the beginning of his  
reigne had prosperous successe. Afterwards there  
fell no small discord betwixt them of Lennor and  
Argile: for first through brailing among the hearb-  
men, their maisters made a strife, whereof rose such

Gifts are re-  
quired as a  
loane.

Ho, what a  
pretense coue-  
tousnes hath.

For their  
goods sake  
prelats are  
troubled.

The king is  
excommuni-  
cated.

The king is  
hunting.

He was a  
glutton.

A drunkard  
he was also.

**A prophesie.**

The king is  
sicke.

The Westerne  
 Men take  
 part with Br-  
 gile, Galoway  
 with Lennox.

Aldwin  
 went about  
 to punish  
 the author of  
 this commo-  
 tion.  
 The captains

became friends  
together, and  
led into the  
Isles.  
The Island-  
men appea-

hend the cap-  
strings of the re-  
beig.

He buildeth  
the church of  
the abbey of  
Colmekill.

A great pesti-  
lence & death  
vpon earth.

Scotland  
was free of  
the pestilence  
and plague.

Whorehouse  
the mother of  
sickness.

Colman erected a monastere.

Maldwin the  
Scottish king  
strangled in  
his bed.

27

did so eat and  
loathsome sight  
his legs, feet,  
corruption and  
eth might any  
len, as though  
and there was  
so abundant  
no wife be rid

in this sort for  
reabouts, he  
ce, and to con-  
ulic fallen up-  
causing bishop  
as then about  
whole summe  
right penitent  
did not onelic  
unification, pro-  
d him to be of  
the mercie of  
ecclesie all such  
entant hearts:  
e like words of  
sinnes, with  
e mercie upon  
anent, got him  
hecloth. Then  
next sikkes, be-  
ice of Colman,  
ghostlie father  
him to commit  
, and not to doubt  
me. Thus fter-  
after he began  
in the pere of

664  
Aidan depar-  
n sent for forth  
ouernment of  
nshopp of For-  
This Finian  
returned for his  
dan. He died a-  
, and then was  
indefinite, who  
ramples of ho-  
of Scarons un-  
God. And a-  
e former Pen-  
opite how Pen-  
e Colman: and  
rough the most  
etting forth the  
purchasing him  
He came to the  
paldwin that  
ard.

of king Dong-  
was dead and  
ed king: which  
ed, Audieng to  
the Pias, Sar-  
god example to  
e had a speciall  
es in due forme  
nished, that o-  
quiet, so that  
ginning of his  
terwards there  
of Lennor and  
long the heard  
hereof rose such  
deadlie

deadlie enmitie betwixt the parties, by reason that  
the inhabitants of the westerne Isles aided them of  
Argile, and the people of Galloway the other of Len-  
nor: that if the king had not come into those parties  
to appease the businesse, and to haue punished the of-  
fenders, there had ensued much manslaughter, vnto  
the great danger of the utter ruine of those coun-  
tries.

The king at his arrivall amongst them minded  
not to pursue the people that followed their cap-  
teins, but rather the captives and authors of this tu-  
mult themselves. Whereof they having knowledge,  
made an attouement together, being enforced there-  
to of necessitie, so to avoid the prepared punishment  
demanded by the king against them. And forthwith  
they fled ouer into the Isles, but the inhabitants  
doubting the kings displeasure, would not consent  
to succour them, but contrariwise took them and de-  
livered them to the kings officers, whereupon they  
were safely conueied to the places where they were  
borne, and there suffered their deserved execution.  
Thus that commotion vnbushelie begun, was  
speedie appeased, and the name of paldwin by rea-  
son hereof so feared amongst his subjects, that dur-  
ing his reigne no such trouble chanced in anie part  
of all his dominions.

After this he went ouer into Iona or Colmekill,  
where perceiuing the abbey church, wherein his an-  
cestors had their sepultures, to be in decaye, he caused  
it to be pulled quite downe, and workemen forth-  
with set in hand to build it vp againe, at his owne  
proper costes and charges. Such speed also was bled  
about this worke, that before he departed out of this  
life, the same was finished, and dedicated vnto our  
Sauour Christ, and saint Colme. About the same time  
there reigned throughout the most part of the world  
a sore and grievous pestilence, consuming a greater  
number of men (before it ceased) than there were  
left alive: for it continued the whole space of three  
peres together. At length, through common prayer,  
fastings, giuing of almes, & other vertuous works,  
the wrath of almightie God was pacified, so that  
such great mortallitie by his merittfull appointment  
did cease and giue ouer.

The Scottismen were free from that infection as  
well at that time, as also for manie peres after. Yet  
ther were they in manner troubled with anie sharpe  
feuers, or agues, till time that omitting the ancient  
and whole some sparentie of diet, which their fathers  
in times past had bled, they fell vnto riotous banquet-  
ting and excessive feasting, whereby they became sub-  
iect vnto all kinds of diseases, through malicious hu-  
mours growing therupon. Colman bishop of Lindis-  
ferne seeing wonderful numbers of Englishmen  
perish daily of that contagious sickness, by licence  
of the king, to auoid the present danger of death,  
which by fasting there he saw no means how to es-  
cape, returned into Scotland with his disciples,  
and after getting him ouer into one of the westerne  
Isles, he erected a monastirie there, wherein he re-  
mained during the residue of his life.

After the departure of Colman forth of For-  
thumberland, the people of that countie joining  
with the Pias, made sundrie roads into the Scottish  
borders: which intreatie when paldwin reuenged  
with more displeasure downe to them of Northum-  
berland, than the Scottismen had receiued, it caused  
the Pias and Northumbers to prepare themselves  
with all speed to haue made sharpe warres against  
the Scots: but in the meane time paldwin died,  
being strangled in his bed one night by his owne  
wife, vpon suspicion of gelousie, for his vniawful  
company keeping with an other woman. The next  
day after she was apprehended with those that were

prinie to the deed, and burnt openlie vpon an hill, ac-  
cording as she had most iustlie deserved. paldwin  
was thus murdered in the pere after the birth of  
our Sauour 684, and in the 25 pere of his owne  
reigne.

After him succeeded Eugenius the fifth of that  
name, nephew to paldwin, as sonne to his bro-  
ther Dongard. About the same time Eugenius king  
of Scots sent with all diligence his ambassadors vnto  
to Egfred king of Northumberland, to make him  
vnto peace. Egfred having heard the ambassadors  
which were thus sent, feared as though he had bene  
willing to haue had peace, where he minded nothing  
more than to haue warres with the Scots, so haue  
as his prouision should be once ready, and haue vpon  
granted to them a truce for the space of 11 moneths,  
in which meane time he might make his preparati-  
on. Eugenius having some secret knowledge of Eg-  
freds purpose, prouided likewise for the warres on  
his part: but for that he would not seeme to giue the  
occasion, he streitlie commanded that none of his  
subjects should be so hardie, as to attempt anie thing  
founding to the breach of the truce.

In the tenth moneth Egfred hauing all his pre-  
paration ready, sent a companie of his men of war  
into the Scottish borders, to fetch some bootie, where-  
by the peace might be broken. Those that were thus  
sent, fetched not onelic from thence a great number  
of cattell, but also the diuers of the borderers that  
went about to rescue their beasts and cattell. Im-  
mediatlie hereupon were sent ambassadors from  
Eugenius to demand restitution: but they not with-  
out much ado, after certaine daies attendance, got  
audience, and boldly declaring vnto Egfred their  
message, received for answer a plaine publication of  
warre. For he alleging how the Scots, since the  
truce was granted, had sundrie times fetched bootie  
out of the confines of his dominions, and therfore  
had well deserved farre more damage than as yet  
they had receiued, whereupon he minded not to con-  
tinue friendship with them that knew not how to  
keepe their heres from robbing and stealing from  
their neighbours: so that he commanded them to  
declare vnto their king, that within eight daies af-  
ter, he should seeke for open warre at the hands of  
him and other his allies.

Eugenius receiving this answer from Egfred,  
besought God, with the other onelic sought to dis-  
late the peace, that the vengeance might light vpon  
his owne head, that had thus giuen the occasion.  
Wherewith gathering his power together, he repa-  
red into Galloway, into the which he had knowledge  
that his enemies would first enter. But before he  
could get thither, a great armie of Englishmen  
were come already into that countie, and had be-  
sieged a strong castell called Downhake, the chiefe  
fortresse in those partes of all Galloway. And yet  
Egfred might winne the same, he was constrained  
to raise his siege, and to march forth to encounter  
with Eugenius, who haden fall towards him. They  
met nere to the banks of the water of Lewis, as  
then being verie deepe, by reason it was raised with  
abundance of raine which lately before had fallen,  
where they fought a verie sore and bloody battell: so  
the Scots had vowed neuer to giue ground to the e-  
nemies, so long as anie life remained in their breasts.

At the first there was no great advantage per-  
ceiued on either side, the kings, according to the cu-  
sties of valiant captains, exhorting their people to  
sticke to it manfully: but in the meane time, cer-  
taine bands of Egfreds part getting themselves to  
the side of an hill, gaue the looking on, without con-  
ning downe at all to aid their friends: which man-  
ner the residue of his people perceiuing, doubted of  
some

For westerne  
Isles take  
the party of  
the Salloway  
and Lennor.

paldwin  
went about  
to punish  
the author of  
the commo-  
tion.  
The captives  
were friends  
together, and  
demanded the  
king.  
The Iland-  
ers appeare  
to be the cap-  
tives of the re-  
bels.

He buildeth  
the church of  
Colmekill.

He giveth  
pride to the  
ghost.

A great pesti-  
lence death  
his earth.

He send  
his fre of  
dependence  
the page.

He sendeth  
the messenger  
of Lennor.

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He sendeth  
the messenger  
of Lennor.

Eugenius.  
Eugenius the  
fifth.

Egfred king  
of Northum-  
berland.

A truce gran-  
ted.

Eugenius  
his comman-  
dement.

The truce  
broken.

And ambassa-  
dors sent by Eng-  
land vnto  
Egfred for  
restitution.

Egfreds an-  
swer.

Eugenius  
gathereth an  
armie.

The castell of  
Downhake be-  
sieged.

King Egfred  
slaine.  
See more  
hereof in  
England.

Twentie thou-  
sand Saxons  
slaine.

Wuduus  
king of the  
Picts.

Inuasion in-  
to Northum-  
berland.

Cuthbert bi-  
shop.

A slaughter  
amongst the  
Picts.

Egfred slaine  
by Picts and  
not by Scots.  
Eugenius the  
first died.  
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Eugenius the  
first succedeth  
Eugenius the  
first.

A league be-  
tweene the  
Scots and  
Northumber-  
land men.  
Truce taken  
with the  
Picts.

some treason denised against them, and thereupon began to shrinke backe. Egfred aduised therof, came amongst the foremost ranks of his battell, desiring the Englishmen in no wise to giue place to their enemies: and for that daies seruice he promised them high rewards, and all the pleasure that afterward he might be able waies able to shew or do them. But whilest he was thus buslie occupied in comforting & exhorting his men to fight stoutlie, he himselfe chanced to be wounded in the face with an arrow so force, that immediatlie he fell downe and died in the place. The Englishmen discouraged with this mischance, were quickly thereupon put to flight and chased, a great number of them toke the river so to escape the enemies hands, of whome the more part being pressed downe by weight of their armor, were drowned in the raging waues of the flood, the residue by casting from them their armors and clothes, escaped by swimming ouer to the other side, but those that made their course by land, being cumbered in mires and mosses, also amongst streits, rocks, mounteins and clifles, were overtaken by the Scots and slaine. Few of that number escaped awaie in safetie, so that there died in the fight and chase at the point of twentie thousand Saxons with their king the foresaid Egfred: of the Scots were slaine, besides those that were hurt and wounded, not manie above six thousand. By this overthrow the force of those Saxons or Englishmen of Northumberland was not onelie fore diminished, but also of such other Saxons, the which in no small number were come vnto Egfred, to aid him against the Scots in that tourne.

Wuduus the Pictish king having knowledge of this slaughter, which had chanced betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, was nothing soie, as one that was friend to neither part, and now perceiuing that the Northumberland men were so weakened, that they were not able to resist an inuasion, he entred with his whole power which he had raised, into Northumberland, fore afflicting the inhabitants, in so much that he had vndoubtedlie either subdued that countrie whole vnto his dominion, either els utterlie destroyed it, had not the deuout praieres of S. Cuthbert (who then held the see of Lindesferne) preferred the people from that present desolation. For at length after the Picts had raged a while through the countrie, they chanced to fall at variance amongst themselves for parting of the spoile, and buckling together by the eares, there was an huge slaughter made amongst them. And this was the cause, that contenting themselves with those countries about Beruolke, ancientlie called Deira, out of the which they expelled the Saxons, they abstained from all the residue, as not willing to deale withall. Neither were the Saxons of Northumberland, being thus scourged, able to recover their former forces againe, of manie yeeres after ensuing.

Here is to be noted, that whereas the Scottish writers ascribe the victorie of that battell, wherein Egfred was slaine, vnto their king Eugenius, Beda which then liued, declareth that the Picts were those that fought with him and slue him. Finallie, Eugenius departed this life in the 4<sup>th</sup> yeere of his reigne, and after the incarnation 688. After Eugenius the first, succedeth Eugenius the first, who was the sonne of Sferquhard, and by perswasion of bishop Adannan (with whome he was brought up) & of S. Cuthbert, he entred into league with the Northumberland men: but he would at no hand ioyne in amitie with the Picts, notwithstanding he was contented to take truce with them. But when he saw the same oftentimes by them violated & broken, to the great perill, damage, and hinderance of his subiects, he caused the warre to be proclaimed, and sent them his

defiance by an herald. Hothobrett, through the earnest praieres (as is supposed) of the two bishops, Cuthbert and Adannan (who had laboured earnestlie to haue brought those people to a quietnesse) this warre continued without anie notable encounter, saue onelie by light incurfions (wherein no great bloodshed chanced) euen vnto the death of Eugenius, which fell in the yeere of our Lord 697, and in the tenth yeere of his owne reigne. He was buried together with the other Eugenius, that lastlie reigned afore him, in the Ile of Colmehill, amongst their predecessors.

Manie wonderfull visions were seene that yeere in Albion, as the Scottish chronicles make mention. In the river of Yumber there appeared in the sight of a great multitude of men, a number of ships under saile, as though they had bene furnished forth for the warres. In the church at Camelton there was heard a noise, as it had bene the clattering of armor. Milke was turned into blood in diuers places in Dialand, and cheefe conuerted into a bloudie masse or cake. Cozne as it was gathered in the harvest time appeared bloudie. In the furthermost parts of Scotland, it rained blood. These sights being seene of some, & declared to other, caused a wonderfull feare in the peoples hearts, imagining some great alteration to ensue.

Ambirkeleth the nephew, or (as some say) the son of Eugenius the first, succedeth Eugenius the first in the government of the realme; who after his attaining to the crowne, shortly changed the rebwith his manners and god disposition: for where before he shewed himselfe to be an earnest defender of the poore and simple, that all men indged that he would haue proued a patron of all vertue, he contrarie to that expectation, became suddenlie a patron of all vices and couetousnesse, delighting in nothing but in following his sensuall lusts, as in taking excess of meats and drincks, and wallowing in fleshlie concupiscence of lecherous lust. To be briefe, when he toke nothing in hand worthie of his estate and degree, it was thought that of necessitie the forme of the publike gouernement must needs thorough his negligent slothfulnesse fall into decaye and ruine: whereupon Garnard king of the Picts, supposing he had convenient time to reuenge all former injuries receiued at the Scottishmens hands, gathered a great host of men, and with the same entring into the Scottish confines, made verie pitifull slaughter of the inhabitants.

At length Ambirkeleth (being fore blamed of his nobles for his negligence, in suffering his subiects thus to be destroyed) gathered an armie togither, & with no small feare to shew his head amongst his people (as those princes which through their owne default haue their people in mistrust, doe cuer stand in doubt of their owne safeties, and namelie when anie present danger beginneth to appeere) forth he goeth without anie great god order (God wot) for what might be looked for at his hands, which was so overwhelmed with all kind of excessive gluttonie, immoderate surfeiting, in satiable lecherie, and delisting altogether in slothfull ease, and sluggish idlenesse, the root from whence all such filthy vices taking their beginnings, are nourished & maintained.

To conclude, he liued as one that toke no manner of regard to that which chiefly appertained to his calling: whereby now when he should come into the field, he was neither able through lacke of practise to take paines to see things done as was behouefull of himselfe, neither yet to giue order to others how the same ought to be done. Neuer thelesse marching forward with his armie, he came to the water of Tay, and nere to the banks thereof, he pitched downe his tents, where after he had supped, he was eccasioned to

warre with  
out anie  
table in  
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The death  
of  
Eugenius  
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warre with  
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The death  
of  
Ambirkeleth.

Eugenius  
the  
first.

Eugenius the  
first is  
slain by  
the king  
of Scots.

Eugenius the  
first is  
slain by  
the king  
of Scots.

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of Scots.

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warre with  
one onlie  
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ter.  
The death of  
Eugenius the  
first.  
697

wonderful  
visions came.

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genius the  
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upposing he  
er injuries  
gathered a  
tring into  
ll slaughter

Ambirke-  
leth.  
Ambirkeleth  
succeedeth  
Eugenius the  
first.

The king  
turned from  
virtue into  
all licentious-  
ness.

Garnard his  
of the Scots  
invaded  
Scotland.

uned of his  
ng his sub-  
vintie tog-  
ad amongst  
their owne  
o ever stand  
melie when  
ere) forth  
(God wot)  
which was  
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ie, and de-  
ugghly idle-  
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maintained,  
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iter of Day,  
d downe his  
s occasioned  
to

Ambirkeleth  
gathered an  
armie against  
the Scots.

Polenele the  
brother and  
nephew of  
Eugenius the  
first.

The death of  
Ambirkeleth.

Eugenius.

Eugenius the  
first is re-  
surrected of  
God.

Scots come  
to the  
battle.

Coming to  
warre.

Eugenius  
succeedeth  
the husband

Coming to  
warre of  
Garnard.

By marriage  
the Scots  
were ban-

An example of  
the prince.

Coming to  
warre by  
the Scots.

to go forth of his lodging to do the necessities of  
nature, and being onelie accompanied with two of  
his seruants that were groomes of his chamber, he  
was suddenly shot through the head with an arrow,  
but from whence it came, or who shot it, there was  
never anie knowne that could tell. Howbeit, the  
king immediatly died of the hurt, after he had reig-  
ned not fullie two yeeres. He was buried in Colme-  
kill amongst his noble ancestors.

The lords and peeres of the land not greatlie la-  
menting the death of such a monstrous person,  
because the armie for what of a goernor should not  
fall into ante danger; they elected Eugenius the se-  
uenth, being the brother of the late foresaid Ambir-  
keleth, to succeed as king in the goernment of the  
realme; a prince of verie comelie port & personage,  
neither destitute of honorable qualities and good dis-  
position of mind. Being once proclaimed king, he  
caused generall musters to be taken of the whole ar-  
mie, and perceiving by surueie thereof, that he was  
not able to match with his enemies he found means  
to conclude a peace with the Welsh king, pledges  
being deliuered on either side, for redress to be had  
of all wrongs and injuries that had bene committed  
betwixt them. The Scots returning home; and the  
Scottish armie dissolved, Eugenius with the most  
part of the nobilitie departed to Argile, where he re-  
trained his inuerture of the kingdom, sitting by in  
the stone of marble, according to the custome and  
manner.

The bond of peace begun betwixt the kings, was  
the more stronglie confirmed by meanes of alliance,  
Spontana the daughter of king Garnard being co-  
pled in marriage with Eugenius: the first yeere  
following being great with child; was thutthered  
one night within the kings bed-chamber, in deed of  
the king himselfe, by two brethren of the countie of  
Athole, who moued to displeasure for their fathers  
death, had conspired to murder the king, and had  
slaine him in deed; had he not through his god hap-  
laden forth of his owne chamber the same night;  
Eugenius being suspected of the murder, and euill  
spoken of for the same amongst his subiects, was at  
length with great danger of life and honor; enforced  
to make answer by wate of arraignment for clearing  
of himselfe, before the nobles of his realme, appoint-  
ted as competent iudges in that case: so greatlie be-  
loved was Spontana amongst all the degrees of  
the Scottish nation. But in the end being found gilt-  
lesse of the crime (for at the time that iudgement  
should haue passed, the offenders were apprehended  
and brought in) he was acquit, to the great reioicing  
of all honest men. Those that had done the deed, were  
condemned and hanged by naked on gibbets by the  
heels, together with certeine cruell mastiue dogs,  
the which might so deuour them.

But Eugenius being thus cleared of all former  
suspicion, minded to haue bene reneged on those  
that had falslie accused him. Howbeit through the  
goodlie admonishments of that reuerend father A-  
daman, he qualified his displeasure. After this, gi-  
uing his mind to the advancement of religion and  
politike goernment of his subiects, he ordeined  
that the histories of his ancestors should be written  
in bookes and volumes, that posteritie might haue to  
read the same for example sake. These monuments  
he also appointed to be kept and reserved in the ab-  
beie of Jona, now called Colmekill, for a perpetuall  
memoirie; and such as should write the same, to re-  
maine and haue livingz there in the abbey. After-  
ward, such spirituall promotions as he perceived to be  
to meane and tender for the maintenance of the mi-  
nister that should serue the cure, he caused to be aug-  
mented in such wise as was thought sufficient. He

concluded a league with the Saxons and Picts, and  
observed the same during his life, which he ended at  
Abernethie, when he had reigned about 17 yeeres,  
whereof the last fell in the yeere after the incarnation  
of our Saviour 717, the 15 indiction. His death was  
greatlie lamented, both of his lords and commons,  
as they that interlie loued him for his noble and  
most princelie qualities.

A little before his death, he betoke the possession  
of his kingdom into Pordache that succeeded  
him. This Pordache was the nephew of Eugenius  
the seuenth, by his brother Ambirkeleth; who as he  
was knowne to be of a gentle, meeke, and liberall  
nature, before his advancement to the crowne, so he  
shewed himselfe to be the verie same man during  
the whole course of all his naturall life, after he had  
attained to the same. About all things he wished a  
generall peace to continue amongst all the princes  
of Albion, and thereupon for his part establishing a  
peace with the Picts, Britains, and all the English  
kings, he firmelie kept euerie article therein contei-  
ned. In those daies (as S. Beda doth testifie) foure  
seuerall people lived in peace and quietnesse within  
the bounds of Albion, though differing in manners,  
language, lawes, and ordinances: Saxons whome  
he called Englishmen, Britains, Scots, and Picts.  
His words are these that follow.

The nation of the Picts at this time is in league  
with the Englishmen, and gladlie is partaker of  
the diuine peace and vertue with the catholike  
church. Those Scots which inhabit Britaine, con-  
tending themselves with their owne bounds, go a-  
bout to practise no deceitfull traines, nor fraudulent  
deuises against the Englishmen. The Britains,  
though for the most part through a familiar hatred  
doe impugn the English nation, and the state of  
the whole catholike church, observing not rightlie  
the feast of Easter, besides other naughtie blages,  
yet both the diuine power and humane force vertelie  
resisting them, they are not able in neither behalfe  
to attaine unto their purposed intentions; as they  
which though partlie free, yet in some behalfe are  
thrall and mancipat to the subiection of the English-  
men: which Englishmen now in acceptable peace  
and quietnesse of time, manie amongst them of  
Northumberland, as well of the nobilitie as other,  
lateng away armour and weapon, applie themselves  
to the reading of holie scripture, more desirous to  
be in houses of vertuous conuersation, than to ex-  
ercise feats of warre. What will come thereof, the  
age that followeth shall perceive and behold. With  
these words doth Beda end his historie, continued  
till the yeare 734, in the which yeare Pordache the  
Scottish king ended his life.

He repaired sundrie churches and religious hou-  
ses, which being defaced with violence of the eni-  
mies invasions in time of warre, had not bene re-  
edified by his ancestors. But amongst other, he  
bestowed much cost upon the church where the bodie  
of S. Martin lieth, in the towne ancientlie called  
Candida Casa, & now Whitterne or Whitterne.  
Saint Beda calleth that place Pictminia, and the  
bishop which at the same time held the church there,  
he nameth Ada, auouching how he was the first that  
was bishop thereof after the daies of saint Martin.  
Which if it be true, it must needs be that afterwards  
some vacation happened in that see for a time, sith it  
is notified in the Scottish histories, that the westerne  
Ales, Galloway, and other regions nere adjoining,  
were subiect unto the bishop of Sodor (whose see is  
in the Ile of Man) unto the daies of Malcolme the  
third, who restored rather than ordeined the bishops  
see in Candida Casa againe, after such vacation as  
before is specified.

Eugenius the  
seuenth depa-  
rth out of this  
life.  
716. H.B.

Mordack.  
Pordache  
succeedeth  
Eugenius the  
seuenth.

A longer of  
peace.

Peace tho-  
rough out all  
the land of  
Albion.

The testimo-  
nie of Beda.

734.  
Pordach en-  
ded his life  
the same yeare  
that saint Be-  
da made an  
end of his hi-  
storie.

Candida Ca-  
sa now called  
Whitterne.

But

*Ethfne.*  
Ethfne suc-  
ceededeth Mor-  
dake.

A peaceable  
prince.

Four gou-  
ernors under  
the king.

Unstut go-  
uernment.

Donald of the  
Ales mainte-  
neth robbers.

The oppres-  
sion of the  
commons of  
Galloway.

Mordake the  
kings lieue-  
nant beareth  
with offen-  
ders.

The decease  
of Ethfne,  
762. H. B.

*Eugenius.*  
Eugenius the  
eight in-  
uested king of  
Scots.  
Donald of the  
Ales appe-  
hended.

Donald and  
his complices  
put to death.

But now to returne touching the gouernment-  
of the Scottish kingdome, I find that after the  
decease of Mor-dake last remembred, his nephew na-  
med Ethfne, the sonne of the seventh Eugenius,  
succeeded in the state: a man naturallie inclined vn-  
to peace and maintenance of iustice. The league  
which his predecessors Eugenius and Mor-dake had  
kept with their neighbors the Britains, English-  
men and Picts, he duclie likewise obserued. His  
chiefe studie was to purge his realme of all such as  
were knowne to be open barrettoes and offenders  
in anie wise, against the peace and common quiet  
of his subiects; so that causing sundrie notable exam-  
ples of iustice to be executed vpon such euill doers,  
he was had in such reuerend dread amongst his  
subiects, that none of them durst once whisper anie  
euill of him. Neither had they verelie anie cause so  
to do, while he looked to the administration himselfe.

But after he was once fallen into age, he appoi-  
nted foure peeres in his realme to haue the chiefe go-  
uernance vnder him; as Donald the treasurer of  
Argile, Collane of Athole, and Mor-dake of Galloway  
his lieutenants, and Contrath the thane of  
Murrey land. These hauing the procuracion of all  
things touching the gouernment of the realme, be-  
sed not themselves so vprightlie in manie points as  
they ought to haue done; but winked now and then  
at faults & trespasses committed by their kinsfolks  
and alies, permitting the nobilitie to liue according  
to their old accustomed manner of licentious liber-  
tie, to the small ease or commoditie of the other in-  
feriour states. Donald of the westerne Ales, a man  
of goodlie personage, but of disposition inclining to  
all naughtinesse, maintained a great number of  
robbers and spoilers of the countrie, liuing onelie  
vpon rauenine. For looke what they wanted, they  
would not faile to catch it, if it were in anie place as  
broad where they might late hands on it; so that all  
the husbandmen and commons of Galloway, in  
which countrie they most haunted, were brought in  
to wonderfull thraldome and miserie.

Neither did Mor-dake the kings lieutenant there,  
go about to chastise such insolent misdemeanors,  
either for that he was of Donalds alliance, either  
else priuie to his doings, and partaker of the spoile.  
The people hereby vexed with continuall iniuries;  
brought manie pitifull complaints before Mor-dake,  
who nothing regarded their lamentable lutes and  
supplications, but the more they complained, the  
worse they were handled. Neither was there anie  
hope of redresse or amendment, till Eugenius the  
eight was admitted to the kinglie administration  
after the death of king Ethfne, who in the latter  
end of his daies continuallie being sicke and diseased,  
could not attend to take order for the publike go-  
uernment, by reason whereof such wilfull misdoers  
infused. He died in the yeare of our Lord 764, af-  
ter he had continued his reigne ouer the Scottish  
men the space of thirtie yeares, his bodie being bu-  
ried in Colmekill with all funerall obsequies.

His successor, the foresaid Eugenius the eight  
that was the sonne of king Mor-dake, was in-  
uested king in Argile with such pompe and cere-  
monies as in that case appertained, and immediatlie  
thereupon he halsted forth to catch Donald of the  
Ales, not resting till at length he had caught him,  
though that came not to passe without some losse of  
his people. After he had taken both him and his chie-  
fest complices, he put them openlie to death; neither  
so satisfied, he caused Mor-dake to be arraigned, who  
confessing himselfe partlie guiltie of such things as  
were laid to his charge for mainteining of the fore-  
said Donald, he likewise suffered death, and his  
goods being valued and diuided into parts, were be-

stowed amongst the commons of Galloway, in re-  
compence of such losses, as though his contriued  
falshood they had susteined. Also he did put Donald,  
Collan, and Contrath to their fines, for that they did  
suffer Donald to rob & spoile without chastisement.

Through which causing of iustice thus to be execu-  
ted, in reliefe of his commons, he was him town-  
derfull loue, not onlie in Galloway, but also through-  
out all his realme; and therewith were offenders put  
in such feare, that they durst in no place commit a-  
nie such misdoers against the simple and meane  
people. And for the more increase of his subiects  
wealth, he also continued the league with the Picts,  
Britains, and Englishmen, accordinglie as his  
late predecessors had done. But yet, as the nature of  
man through licentious libertie is ener readie to of-  
fend in one point or other, so it came to passe by this  
worthy prince Eugenius, who in such wise as is be-  
fore expressed, reigning in peace and quietnesse a-  
mongst his louing subiects, yet fell into most vile  
lust to accomplish his insatiable fleshlie concupis-  
cence, seeking all means he could deuise to bestow  
young virgins and honest matrons, and that as well  
those of the nobilitie as other. And such comparisons  
as could best further his purpose in that behalf, and  
deuise new means and waies of fleshlie companie,  
those he set by, and greatlie made of, besting along  
ther to haue them in his companie.

Thus being drowned in lecherous lust, and filthy  
concupiscence, he fell dailie in more greuous vices,  
as into excessive couetousnesse and beastlie crudelie,  
consenting to make awaie his wealthie subiects, to  
the end he might inioy their goods. His wickednes  
remained not long unpunished, for the lords and  
peeres of his realme, perceiving how he proceeded  
hailie in his abhominable and tyrannicall doings,  
not once giuing eare to the wholesome aduertise-  
ments either of God or man, they flux him one day  
amongst them as he sat in iudgement about to  
haue condemned a great rich man, though not guiltie  
in the crime whereof he was accused. They cau-  
sed also a great companie of those mates to be ap-  
prehended, which had bene of his counsell, and pro-  
uokers vnto all his wicked and vile doings. Which  
to the great contentation of the people were han-  
ged, as they had well deserved. And such was the  
end of Eugenius, after he had gouerned the king-  
dome about thre yeares: his bodie was buried in  
Colmekill amongst his ancessors, though the peo-  
ple thought it little worthy of that honor, which had  
misused it selfe so inordinatlie in this present life.

After him came the administration of the realme  
vnto Fergus the third, the sonne of king Eth-  
fne, in the yeare 767, who being established in the  
same, began frelie to practise all kinds of vices,  
which most abundantly reigned in him, howbeit till  
that day wonderfullie dissembled and kept couert.  
He seemed to strue how to passe his predecessors in  
all points of wickednesse. He toke no regard at all  
to the gouernment of his realme, but gaue himselfe  
to excessive gluttonie, in deuouring of delicate  
meats and drinks, and therewith kept such a num-  
ber of vile strumpets in house with him, whome he  
used as concubines, that his wife was no better es-  
teemed than as an handmaid, or rather a kitchen-  
maid. Witho being a woman of great modestie,  
and sober aduisednesse, could not yet but take sore  
greife and indignation hereat: and therefore sundrie  
times assaied by way of wholesome persuasions, to  
turne his mind from such sinfull vsages and filthy  
trade of liuing.

Finallie, when she saw there was no hope to con-  
uert his depraved mind, nor by anie means to re-  
forme him, but that the more she laboured to con-  
uert him, the more he laboured to conuert her

B. Fergus the third  
was reigned by  
his wife.

A rightous  
king.

Displeased  
persons are  
sacked.

The queene  
was reigned by  
her selfe.

Construed  
linked with  
crudelie.

Eugenius  
murdered.

The end of  
Eugenius  
the eight.

Fergus the  
third.

The queene  
was reigned  
by her selfe.

The queene  
was reigned  
by her selfe.

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attituted  
Donald,  
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most vile  
forensic  
a despoile  
at as well  
partitions  
halfe, and  
companye,  
ng altogh

A righteous  
king.  
Oferdoga  
put in leare.

Engenius  
perverted  
with sensuall  
lust and con-  
cupiscence.  
A filthie be-  
light.

and filthie  
ous vices,  
e crueltie,  
ibjects, to  
vickednes  
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They cau-  
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were han-  
ch was the  
o the king-  
as buried in  
gh the peo-  
; which had  
sent life.

Conetounes  
linked with  
crueltie.

Engenius  
murdered.

The end of  
Engenius  
the right.

Fergus.  
767.

Fergus  
third creat-  
king.

A wicked  
prince.

hope to con-  
cances to re-  
ed to do god  
upon

upon him, the worse he was, through verie displea-  
sure of such inturcies as the daile suffeined at the  
hands of his concubines, the found meanes to  
strangle him secretlie one night as he lay in bed,  
choosing rather to be without a husband, than to haue  
one that should deceiue hir of the right and dutie of  
marriage; and that in such sort, as she must be saine  
to suffer the reproch daile before hir face, being mis-  
used of them whom he kept as paramours in most  
despitefull maner. The day after the brought this  
feat, the bodie being found dead, was apparelled in  
funerall wise, and brought forth vnto the place of  
iudgement, where inquisition was straitlie made  
what they were that had done so beinuous a deed. For  
though there were but few that lamented his death,  
yet some of his friends were verie earnest to haue  
the matter tried forth, that such as had committed  
the murder might suffer due punishment.

Spanie were apprehended and had to the racke,  
but yet could none be found that would confesse it.  
The quene was void of all suspicion, as she that had  
bene taken for a woman at all times of great tem-  
perance. But yet, when she heard that a num-  
ber of innocent persons were tormented without de-  
sert, fore lamenting (as should appeare) their misera-  
ble case, she came hastilie into the iudgement hall,  
and getting hir aloft vpon the bench, there, in the  
presence of all the companie, she had these or the like  
words vnto the whole assemble. I know not (god  
people) I know not what god moueth me, or what  
diuine reuengement vereth mee with sundrie  
thoughts and cogitations; that of all this day and  
morning pceeding, I haue had neither rest in bo-  
die nor mind. And verelie when I heard that cer-  
teine guiltlesse persons were cruellie tormented  
here in your presence; had not wrath giuen place,  
partis vnto modestie, wherof I must confesse there  
is left but a small portion in me, The kings death was  
rid my selfe out of the way. The kings death was  
mine act. Conscience constraineth me (setting apart  
mine owne safeguard) to confesse the truth, least the  
guiltlesse should wrongfullie perish: therefore vnder-  
stand ye for truth, that none of them whom ye haue  
examined are pinnic to the offense. I verelie am the  
that with these wicked hands haue strangled this  
night last past Fergus, about whose death I see you  
in trouble, moued so to do with two as sharpe pricks  
as may rest in a woman, to wit, impatient for bea-  
ring of carnall lust, & trefull wrath. Fergus by his  
continual vying of concubines, kept from me the due  
debt that the husband oweth to the wife: whereupon  
when there was no hope to reconcile him with often  
aduertisements, beehement force of anger rising in  
my hart, droue me to do so wicked a deed. I thought  
rather therefore to dispatch the adulterer, than (being  
despitue of my husband, & defrauded of all quene-  
lie hono) to liue still subiect to the perpetuall inturcies  
of such lewd women as he kept & bled in my stead.

And soe therefore those that be accused of the kings  
death, & as for me ye shall not need to proceed against  
me as guiltie of the crime by order of law: for I that  
was so bold to commit so heinous an act, will accor-  
dingly do execution vpon my selfe even here in con-  
tinence in presence of you all: what hono) is due to  
the dead, loke you to that. ¶ Having thus made an  
end of hir tale, she plucked forth a knife which she had  
hid vnder hir gowne, and stroke herselfe to the heart  
with the same, falling dead vpon it downe to the  
ground. All such as were present wondered greatlie  
at hir stout and hardie stomach, speaking diuerlie  
thereof, as some in praise, and some in dispraise of  
these hir monstrous doings. The bodie of Fer-  
gus was caried forth to the Ile of Colmekill, and  
there buried in the third yeere after his entring into

the gouernement, and in the yeere of our Lord 769.  
The quens corps was not buried in sacred ground,  
for that she flue herselfe.

Solua-  
thius.  
Solua-  
thius admitted king  
of Scotland.  
Solua-  
thius an impotent  
man.  
A rebellion.  
Shakdonald  
proclaimed  
king of the  
Fles.  
Not contented here with, he gathered a number  
of ships together, where in transporting himselfe with  
a great armie ouer into Lozne and Cantire, made  
great waste and spoile of those countries, till Duff-  
quhall gouernor of Athole, and Culane of Argile, be-  
ing sent with a chosen power from the king to de-  
fend the countrie, chanced to encounter with him,  
and putting him with his people vnto flight, chased  
them to such a streit, as where there was no way to  
get forth, saue onlie that by which they entered. This  
place is in Lozne, with a streit passage to enter into  
it: but when ye are within it, the same is verie large  
and broad, inuironed about with craggie moun-  
teins, chained togither with a continuall ridge, a  
deeper riuier compassing them in beneath in the bot-  
tome, with such steepe & shoelongs banks, that there is  
no way to passe forth of the same, but by that through  
which ye must enter into it. The said Bane with his  
folks being entred at vntowares into such a streit,  
and perceiuing there was no way to issue forth, but  
by the same where he entred, he returned backe the  
ther, and finding the passage closed from him by his  
enimies, he was in a wonderfull maze, not know-  
ing what shift to make to escape. Finallie, falling to  
counsell with the chieftest of his armie vpon the dan-  
ger present, and so continuing for the space of two  
daies without anie conclusion available, on the third  
day driuen of necessitie through hunger, they requi-  
red of their enimies to be receiued as yielded men  
vpon what conditions they would prescribe, onelie  
hauiug their liues assured. But when this would not  
be granted, in the euening tide they rushed forth vpon  
their enimies, to trie if by force they might haue  
passed through them. But such was their hap, that  
there they died euerie mothers son: for so had Duff-  
quhall & Culane commanded, to the end that other  
rebels might take example by such their willfull and  
rebellious outrage.

The kings captiues after this passing oier into  
the Fles, brought all things there into the former  
state of quietnesse. Yet after the appeasing of this  
tumult, there chanced a new businesse in Galloway:  
for Gilleguhalme, sonne to that Donald, which as ye  
haue heard) was executed by commandement of  
Eugenius the eight, gathered togither a great num-  
ber of vngatious scape-thrits, & did much hurt and  
mischace in the countrie. But shortly after, being  
vanquished by the same captiues that had suppressed  
the other rebels of the Fles, the countrie was rid of  
that trouble, and the ring-leaders punished by death  
for their offenses. In this meane while, the English-  
men

Solua-  
thius.  
Solua-  
thius admitted king  
of Scotland.

Solua-  
thius an impotent  
man.

A rebellion.  
Shakdonald  
proclaimed  
king of the  
Fles.

He inuadeth  
Lozne and  
Cantire.  
A power from  
the king is  
sent against  
him.

The kings  
power passeth  
ouer into the  
Fles.

Gilleguhalme  
the sonne of  
Donald.

men & Welch Britains through multitude of kings and rulers warring each against other, had no leasure to attempt anie enterprize against strangers. Neither were the Picts free of some secret displeasures, which one part of them had conceived against another, so that the Scottishmen were not troubled at all by anie forreine enemies. And so Soluathius hauing continued his reigne the space of 20 yeres, about the end of that tearme departed this life, in the yere of our saluation 788.

Soluathius  
departeth  
this life.  
788.

Achatus.  
Achatus cre-  
ated king of  
Scotland.

He maketh  
the nobilitie  
to agree.

Then after Soluathius was once buried in Colmekill amongst his ancessors, Achatus the son of king Ethine (a man highlie renowned for his earnest zeale to iustice and vpright dealing) was aduanced to the gouernance of the realme: who for that by his former conuersation amongst the nobilitie, he perfectlie vnderstand what grudge and secret hatred remained in their hearts, one wishing anothers destruction; he foresaw what danger the commonwealth stood in, if the same were not by some good means qualified: and therupon calling them together, he handled the matter with such wisdom and dexteritie, that before their departure from him, all the roots of former displeasures being vnterlie extirped and auoided, they were made friends on ech side, and promised in his presence so to continue. Thus hauing laid the foundation of a quiet state amongst his subiects, now in the beginning of his reigne, he was at point to haue had no small warres with the Irishmen: for a number of them being arrived in Cantire, were there slaine by them of the wessterne Isles, which vpon request of the inhabitants of that countrie were come to aid them against those Irishmen.

The Irish-  
men will  
revenge.

Irishmen  
take a preie  
in Isla.

Irishmen do  
seek peace.

This losse the rulers of the Irish nation purposed in all hast to reuenge vpon them of the Isles. But Achatus hearing thereof, sent ouer an ambassage vnto them, to haue the matter taken by before anie further force were vled: alledging how there was no cause wherefore warres should be moued for such a matter, where the occasion had bene giuen but by a sort of rones on either side, without commandment or warrant obtained from anie of their superiors. Holobett the nobles of Ireland (for there was no king amongst them at that time as it chanced) moued altogether with indignation for the laughter of their countymen, made a direct answer, that they would sweetlie be reuenged of the reproch which they had receiued, before they would common of anie peace. And therefore whilest the Scottish ambassadors returned out of Ireland with this answer, a great number of them in ships and craiers passed ouer into Isla, where getting together a great prete, and fraughting their vessels therewith, as they were returning homewards, they were smike by force of tempest, so that neither ship nor man returned to bring tidings home how they had sped in Scotland.

The stout stomachs of the Irish lords and rulers being well qualified with this mischance, they were glad to seeke for peace shortly after vnto Achatus. Those also that were sent ouer to treat of the same, found him at Cuenlochthe; where hauing declared there message, & confessed how iustlie they had bene punished by the righteous iudgement of almighty God, for the wrongfull attempting of the warres against them that had not deserved it: Achatus answered, how the Irish nation was so stubborn, that they knew not how to vse reason, except they were throughlie scourged; and therefore had the righteous God taken iust reuenge vpon them, to the example of other, for their contumacie, in mouing warres against them that had so earnestlie sought for peace. Neuerthelesse, setting apart all intories past, as well new as old, to shew himselfe to be the follower of

Christ, who in so manie passages had praised, commended, and set forth vnto vs peace and tranquillitie, he was contented to grant them peace, which now they sued for. Thus was the peace renewed betwixt the Scottish and Irish nations, to the no lesse comfort of the Scots themselves, than of the Irishmen, as those that had learned now by experience and triall (hauing intioed peace a good season) how much the same was to be preferred before cruell warres.

In this meane time, Charles surnamed the great, as then reigning in France, and vnderstanding how the Englishmen did not onelie by ballie routing disquiet the seas, to the great danger of all such merchants and other as trauelled alongst the coasts of France and Germanie; but also now and then coming on land vpon the French dominions, did manie notable displeasures to his subiects: he thought god by the aduise of his pères, to conclude a league (if it were possible) with the Scots and Picts, with this article amongst the residue: That so oft as the Englishmen should attempt any enterprize or inuasion into France, the Scots and Picts should be ready freightwates to inuade them here at home; and when they should make anie warres against the Scots or Picts, then the Frenchmen should take vpon them to inuade the west parts of England.

There were sent therefore from Charles vnto Achatus certeine ambassadors to bring this matter to passe, who arriving in Scotland, and coming to the kings presence, declared effectualle the summe of their message, shewing that the conclusion of such a league should bee no lesse to the wealth of the Frenchmen, than of the Scots (considering Englishmen to be a people most desirous of all other to get into their hands other mens goods and possessions) for thereby they might be somewhat restrained from such bold and inturious enterprises, as they daulie take in hand against their christian neighbors: but it should make most of all (say they) for the aduancement of the whole christian commonwealth, whereas otherwise through their insolent doings, such force as was already prepared against the Saracens (the common enemies of the christians) should be called backe, therewith to keepe off the said Englishmen, to the great danger of those parts of christendome, vpon which the Saracens then bordered as neighbors.

This message being heard with good deliberation by such as were present, the ambassadors themselves being honozable personages, and graue of countenance, were receiued most louinglie of the king, and lodged in his olone palace, hauing all the chere and honozable intertainment that might be deuised: but touching their message, there were sundrie disputations amongst the nobles, whether the concluding of such a league as they required, were expedient for the Scottish commonwealth or not. And for that the matter seemed to be doubtful, the king thought it necessarie to haue the aduise of his counsell: and thereupon calling them together, and appointing diuers of them to go with the ambassadors on hunting, to shew them some sport, whilest he consulted with the residue (because he would not haue them present) he commanded one Colman, gouernor of Spar (a man of great authoritie amongst the Scottishmen for his approued wisdom) to say first his mind touching the request of those french ambassadors, who there vpon standing forth, began as followeth.

Do man ought to maruell, I perceiue, king A. Achatus, if manie of this our nation be desirous to haue this league concluded with the Frenchmen, as they that are persuaded how nothing can be better, nothing more profitable, more honozable, or more pleasant

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pleasant

pleasant to almightie God, than to foine in league  
and friendship with a nation of greatest power and  
wealth in these daies, of all other within the bounds  
of Europe: for by that meanes should the Scottish  
name be highlie renowned and spoken of through  
the whole world. But trulie these considerations con-  
tending so well at the first, are not so much to be re-  
garded as the evils which hereafter may grow there-  
upon: for surely a naughtie and pernicious end of  
this determination shall evidently teach vs (though  
to late) how farre we haue gone beside the way of  
reason in establishing this league, if we once con-  
sent to conclude the same. As it anie other thing (I  
beseech you) to make a league, and to ioine in socie-  
tie with the Frenchmen against our neighbors the  
Englishmen (whose friendship might be most expe-  
dient for vs) than euen to haue from henceforth a  
mere and in maner a domestick enemie at hand,  
whereas our supposed friends shall be farre off from  
vs, and separated from our countrie by a great and  
large sea, at whose pleasure also we must make wars  
against our neighbors, and fight for other mens safe-  
ty, putting our bodies in hazard of death and  
wounding for their cause, which dwell nothing nere  
vs: yea & in their quarell to commit our kingdome,  
goods and liues vnto extreme perill of utter destruc-  
tion: I would thinke it good therefore to take better  
advisement and deliberation herein, least whilst we  
seek for vaine glorie and counterfeited honor, we do  
not, through prouoking the Englishmen our next  
neighbors, lose our owne liberties got with much  
travell by our elders, for the which they so often  
fought with the Britains, Romans, Picts, and final-  
lie with the Saxons. Can there be anie thing moze  
pernicious vnto a free nation, and people bozne in li-  
bertie, than to measure lawes of peace, chances of  
warre, and in fine libertie it selfe, by the lust and plea-  
sure of another nation, and so to enter (as it were)  
into bondage: for the avoiding whereof, not onelie  
men, but also all other living things are ready to  
fight, euen to the uttermost. If the Frenchmen in  
the chiefeest heat and most earnest hzunt of the warre  
(which we shall take in hand for their sake, according  
to the articles of the league) shall chance to forsake  
vs, and conclude some manner of peace or league  
with our enemies, leauing vs in all the whole dan-  
ger: shall we haue anie iudge afore whom we maie  
bring them to answer for their default, and by whose  
authoritie they may be constrained to be vs satisfied  
for such losse and iniuries as we shall happily susteine  
at the Englishmens hands: Are we of that force  
and power to reuenge our wrongs vpon them, after  
we are banquished and in maner brought to utter  
confusion by those warres which we shall enter into  
for their cause: If euer we be brought vnto that  
point (as God forbid we should) that through want  
of substance, and decaye of force, the Frenchmen  
shall also utterlie forsake vs, & that thereby we shall  
not be able to resist the English puissance: afore  
whome (I beseech you) shall we accuse them for brea-  
king of this league: We shall daillie haue to do  
with our enemies after the conclusion of the league  
(if it be concluded at all) and but seldome times with  
our friends. In the midst of our enemies we shall be  
still occasioned to practise for our defense, where we  
haue a long way both by sea and land to passe ouer to  
our friends, in case anie need shall inforce vs there-  
unto: commodities are brought vs out of Spaine,  
France, and Germanie, not such as we desire, but  
onelie such as the Englishmen do permit. Againe,  
when our merchants shall passe into France, what  
hauens shall we leaue them to resort vnto in time of  
dangerous tempests, which often chance to all such  
as be sailing: Either must they perishe and be cast a

way through rage of seas, either else fall into the  
hands of our enemies together, with all their goods  
and freight. What discommodities hereof shall rise,  
your grace (most prudent prince) and you right cir-  
cumpect counsellors, do well enough perceiue. I  
therefore would thinke it expedient, that we should  
continue in the former peace concluded with the  
Britains, Saxons, and Picts, according to the cus-  
tome of our late predecessors, who saw well enough  
what was most beneficiall for the wealth of the Sco-  
tish nation, and not to court a new amitie with an  
vknowne people, hauing deserued little or nothing  
as yet at our hands (whose intent I cannot but haue  
in suspition, with they seek for amitie so farre off) ex-  
cept we shall manifestlie resolue with our selues to  
imploie and reopare both life and libertie for the safe-  
gard of the French, without regard of our owne.  
Spanie in that assemble shewed themselves soze  
offended with Colmans words, supposing the  
league with the Frenchmen to be both honorable  
and necessarie.

Then one Alban, a man of great nobilitie (whome  
the king had lately before instituted his lieutenant  
in the Isles) spake in this manner. If it were possi-  
ble that there might be one sure and inuolable con-  
sent amongst those foure people, which at this daie  
haue their habitations within the bounds of Albion,  
or that the Englishmen knew what it were to stand  
and abide by faith and promises made and giuen, we  
would not denie but that those considerations and  
advises which Colman hath here vttered, ought to be  
followed; because that then there should be no occasi-  
on at all, why we should conclude ante league with a  
nie forren nation. But forsomuch as there was ne-  
uer man that found more vntuth and breach of pro-  
mise in anie nation, than hath bene found in these  
Saxons (the which hauing got the rule in Albion, are  
now called Englishmen) as the Scots, Picts, and  
Britains haue by triall sufficientlie proued; I sup-  
pose it is euidentlie knowne vnto you, that either we  
must of necessitie fight and stand at defense against  
the Englishmen, ready to assaile vs both with open  
force and secret craft, either els linke our selues with  
such allies and confederats, as by their support we  
maie be the better able to withstand the malice of  
such unfaithfull people. Call ye this faith, or treason, I  
prate you: The Saxons in times past being requi-  
red of the Britains to aid them against their eni-  
mies, were most louinglie receiued, and highlie re-  
warded for their seruice: but they contrarie in re-  
compense of such kindnesse, shewed themselves in  
stead of aiders, enemies; in stead of defenders, destruy-  
ers: turning their weapons points against the Bri-  
tains, by whome they had bene so sent for to their  
aid; and now haue not onelie destroyed a great num-  
ber of them by fire and sword, but also they haue spoil-  
ed them of their kingdome & libertie. What league  
or truce haue they at anie time kept (you your selues  
are not ignorant of this which I speake) where either  
they saw occasion to vex their neighbors, or hoped to  
gaine anie thing by falsifying their faiths, as they  
that haue neuer bene ashamed so to do, where hope  
to haue commoditie (if I may so call it) hath at anie  
hand bene offered. Into what furioze and most mi-  
serable calamities hath the frecherie of the Saxons  
brought the illie Britains: How oftentimes haue  
they broken the peace established with vs, and also  
with the Picts; euen when we least thought vpon  
anie such thing: Yea and that moze is, amongst them  
selues at this season the Englishmen warre one a-  
gainst another, moze with craftie traines than with  
open force, in such wise that in Northumberland so  
manie kings, and so manie noble men haue bene  
traitorously murdered and made auaie, that scarce  
A. J. may

Alban his  
ration.

The English  
Saxons brea-  
kers of pro-  
mise.

Colmans  
counsell is  
mistaken.

To induce others to his purpose, he taketh the advantage of casual hap, charging the whole nation with the fault of a few particular persons.

"may there be anie found that will take upon him the supreme government of that countrie. It is not manie yeres ago, since Oswin king of that countrie was ridd out of the waite through treason of Altwie that succeeded him in the kingdome, and was after deipined both of life and kingdome by Alstrike, whome Egbert desirous to reigne in his place, found meanes by traitorous practise to dispatch. Egbert was slaine by Hollo, and Hollo by Alfred, which Alfred was after slaine by the guilefull craft of Ethelbert. Neither had Ethelbert anie better successe in the end, for now of late betrayed by his owne subjects, he was by them shamefullie slaine and murdered. Neither with lesse traitorous shifts and deuises do the Englishmen mainteine their warres in all places where they are inhabiting within Albion. The reuerend fathers of the spiritualtie, and other godlie men addicted to vertue, unto whom the setting forth of Gods word hath bene committed, wearie of and abhorring this woad madnesse, rage and wicked misdeemeanor of that nation, haue left their bishoprikes, abbeies, monasteries, and cels, and from thence haue remoued into forren regions. Therefore where the Englishmen doe abscine at this present from making vs warres, it is not to be imputed to anie reuerence they haue vnto faith, equitie, or respect of the league, which they haue made with vs, but onelie vnto such ciuill sedition and discord, as now doth reigne amongst them. Neither ought anie of vs of right to doubt, but that when the same once ceaseth, they will immediatlie take weapen in hand against vs, notwithstanding all leagues or covenants of peace confirmed to the contrarie. To represseth therefore and abate their subtill practises, I can find no readier meane than to enter into friendship, and conclude a league with that people, which being ioined with vs, may chastise such outrageous furie of this wicked nation, as cause and oportunitie shall require. Fortune hath offered vnto vs a conuenient meane and occasion herevnto. For here be at this present the French kings ambassadozs, offering that vnto vs, which (being so great a benefit) we might scarce wish for. That is, they require to haue vs to ioine in league against the Englishmen, with their king, whome France, Spaine, and no small part of Germanie doe acknowledge for their soueraigne. Dought this to be despised of men that haue their perfect senses? Dought the societie of the French nation to be refused of vs, inhabiting here in the uttermost parts of the earth, the same being frelie offered by them, vnto whom for their sincere faith both towards God and man, the large empire of the world is granted? So that if we shall thankfullie receiue this most notable benefit, the same shall purchase vnto vs the friendship of the Spaniards, Frenchmen, Germans, and all those nations which acknowledge king Charles for their head and soueraigne lord. Wherevpon also free passage for merchants shall be open, to passe to and fro vnto vs, with all kind of merchandise and wares of traffike. I trust therefore that euerie one of you (so that he woele the thing with himselfe throughlie) will easilie iudge that the friendship and societie of the Frenchmen (verie puissant both by sea and land) and thereto of approued faith and stedfastnesse in promise, ought more to be esteemed, and is more beneficiall to the Scottish commonwealth, than the vniuersall promises and great disolualtie of the Saxons. To which of you is it unknowne that the English nation studieth no lesse to bring vs vnder the yoke of seruitude, than they do the Welshmen, if their force might answer directlie to their wills? Therefore if we desire to auoid the violent power of most cruell enemies, if we meane to auoid their craftie practises, if we regard the christian

The Frenchmen in those daies possessed not onelie that part of Gallia which we now call France, but also the most part of the countries now inhabited by the Dutchmen or Germans, i.e. neere on this side the river Rhene.

religion; for the which the Frenchmen are continually in arms; if we set more by vertue and constancie than by unfaithfulness and breach of covenants and promises, if we labor for the glorie and honor of our nation, if we couet to aduance our countrie, our owne rest and quietnesse; and to be briefe, if we passe vpon vs and libertie, the most dearest things that may happen to man, let vs with full hart establish this league with the Frenchmen, and firmitie continue in the same, vpon assured trust and confidence that it shall bring perpetuall commoditie and renowne to vs, both for the safeguard of our realme, & restraint of the Englishmens unlawfull attempts and wrongfull iniuries, which hereafter they either shall or may at any time enterprize against vs. By this oration Albian drew the multitude easilie vnto his purpose.

Then Achatus vnderstanding how the minds of all his subjects were in manner wholie inclined to the league, commanded all the companie to be there in the same place againe the next day. And breaking vp their assemble for that time, the king made the French ambassadozs that night a collie supper with a banquet, and after hauing conference with his nobles and lordz of the counsell, it was agreed by generall consent amongst them, that for the solempne ratifying of this league with king Charles, according as he had required, there should go with his ambassadozs at their returne the lord William the brother of king Achatus, with foure other honorable and learned personages, being men of perfect knowledge and skill, and such as were esteemed most meet for such a purpose. Also, that they should take foure thousand men ouer with them to serue against the infidels and enemies of the christian religion, where and in such sort as king Charles should appoint them.

Wherevpon the next day going first to church, and there making their common supplications vnto almighty God, according to the rites and ancient customes, they after resorted vnto the counsell chamber, where Achatus opened and declared vnto the French ambassadozs all that was concluded by him, and other the estates of his realme, touching the message which they had brought from king Charles. Who retorsing (as should appere) greatlie hereat, gaue most hartie thanks vnto him, and to all the residue for their beneuolent wills herein shewed towards king Charles their maister, and all the French nation. After this, remaining certaine daies with Achatus, who made them all the chere that might be imagined, they departed towards Hungus king of the Picts, vnto whom at their comming to his presence they made the like request on their maisters behalfe, which they had made before vnto Achatus.

It is said that Hungus gaue the Frenchmen most hartie thanks for their good wills, but yet he would not grant to conclude ante league with them at that time, for that (as he alledged) the matter being weightie and of great importance, required no small time to deliberate and take aduise for a full resolution therein. The ambassadozs herevpon returned vnto Achatus without speed of their purpose with Hungus, and the second moneth after, all things being readie for their returne, and the passage of those that should go with them, the lord William the kings brother, together with the same ambassadozs, & such foure persons as the king had chosen forth amongst all the learned clergie of his realme (whose names were Clement, John, Kaban, and Alcuine) and also hauing with him those foure thousand men of war, which were at the first appointed to go with him, passed forth towards France, where he with all the whole companie landed within few daies after in safetie, according to their owne wished desires. At their

The Scottish their receiue all the letters whi of the f sing the owne i

The league published betwixt

The articles the league.

The league with the Frenchmen agreed vpon.

The league concluded.

The armies of Scotland.

Hungus king of the Picts.

The ballance of will.

Hungus refused to conclude ante league with the Frenchmen.

The French ambassadozs returned home.

France is promised.

Clement, John, Kaban, and Alcuine.

William the brother of King Charles.

John, Kaban, and Alcuine.

John, Kaban, and Alcuine.

John, Kaban, and Alcuine.

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And so beca-  
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Charles. Who  
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might be ima-  
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men most  
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matter being  
uired no small  
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returned unto  
se with Hun-  
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(whose names  
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men of war,  
with him, pas-  
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The league  
with the  
Frenchmen  
agreed upon.

The league  
concluded.

Hungus king  
of the Huns.

Hungus re-  
futeh to con-  
clude one  
league with  
the French-  
men.

The French  
ambassadors  
returne home.

Claudius,  
Clement,  
John Spar-  
bell, Robert  
Alcumie.

the French-  
men hono-  
re receiued  
of France

The league  
published  
by Charles.

the French-  
men league.

Reuoced of  
Scotland.

The French-  
men league.

France is  
reduced.

William king  
of Scotland.

their comming into France Charles the emperoz  
received them in most gladsome wise, doing them  
all the honoz that might be deuised, and the souldi-  
ers which were come to serue him vnder the leading  
of the foresaid William, he retained in wages, vi-  
sing them after the same sort and rate as he did his  
owne naturall people the Frenchmen.

Shortlie after also at the request of the Scottish or-  
tors, according to the charter signed by Achaius, and  
confirmed by consent of king Charles, the league  
betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots was solemnlie  
published by heralds at armes, according to the ma-  
ner in those daies vsed, the same to indure betwixt  
those two nations and their posterities for euer. The  
chieffest articles compised in this league were as fol-  
loweth. [The amitie and confederation betwixt the  
Frenchmen and Scots to be perpetuall and firme,  
to indure betwixt them and the posterities of both  
nations for euer. The iniuries and warres which  
the Englishmen should attempt against either na-  
tion, should be accounted as common to them both.  
The Frenchmen being assailed by warres of the  
Englishmen, the Scots should send their aid of souldi-  
ers, hauing their charges borne by the Frenchmen  
as well for furniture, as wages, and all other things  
necessarie. The Frenchmen should contrariwise  
aid the Scots in time of wars against the English-  
men at their owne proper costs and charges. What-  
souer he were, priuat person or publike of these two  
confederat nations, that against either of them  
should aid the Englishmen with armour, counsell,  
bittels, or in anie other manner of wise, the same  
should be reputed for a traitor vnto both their prin-  
ces and countries. Neither might either of them  
conclude a peace, or take anie truce without the  
consent of the other. These were the principall  
articles of the league, as then confirmed betwixt  
the Scots and Frenchmen, indited in Latine, and  
saue ingrossed in parchment, and reserued as a mo-  
nument in both realmes, for a witness vnto such as  
should come after of this friendship thus begun, as  
the Scottish chronicles affirme.] And for further me-  
morie of the thing, Achaius did augment his armes,  
being a red lion in a field of gold, with a double trace  
seamed with floure delices, signifieng thereby,  
that the lion from thence forth should be defended by  
the aid of the Frenchmen; & that the Scottish kings  
should valiantlie fight in defense of their countrie,  
liberties, religion, and innocence, which are repre-  
sented by the lilles, or floure delices, as heralds do  
interpret it. The lord William, the said Clement,  
and John, remained still with king Charles, but Ra-  
bane & Alcumie returned into their countrie. In all  
such warres and iournies as Charles afterwards  
made against anie of his enemies, the said lord  
William was a chiefe doer in the same, so that his  
sane and authoritie dallie grew in all places where  
he came. His seruice stood king Charles in notable  
stead in his expeditions against the Sarons, Hun-  
gartians, and other; but namelie his estimation in  
Italie was most highlie aduanced, at what time the  
said Charles reedified the citie of Florence, appoin-  
ting this William to be his lieutenant in Tuscan,  
and to haue the chiefe charge for the restoring of the  
said citie, which he with such diligence applied, that  
within short time the same was not onelie fortified  
with new walls, repaired and replenished with great  
numbers of houses, churches, and other beautifull  
buildings, but also peopled and furnished with citi-  
zens, a great companie of nobles and gentlemen  
being called thither out of euerie citie and towne  
thereabouts for that purpose.

The citie being thus restored to his former estate  
and dignitie, through the bounteous benefit of king

Charles, and the diligent administration of his lieu-  
tenant the foresaid William, the citizens to shew  
themselves thankfull, deuised for a perpetuall me-  
morie to beare in their armes a red lillie, resembling  
one of those which the kings of France giue, saue  
that it differed in colour, to testifie thereby, that  
their citie (after the destruction thereof by the Goths)  
was reedified and restored to the former dignitie, by  
the benefit of the Frenchmen. And to acknowledge  
the diligence herein of the lieutenant, they did insti-  
tute publike plaies to be vsed and celebrated euerie  
yeere, wherein with manie pompous ceremonies  
they crowne a lion. And further that there should be  
kept vpon the charges of the treasure within the citie  
certeine lions (for the foresaid lord William gaue  
a lion for his cognifance) and thereupon as the Sco-  
tish chronicles affirme, those beastes grew to be had  
in such honoz amongst the Florentines. Thus this  
valiant capteine, the foresaid lord William, passing  
his time in notable exercises, and worthy feats of  
chualrie vnder king Charles, is accounted in the  
number of those tiuelue martiall warriors, which  
are called commonlie by the Scottishmen, Scotel-  
gilmoe.

And for that he was continuallie occupied in  
warres, he was neuer married, whereupon growing  
in age, and purposing to make Christ his heire, he  
builded diuers abbies and monasteries both in Ita-  
lie and Germanie, richlie indowing the same with  
lands and rents, sufficient for the finding of such  
number of monks, as he appointed to be in the said  
abbies, wherein none might be admitted, according  
to the ancient ordinance by him deuised, except he  
were a Scottishman borne. In witness of which  
ordinance, there are sundrie of these houses remai-  
ning in Almaine euen vnto this day, nothing chan-  
ged from the first order or institution. Before the ac-  
complishment of these things, by the foresaid lord  
William, brother (as is said) to the Scottish king  
Achaius, I find that the vniuersities of Paris and  
Daulia were instituted by king Charles, chieflie by  
the helpe and means of these two fore-remembered  
Scottishmen, John and Clement, in somuch that  
Clement was appointed chiefe president of all the  
students at Paris, and John of the other at Daulia.

But now to returne to the other doings of Achai-  
us, ye shall vnderstand, that about the same time, or  
not much differing from the same, Adelskane the  
sonne of Ethelwolfe king of Westsaxons, taking  
vpon him the dominion of Kent, Eastsaxon, Mercia,  
and Northumberland (which Egbert his graue-  
father had receiued into his gouernement) desirous  
now to enlarge his kingdome, entred into that part  
of the British dominion, which ancientlie hight Deira,  
and contained the marches about Berwicke, al-  
ledging how the same appertained to his kingdome  
of Northumberland, and had bene fraudulentlie ta-  
ken from his ancestors by the Britas: but forsomuch  
as there was a commotion raised the same time in  
Merceia, he was called backe to appease it, and here-  
upon putting all to the fire and sword in Deira, sa-  
uing such prisoners as he brought away with him,  
he returned. Hungus the British king sore roma-  
ching this iniurious enterpise of the Englishmen,  
determined to reuenge the same in all possible hast,  
and therefore made instant sute vnto Achaius (who  
had married his sister) to haue his aid against them.

Achaius of his owne accord minding to vnto the  
Englishmen a displeasure, sent forthwith vnto  
Hungus to the number of ten thousand men. With  
which, and with his owne power, king Hungus in-  
uaded the borders of Northumberland, fetching  
from thence a great botie of goods and prisoners;  
but yet he forbore slaughter of men, and burning of  
houses,

The armed  
of Florence.

A lion crow-  
ned.

Lions kept at  
Florence.

Scotelgil-  
moe.

William be-  
married ma-  
rket Chis-  
his heire.  
Monasteries  
of Scottish-  
men in Ger-  
manie.

The vniuer-  
sities of Paris  
and Daulia.

Adelskane en-  
tereth into  
Deira.

Deira wasted  
by fire and  
sword.

Hungus at-  
ted forth  
Scottishmen  
marcheth  
Northumber-  
land.

The warred  
without  
slaughter and  
burning.

Athelstane  
purfueth  
Hungus.

houses, for a reuerence which he had, as is supposed, towards the christian religion. Athelstane being certified hereof, omitting his iourne into Mercia, turned all his power against the Picts: and hearing that they were withdrawen into their countrie, he followed them so nere at the heeles, that verie earlie in one morning he was vpon their backs where they lodged by a broke side, not passing two miles from Haddington, before they had anie knowledge of his approach. Athelstane vpon a fierce courage, hauing thus found his enemies according to his wished desire, and herewith cunning vpon them in such order of battell, as they had no waie forth to escape without fight, he commanded a proclamation to be made by one of his heralds, that all the whole number of the Picts should passe by the edge of the sword.

Athelstane his  
cruell procla-  
mation.

The Picts  
are amazed.

The Picts  
enter the  
campe.

Athelstane  
doth challenge  
his enemies.

The Picts  
prepare them-  
selves vnto  
battell.

The English-  
men are put to  
flight.

Athelstane is  
slaine.

Willone sword.

A dreame.

The crosse of  
saint Andrew.

The Picts thus seeing their enemies at hand, and hearing this cruell commandement, were wonderfullie amazed with the strangenesse of the thing, and oppressed so with feare, that they wist not what might be best for them to do. At length by commandement of Hungus their king, they fell vnto fortifying of their campe; but yet they quicklie perceived how that it would not long preuaile them, considering that their enemies had gotten into their hands not onelie the spoile which they had brought with them out of Northumberland, but also all other their provision, trusse, and baggage, which they had left in a field there adioining vnto the side of their campe. Wherevpon manie reasons were put forth amongst them, which way they might escape out of that present danger. In which meane time Athelstane hauing brought his people into good order of battell, prouoked the Picts to come forth of their strength into the plaine field, there to trie their forces. But for that day no notable thing was done; the Picts keeping themselves still within their campe.

In the night following, after sundrie consultations had amongst them, it was agreed by generall consent, that the next day they should giue battell to the Englishmen. And so heretvpon preparing themselves for the purpose, euen vpon the break of the day, forward they make towards their enemies with fierce willes, speciallie encouraged thereto by the comfortable words of Hungus. The Englishmen halfe amazed at the hardie approach and onset of the Picts, were not long able to susteine their force impetuous; so that beginning somewhat to swaue, at length they were forced to flie vnto the place, where ye heard how they took the baggage and spoile of the Pictish campe: where they were beaten downe in greater number than before, insomuch that such prisoners as they had before taken of them that kept the said spoile, greatlie now to aduance the victorie of their fellows, shewed more crueltie towards the Englishmen than anie of the rest, now that they saw once how the victorie was inclined to the Pictish side.

In fine, such slaughter was made, that of the whole English host which was there assembled, there vnneth escaped five hundred. Athelstane himselfe at the first was run through the bodie with a speare, and so died, giuing name to the place of the battell, which continueth euen vnto this daie, being called Athelstans sword. This victorie fell to the Picts by miracle: for in the night season, as Hungus was laid downe to sleepe (after it was agreed that they should giue battell) there appeared vnto him the apostle saint Andrew (as the tale goeth) promising him and his people victorie against their enemies on the day next following; and for an assured token thereof, he told him that there should appeare ouer the Pictish host in the element such a fashioned crosse, as

he sometime suffered vpon. Hungus awakened, and beholding the skie, saw the crosse, as the apostle had told him: wherevpon calling his people together, he not onelie shewed them the same light, but also declared vnto them what vision had appeared vnto him in his sleepe; willing them therefore to be of good comfort, with there was cause of such assured hope to haue assistance from aboue against their cruell enemies.

The signe of the foresaid crosse was not onelie scene of the Picts and Scots being there with them in aid, to both their great comforts and gladnesse, but also of the Englishmen to their no lesse discouragement, as they that vnderstood saint Andrew to be patron and protector of the Scottish and Pictish nations. For it did put such a feare into their hearts, that when they came to the point of joining, their stomachs so failed them, that with small resistance they were easilie vanquished (as is said) and put to flight. For this so manifest a miracle, after the battell was once ended, and the victorie obtained, Hungus repaired with his people following him, vnto the church of that blessed man saint Regulus, now called saint Andrewes, where they made their offerings with humble deuotion vnto the reliques of the apostle, rendering thanks vnto him for their victorie with deuout prayer after the accustomed manner. They vowed there also at the verie same time (as the same goeth) that from thenceforth as well they as their posteritie in time of war should weare a crosse of saint Andrew for their badge and cognifance. Which opynance continuallie after remained with the Picts, and after their destruction and extermination with the Scots euen vnto our time. The bodie of Athelstane was buried in the next church vnto the place where the field was fought, howbeit, some haue left in writing that his head was cut off from the bodie, and brought to Inchgaruie, where being set vpon a stake, it was shewed to the people in reproch of his inuicious enterpryse.

Hungus the Pictish king to shew himselfe yet more mindfull of the due honoring of the holie apostle, by whose aid he acknowledged himselfe to haue got the victorie aforesaid, not onelie augmented his church with new bildings; needfull reparations, but increased the number of priests for the celebrating of diuine seruice; he also gaue manie rich and costlie ornaments vnto the same, as chalices, cruets, basons, & such like. Whereouer, he caused to be made the images of Christ and his 12 apostles of fine gold and siluer, which he bestowed there; with a case also of beaten gold, therein to inclose the reliques of saint Andrew. And besides this, he ordeined that the spiritualtie should haue the tenths of all increase of goods: as of corne, cattels, herbage, and such like through his realme; and further that spiritual persons should not be compelled to answer before anie temporall iudge. But these beneficiall priuiledges the Pictish clergie did not long inioy. For feredeth that was the fourth, which reigned amongst the Picts after Hungus, took from them all such gifts as this Hungus had giuen them, and further ordeined to the derogation of their priuiledges, that they should answer for secular crimes afore secular iudges; and that liuing vpon their former reuenues, souldiers & men of war should inioy the other which Hungus had so freelie bestowed vpon them.

The nobles of the land mainteined feredeth in his doings, reckoning all that spiritual persons had to be but cast away, which was the cause (as some thought) that their kingdome came into such ruine, as shortly after followed. There be some chronicles that write how these things, which are mentioned of Hungus, and Athelstane, chanced not altogether about

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fore.

Athelstane  
buried.

Conuall.  
Conuall suc-  
ceedeth De-  
gustus.  
Rane and a-  
mur.

Hungus falle  
th in a con-  
sumption.  
Conuall de-  
ceaseth also.  
802. 10. Ma.

Dongall.  
Dongall suc-  
ceedeth after  
Conuall.

A severe pu-  
nisher of ma-  
licious.

Alpine con-  
strained by the  
nobles, taketh  
vpon him to  
be crowned  
king.

Alpine broile  
ling to recouer  
the crowne  
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Alpine was  
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Saint Andrew  
drew the  
Scottish  
patrone.

Saint Andrew

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fare.

Abelham  
burnell.

Dringwater  
reth saint  
drews church

Images of  
gold and sil-  
uer.

Tenthredine  
guen to the  
clearge.

Feredeth  
beth from the  
clearge their  
priuiledges.  
And why no

priests to be  
ried afore  
cular indige-

Alpine de-  
penth one of  
castile.  
819.

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Dringwater  
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drews church

Dringwater  
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Dringwater  
reth saint  
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about this season, but Hector Boetius followeth Ve-  
remond in most of his accounts, as the author whom  
he taketh to be most certaine, as well for the account  
of the time as in the course of the whole historie. And  
for that we meane not to presume wholly to derogate  
the same Boetius his credit, we haue not much dis-  
sented from him, but rather followed him in most  
places, leaving such doubts as may be worthilie  
put forth of that which he writeth, unto the conside-  
ration of the diligent reader, such it is not our pur-  
pose to impugn, but rather to report what we find  
written by others, except now and then by the way  
to admonish the reader of some unlikelyhoods (as  
the same dooth seeme to vs and others) and happlie  
not without iust occasion.

But now to our purpose. As well Hungus king  
of Picts, as Achatus king of Scots, after the ouer-  
throw and death of Athelstane, liued with their peo-  
ple in good quiet and rest: for the Englishmen at-  
tempted nothing against the Scots and Picts after-  
wards, during the time of their reignes. At length  
Achatus, after he had reigned 32 yeares, departed  
this life, in the yeare of our Lord 819, which was a-  
bout the first yeare of Hungus his dominion ouer  
the Picts. His bodie was buried in Colmekill, ac-  
cording to the manner of kings amongst his prede-  
cessors. In the daies of this Achatus (beside Clement  
and others, of whom before ye haue heard) liued bi-  
shop Geruadus a notable preacher in Murray land,  
also bishop Clarian with Athdan and Athdan two  
brethren, all doctors and men of singular know-  
ledge, in respect whereof they were had in great cre-  
dit and estimation with the people.

After the deceasse of Achatus, Connall that  
was his vncles sonne Dongall, the brother of  
king Ethine, succeeded in gouernement of the Sco-  
tish kingdome. Betwixt this Connall and Hungus  
the Pictish king, there was wonderfull loue and a-  
mitie shewed, both of them studieng by all means  
how to mainteine the ancient league and alliance  
betwixt their people, whereupon ensued great wealth  
and quietnesse vnto both their kingdomes. Finallie  
Hungus wasted with a continuall consumption de-  
ceased, deliuering by his kingdome into the hands  
of his sonne Dorstologus, and that in the presence  
of king Connall, who likewise liued not long after  
him, for in the six yeare of his reigne he likewise de-  
parted out of this world, by force of naturall sick-  
nesse.

Dongall the sonne of king Soluathius was re-  
deined to succeed by the common consent of the  
states of all the realme, a man of singular wisdom  
and great knowledge. But for that he was some-  
what seuer in punishing the misordered behaviours  
of the nobilitie, and misgouerned youth of his realme,  
diuers of the nobles conspired against him, forcing  
one Alpine the sonne of Achatus to make claime  
to the crowne; who perceiuing there was no remedie,  
but either to follow their minds, or else to be mur-  
dered amongst them, consented to go with them  
into Argile, where they purposed to crowne him  
king sitting vpon the chaire of marble, according to  
the manner. Howbeit, at his comming into that  
countie, he found means to conuey himselfe from  
amongest them, leass through his means the quiet  
state of his countie should be brought into trouble:  
and forthwith being escaped out of their hands with  
a few other that were priuie to his intention, he ma-  
keth all the hast he could, till he came to the presence  
of Dongall, who receiued him in most iollifull wise,  
promising that if it should be thought necessarie by  
the states of the realme, he would gladlie resignie  
vnto him his whole crowne and dignitie, desirous of  
nothing more than to see the aduancement of the

house of Achatus. Such (saith he) were the merites  
of that famous prince towards the preferation of  
the Scottish common wealth, that it were too much  
wickednesse to go about to defraud his issue of the  
inheritance of the realme.

Alpine giuing the king most hartie thanks, be-  
sought him to continue in the administration, exalt-  
ing God and the world to witnesse, that he minded  
nothing lesse than to be about to claime the gouerne-  
ment of the kingdome so long as he liued. For as  
touching his offense, in that he had gathered an ar-  
mie, and led the same into Argile, it was not his  
fault, but the conspirators which had forced him  
thereto, being determined to haue slaine him, if he  
had not consented vnto their desires. Within three  
yeares after, there came messengers from the re-  
bels to excuse themselves also, & to put all the fault  
in Alpine: but king Dongall giuing small credit to  
their forged words, gathereth his polver, and ma-  
keth such speed towards the place where he vnderstood  
the said rebels were assembled together, that he was  
vpon them yer they had anie knowledge of his set-  
ting forwards. So that before they could make anie  
shift to escape out of danger, which they went about  
to do, they were apprehended, and immediatlie con-  
demned and put to death. Which execution put other  
presumptuous persons in feare, so that the state of  
the realme remained afterward a great deale more  
in quiet.

Whilest things passed thus in Scotland, Egannus  
the second sonne of Hungus the Pictish king, found  
means to murder his brother Dorstologus, to the  
end he might reigne in his place: and though sup-  
port of some of the nobilitie he attained to his pur-  
pose. And for that he would assure himselfe the more  
firmelie in the estate, he frankelie bestowed his fa-  
thers treasure amongst his lords and chiefest pers-  
ons of his realme, and toke to wife Werna the king of  
Mecia his daughter, whom his brother the forena-  
med Dorstologus had married, that thereby he  
might assuage the said king of Mecia his displea-  
sure, which otherwise he should happlie haue concei-  
ued for the death of his other sonne in law the same  
Dorstologus. His feare was great on each side, and  
therefore had small affiance in anie person, doubting  
lest one or other should seek to reuenge his brothers  
death. He durst neuer go anie waies forth abroad  
without a gard of men of warre about him, whome  
he had wone & made his fast friends by his passing  
great largesse and bountifull liberalitie. At length  
yet, his wife to reuenge hir former husbands death,  
found means to strangle him as he lay one night  
fast asleepe, having dronke a little too much in the  
euening before, and in this sort he came to his end,  
after he had reigned much what about the space of  
two yeares.

Thus both Egannus & Dorstologus being made  
away, without leauing anie issue behind them, for-  
somuch as now there remained none of the poster-  
tie of Hungus to succeed in gouernement of the  
Pictish kingdome, Alpine nephew to the said Hun-  
gus, by his sister fergusiana, with the aduise of king  
Dongall, made claime thereto, and therupon sent  
his messengers vnto the lords and peres of the Pic-  
tish dominion, to requir them on his behalfe, that he  
might be receiued to the gouernement of the king-  
dome due vnto him by lawfull inheritance, as they  
well vnderstood: and that if they thoughtlie conside-  
red of the thing, they might perceiue it was the pro-  
uision of almightie God, that for want of lawfull  
succession lineallie descended from Hungus, now to  
succeed in the estate of the Pictish kingdome, by this  
meanes both the nations Scots and Picts should be  
ioined in one, to the abolishing of all such mortall  
L.ij. warres,

Alpine his ex-  
cuse vnto  
Dongall.

Dongall ma-  
keth an arme  
against the re-  
bels.

Egannus  
murdereth his  
brother.

Egannus fi-  
nally in feare,

Egannus is  
strangled of  
his queene.

An ambassa-  
dor sent vnto  
the Picts.

warres, as by discorde and contention might arise betwixt those two people, in like sort as before time there had done, to the great perill and danger of both their utter ruines.

The Picts chose Feredeth to be king.

The ambassadoys come into the court.

King Feredeth his answer unto the Scottish ambassadoys.

Dongall his displeasure seeing the Picts answer, Ambassadoys sent againe.

Ambassadoys are not received.

Warre is pronounced unto the Picts.

The Scots willingly give themselves unto the war.

The Pictish nobilitie, hauing knowledge that these messengers with such kind of message should hostile come from Alpine, with generall consent and whole agreement, chose one Feredeth to be their king, a man of great authoritie amongst them, supposing this to be a meane to defeat Alpines title, and that thereby he should seeme to be excluded from any further claime. Within few daies after, came vnto Canlon the Scottish ambassadoys, where Feredeth with his nobles at that present were assembled: they being admitted therefore to declare their message, when they began to enter into their matter of the right which Alpine had to the kingdom of the Picts, the people would not suffer them to proceed any further therein, but began to make such an uprore, that to appease the noise, Feredeth himselfe took vpon him to make answer vnto the ambassadoys: and therupon commanding silence, declared vnto them that the Picts neither might nor ought to admit any stranger to reigne ouer them: for there was an ancient law among them, of most high authoritie, that in case of necessitie they might transpore the crowne from house to house: and further, that by the same law there was an ordinance decreed, that if any man were once made and created king, he might not be deposed during his naturall life. And therefore though it were so, that Alpine were the nephew of Hungus by his sister Fergusiana: yet because he was a stranger borne, and considering withall, that the people by their full authoritie had translated the regall administration vnto an other house, of the which one was alreadie proclaimed and inuested king, there was no reason now, why Alpine should make any further claime or demand vnto the kingdom.

Upon the messengers returne home with this answer, Dongall shewed himselfe to be in no small chafe, that the Picts should thus go about by such subtil arguments and contriued inuentions to defraud Alpine of his right. And therupon the second time he sent his ambassadoys vnto them, requiring them either to do him reason without any further tumulted cauations; either else within three moneths space after to looke for open warres at the Scottish mens hands. These ambassadoys passing forth on their iourneie, at their approaching vnto Canlon, certaine sergeants at armes met them, and did forbid them to enter the citie: also they further commanded them in name of Feredeth their king to auoid out of the confines of his dominions within foure daies space, vpon paine of death.

The ambassadoys being terrified with such manner of inhibitions, they went no further: but yet according as they had in commission, they pronounced the warre in the name of Alpine and Dongall, requiring those that thus came to meet them, to giue signification therof vnto their maister Feredeth, and to the whole Pictish nation; and so returned home the same way they came. Then did the Scottish lords repaire vnto Dongall, who at the same time laie in Carlike castell, and there taking counsell for the maintenance of these warres, not one was found amongst them which offered not to spend both life, lands, & goods in Alpines iust quarell. By this means was great preparation made on both sides for the warre, the Scots minding to set Alpine in his right, and the Picts determining not to receiue any prince of a strange nation to reigne ouer them. But whilest Dongall goeth about to prouide all things readie for his enterpryse, he chanced to be drowned in the riuer of Speie, as he was about to passe the same in a

bote. This mishap chanced him in the first yeere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Saviour 830. His bodie was buried in Colmekill, with all full and all obsequies.

After Dongall was Alpine receiued to the acrotone and gouernment of the realme, by the generall voices of all the people, whose chiefe studie was vpon his first entering into the estate, to follow his late touching his title to the Pictish kingdom: and hereupon with all diligence preparing a mighty host and all other things (which were thought requisite for the furthering of his enterpryse) he passed forth towards Angus, not staing till he came to the castell of Forfar, which he besieged; but the third day after his comming thither, Feredeth the Pictish king with a great armie of his subiects arranged in good order of battell, came and presented himselfe in sight of the Scots, whereupon immediatlie nere vnto the towne of Kessenothe they met, and joining there in battell, fought right fiercelie. At the first encounter the right wing of the Scottish armie was nere hand ouerthrowne; but Feredeth lieutenant of Athole came speedilie to the succour with 400 of his countriemen, and restored the battell on the Scottish side: whereby ensued a right sore bickering with great slaughter, and no signe of shrinking on either part, by meanes whereof it seemed doubtful for a long space vnto whether side the victorie would incline.

At length Feredeth perceiving the middle ward of his battell a litle to shrink, speedilie pressed forth to succor the same with a chosen companie of such as he had appointed to attend him: but entering thus with great violence amongst the thickest prease of his enemies, he was closed in on each side, and excluded so from the residue of his owne people, that he could neither returne the same way he entered, neither yet by any other, so that he with those that were with him, perceiving their liues to be in present danger, did cast themselves into a ring, determining yet to reuenge their owne deaths, whereupon rather wearied with continuall fight, than vanquished, or with any feare oppressed, they were slaine all the whole number of them, together with Feredeth their king. Yet herewith did not the other Picts giue ouer the battell, so long as any daie light was on the skie. So that the night in the end parted them in sunder, both the armies withdrawing to their camps with small joy or triumph, by reason of the great slaughter which had bene made on both sides.

The captiues of the Picts weeing with themselves the losse of their king, and great multitude of their men, thought it not best to abide any longer in the field: wherefore leauing their wounded people behind them, with all their baggage in the campe, they fled incontinentlie the same night, some into one place, & some into another, where they thought best for their owne wealth and safetie. The Scots had fled immediatlie like wisse, but that word was brought them as they were about to depart, how the Picts were gone alreadie, and had left their campe void of men of warre to defend the same. Whereupon the Scots tarried till it was day, not farre from the place of the battell. In the morning there were certaine horsemen appointed to ride abroad, and to vieto the field, thereby to vnderstand whether the Picts ment any deceit by their departure, as by laing of some ambushments, or otherwise: but vpon the returne of those horsemen, when it was once knotone how there was no such matter, but that they were fled in deed, the Scots reioicing therat, fell to and gathered the spoile of the field, diuiding the same amongst themselves according to their accustomed order.

Alpine

Feredeth was buried.

The Scots determine to haue onlie such incur-sans.

Alpine with an armie of nobility Pictish land.

Feredeth the thome of the Picts.

The Picts slay their sloth full king. Hereth king of the Picts. The king calling off his army forth. He was slaine by a blowman.

Feredeth is slaine.

The night parted the armies.

The Picts fled by night.

Alpine refused any treatie of peace.

The Picts sent an ambassadoys vnto the Pictish king of England for aid, with a summe of money.

The monie is received and promised.

The Picts come downe to the sea, and some mislead the

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Alpine himselfe commanded the bodie of his en  
mie Feredeth to be laid in christian buriall not farre  
from Jofalt. After this causing the musters of his  
people to be taken, he found that he had lost the third  
part of his armie in that mostall and cruell battell,  
and thereupon brake vp his campe for that time, li  
cencing those that were left alieue to returne vnto  
their homes. This battell being fought in the first  
yeare of the reignes of the two foresaid kings, weak  
ned the forces of both nations, so farre forth that the  
Scots doubting to bring the realme into danger of  
vttier ruine (if they should commit their whole puis  
sance effionies to the hazard of another foughten  
field) determined to pursue the warre by making of  
incursions and incursions onelie vpon their enemies,  
so to vex the Picts, and to bring them vnto reason, if  
it were possible. And so much bereely the Scottishmen  
did by such their continuall robes & incursions which  
they made into Angus, that the countrie was left  
bold and desolate of all the inhabitants.

Neither did Brudus the sonne of Feredeth,  
(whome the Picts had chosen to succeed after his fa  
ther in the kingdome) find anie speedie redresse to  
withstand those daile inuasions thus made by the  
Scots vpon his countries and subiects. For he was  
but a slouthfull person, and verie negligent in his of  
fice, whereupon he was had in derision of his owne  
people, who in the end flue him amongst themselves  
before he had reigned fullie the terme of one whole  
yeare. Then succeeded Keneth, the second sonne of  
Feredeth, with no better hap or end than his brother.  
For gathering together an armie of his subiects, and  
comming with them into Angus, he came no soner  
within sight of his enemies, but that casting off his  
armoz, he fled incontinentlie, leaving his people in  
the field; and for that his haste, was flaine by a plov  
man that met him by chance, and knew him not, but  
yet perceiuing how he had fled from his companie,  
and therefore deserued not to haue anie other fauour.  
His people seeing themselves destitute of their head  
capitaine and gouernoz, retired from their enemies,  
keeping themselves in order of battell without anie  
further attempt.

After this infortunate end of Keneth, the Picts  
chose to their king one Brudus, a man of a stout and  
manlike stomach, who immediatlie vpon his entring  
into the estate, comming into Angus (which region  
the Scots had made waste) caught there certaine  
Scottish robbers, and forthwith hanged them vp vpon  
gibets. After this, he sent forth his ambassadoz  
vnto king Alpine for reformation of all iniuries and  
wzongs betwixt the two nations, and to haue the an  
cient league renewed betwixt them. Alpine and the  
Scottish lozds, hauing quicklie aduised what to an  
swer, declared vnto the Pictish ambassadoz plaine  
lie, that they would not heare anie treatie for peace,  
till the Picts had deliuered the kingdome vnto the  
right heire. Brudus vnderstanding by this answer,  
that the Scots would still follow the warres against  
the Picts; to be the better able to withstand their ma  
lice, he purposed to procure the friendship of the  
Englishmen, to haue their aid against the Scots.  
He sent therefore his ambassadoz with a great  
summe of monie vnto Edwine king of Northum  
berland, requiring him of his fauour, and to haue  
some number of his people for his wages to serue  
him against the Scots.

Edwine receiuing the monie, promised to come  
himselfe with a mightie armie, at what time & place  
Brudus should appoint, to go against the Scots in  
defense of him and his subiects the Picts. And of  
the Picts reioiced greatlie, that they should haue  
at thus of the Englishmen, hoping thereby to haue  
assured victorie of their aduersaries. Other mistrust

ted not a little the Englishmens offers, by reason of  
the old eninitie betwixt the Picts and them. In this  
meane season the Scots take and seize vpon all the  
countrie of Angus, euen from the mountaine of  
Crangebene vnto the riuer of Tait, whereof Bru  
dus being terrified, sendeth a post with all speed vnto  
king Edwine king of Northumberland, requiring  
him to send to his aid a power of Englishmen, to  
helpe to resist the Scots, which at that present inua  
ded his countrie. To which demand Edwine made  
this answer, that he was not onelie troubled with  
cruell war made against him by other Englishmen,  
but also had bene requested by Letwes surnamed  
Plus, as then French king, in no wise to indamage  
the Scots his confederats, so that for that yeere pre  
sent he might not conuenientlie send to him anie  
succours, but if he would defer the warres till the  
next yeere, he should haue the best helpe that he were  
able to shew him.

Brudus perceiuing himselfe thus mocked and de  
luded by the Englishmen, commanded by solcenne  
summons, that all such of his subiects, as were a  
ble to beare armoz, should assemble in nether Cali  
don within eight daies after, with conuenable pro  
uision of vittels, there to know his pleasure. His  
commandement was obeyed: so that a mightie ar  
mie of men at the day and place appointed came to  
gether, which being mustered, they streitwaies re  
moue vnto Calidon castell, now called Dumbeld,  
where they passe the riuer of Tait, and so enter into  
Angus, not without some difficultie: but being once  
gotten ouer, they march forthwith towards the place  
where they vnderstood their enemies did lie. Brudus  
the night before the day in the which he thought they  
should haue battell, by the aduise of certeine expert  
warriours, which he had with him, appointed all the  
hostes that were in the campe, seruing for burden, to  
be bestowed amongst the women, lackies, and col  
drels, part of them being clad in armoz, and part in  
white linnen, with long poles in their hands like to  
speares and ianelins. Amongst them also he ordeined  
an hundred horsemen to be placed, whome he made  
priue as then to his intention, by whose leading that  
feat which should be wrought in this behalfe, was to  
be atchued. These he caused to lie couertlie within a  
wood nere vnto the place where the battell should be  
fought, giuing them in commandement not to shew  
themselves till the battell were begun.

King Alpine all this while held himselfe in a castell  
which stood vpon an hill, a little from Dumbeld, being  
now decayed, so that little thereof remaineth to be  
sene at this day. Vpon the north side of the hill, there  
lieth a great large plaine, compassed on eijh side with  
mountains, as then full of woods & launds, but now  
for the most part bare and without anie trees or bu  
shes. In this plaine were the Scots incamped. Al  
pine beholding forth of the castell, how the Picts ap  
proched to giue battell, got him into the campe, & er  
hozing his people to shew themselves valiant, pla  
ced them in arate. The Picts no lesse desirous to fight  
than their gouernozs would haue wished them, be  
gan the battell before they had commandement, with  
such violence, that the right wing of the Scots was  
soze disordered. But Alpine perceiuing that, came  
speedilie to their succours, greatlie rejoyning them  
for their faintnesse of courage. To be short, he did so  
much to imbolden them, that by his means the fight  
was renewed in most cruell wise: insomuch that  
those which before were put backe, began to winne  
ground againe, and to beate downe their enemies  
verie fiercelie.

But herewith did the counterfet troupe of horse  
men, which was hid in the wood suddenlie come forth,  
and shewed themselves vpon the backe halfe of the  
Scottish

Englishmens  
assistance.  
The Scots  
take Angus.

Brudus sen  
deth vnto E  
dwine for aid.

Edwine defer  
reth his aid.

Brudus be  
ing deceived  
of the English  
men, called his  
owne subiects  
to the warre,  
assembling  
them at the feet  
of Calidon  
wood.

Brudus en  
treth into An  
gus with an  
armie.

A wonderfull  
policye used by  
Brudus.

The tricke  
of Alpine  
his armie.

Rashlie the  
Picts begin  
the battell.

The Scots being deceived with a counterfeit troupe of horsemen fled.

King Alpine taken by his enemies and after beheaded

Kenneth the sonne of Alpine inuested king of Scotland.  
834.

The Picts give thanks unto God for their victorie. They make a vow to continue the warre.

The good counsell of graue men is despised.

The Scots are animated.

The Picts fall at variance amongst themselves.

Wubus died.

Drusken K. ouer the Picts

The head of King Alpine is stolne, and solemnly buried with the bodie.

Scottishmen, appearing in fight to be an huge number, & farre more than they were in deed: with which sight the Scots being brought into a sudden feare, least they should be compassed about with multitude of enemies, they brake their arraie, threw off their armor, and took them to their feet, so to escape and saue themselves by flight. Thus few were slaine in the battell, but a great number died in the chase, & were beaten downe on each side as they were ouertaken by the Picts. Alpine himselfe was taken, and hauing his hands bound behind him, was led to the next towne, and there beheaded. The place beareth the name of him vnto this day, being called Palsaline. His head also was set vpon a pole, and borne vnto Camelon, and there set vp vpon one of the highest turrets of the wall. The Scots that escaped from this sorrowfull ouerthrow, got them with all speed into Argile, where they inuested Kenneth the sonne of Alpine king of their realme. This was in the yere of our Lord 834, and the fourth yere after Alpine entred first into the estate.

The Picts hauing atchiued this great and iollull victorie, assembled at Camelon by commandement of their king, where causing a solempne procession to be made, in rendering thanks to almighty God for their good successe in their passed iournie: they take a generall oth vpon the gospel booke, that from thenceforth they would not cease to make the Scots war, till they had vtterlie destroyed the race of them: and here with ordeined a law, that if anie man made mention of anie peace or league to be had with the Scots, he should lose his head for it. There were indeed some ancient personages amongst them, that spake against this insolent outrage of the people, alledging that in time of prosperous successe men ought to vse a modestie: but certaine youthfull persons offended with such graue aduise, thrust the authors thereof out of the church, within the which they were as then assembled. The Scots being certified hereof, were nothing here with discouraged, but rather put in good hope of better successe, sith the enemies abused themselves thus in time of felicitie.

The next summer after, the Picts assembled their power together, and setting forward towards the Scots, though a light occasion they fell at variance amongst themselves, and fought with such hatred together, that the king was not able to appease the strife, till night parted them in sunder. Then calling the lords afore him, he assaied alwaies to haue agreed the parties, but when he saw it would not be, in the morning he gaue them licence to depart euerie man to his owne home, breaking off his iournie for that time. Wubus liued not past three moneths after, for through griefe that things went not forward as he wished, he fell into a greuous disease, and finally thereof died. After whose deccasse, the Picts chose his brother named Drusken, to succeed in gouernment of the kingdom, who applied his whole endeavour vpon his first entring into the estate, to appease the ciuill discord amongst his subiects.

But whilst he was thus busilie occupied about the same, there were certaine Scots, which fore disdained to vnderstand that the head of their late king should remaine vnburi'd, in such reprochfull sort amongst their enemies. Wherevpon hauing perfect knowledge of the Pictish tong, they feined themselves to be merchantmen of that countrie, & coming vnto Camelon, watched their time, till they found meanes in the night season to scale to the walls, and secretlie taking awaie the head, escaped with the same home into their owne countrie.

This act of theirs was not a little commended: and so now the head of king Alpine being recovered, was closed in a leaden coffin, and Kenneth him-

selfe, hauing in his companie a great number of his nobles, went with it ouer into Colmekill, where he buried it in the abbey, amongst the sepulchres of his elders, together with the residue of the bodie in verie solempne wise, as appertained. And further, those persons that had put their liues in aduenture to fetch the same head from the walls of Camelon, were by Kenneth rewarded with rich gifts and lands in perpetuities, to remaine to them and to their heires for euer. After this, Kenneth deuising for the suertie of his subiects, furnished all the holds and castles on the frontiers of his enemies with men and munition, according as he thought expedient: and moreover took order, that all the youth of the realme should be in a readinesse vpon an houres warning, to go forth against the Picts, if they attempted anie new inuasions.

But the Scottish lords had no great lust to take anie enterprise in hand against the Picts, remembering how infortunatelie they had sped the last time: so that for the space of three yeres there was no great exploit atchiued, saue certaine roads and incursions, which both the nations continually used to make one vpon an other, as time and occasion serued. At length king Kenneth being verie desirous to be reuenged of the Picts, for the death of his father king Alpine, and other iniuries by them done and attempted against the Scottish nation, in the fourth yere of his reigne, he assembled the peers and chiefest nobles of his realme, trusting to persuade them to aid him in all such enterprises as he ment to take in hand against the Picts, whome he purposed to pursue with open warres, till he had them at his pleasure. But calling his lords and peers thus assembled on a day before him, and going earnestlie about to moue them to the warres, he could stir them no more to his purpose, than if he had bene in hand to haue counseiled them vnto that which in no wise had appertained vnto their duties: which their lacke of stomach, Kenneth perceiving, he began to deuise a pretie shift, whereby to induce them to his accord.

First therefore, breaking vp the assemblee for the same day, he commanded that they should come together againe on the next morrow, to consult further for the state of the realme, as they should see cause. The same euening also he had them all to supper, which being prolonged till farre in the night, it was late before they went to bed, so that being ouerwatched, when they were once gotten to rest, they were some brought into a sound sleepe. Now had the king appointed for euerie one of their chambers one man apparelled in garments prettie deuised and made of fish skins vnscaled, bearing in one of their hands a staffe of such rotten wood as thyneth in the night, and in their other hand a great ore home, to the end that uttering their words through the same, the sound of their voices should seme farre differing from the usual speech of man.

Thus appointed in the dead of the night, they entered the chambers to each of them assigned, where (as is said) the lords laie fast asleep, who being at the first as it were halfe awakened, were wonderfullie amazed at the strangenesse of the sight (doubting whether it were but a dreame, or some true and vnscaled vision). Where with also were heard certaine vnerall voices, far greater than those of men, declaring that they were messengers sent from almighty God vnto the Scottish nobilitie, to command them to obeye their king, for his request was iust: the Pictish kingdome due vnto him by rightfull heritage, & ought to be recovered from that people, which for their great offenses and sins towards almighty God, should shortly come to utter destruction: such was the determinate pleasure of his diuine maiestie, in that.

scarcely  
tified the  
realme.

Kenneth  
led his  
nobles  
to reuenge  
his fathers death.

A pretie shift  
devised by  
king to per-  
suade them  
thence.

Kenneth en-  
tered into  
Sterling  
shire.  
Drusken ha-  
dles inuaded  
his countie.

The English-  
men fled.

Drusken sen-  
teth to the  
Englishmen.

Of such  
lights there  
were many in  
those daies:  
and oftentimes  
no doubt there  
were some  
of the like  
kind, in that  
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The Picts  
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Kenneth for-  
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Kenneth cal-  
led his nobles  
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A pretie shift  
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king to per-  
suade the nob-  
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Of such  
fights there  
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Kingdom des-  
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restie, against the which might neither counsell nor  
puissance of man be able to resist.

When the counterfeited messengers had thus  
made an end of their words, they stile his their  
traues under their innermost garments, and there-  
with quicklie conueied their uppermost vestures  
made of fish scales (as I haue said) into their bosoms,  
in such slight and nimble wise, that it seemed these vi-  
sions had suddenlie vanished awaie. Those lords that  
had seene these sights, laie still for that night, great-  
lie musing on the matter. In the morning being got  
up, and assembled in the counsell chamber, they de-  
clared to ech other what they had seene and heard in  
the night passed. And for that all their visions which  
they had seene by ech others report, were in euerie be-  
halfe like, and nothing differing one from an other,  
they beleued verelie it was some celestiall oracle  
& message sent from God. Therefore presentlie they  
go vnto the king, declaring vnto him how they had  
beene admonished from aboue, to continue the wars  
with all their forces against the Picts.

The king told them he had seene the like vision,  
but they ought to keepe it close, least by glozieng too  
much in the fauour thewed by almighty God toward  
them, they might happlie displease his diuine maie-  
stie, which otherwise they might perceiue was readie  
in their aid. Then finally might the vision be publi-  
shed, when thorough his fauourable assistance, the  
warres were brought to a luckie end. This aduise of  
the king was well liked of them all, and commande-  
ment giuen, that all manner of prouision should be  
prepared with all speed for an armie to be set forth  
into Pictland. The lords going busilie about to pro-  
vide themselves of all things necessarie, mustered  
their men in all parts, so that there was leuiued a great  
host than had beene seene in those parties of long  
time before. When the whole power was come tog-  
ther, Kenneth marched forth with the same, entering  
by great violence into the Pictish borders about  
Sterling.

Duiklen the king of Picts aduertised hereof,  
and hauing his armie in a readinesse both of Picts  
and such Englishmen as he had retained, to serue  
him for his wages, fetcheth a compasse about, and  
passing by the Scottish armie in the night, incampeth  
betwixt them and home, in such sort that the day did no  
soner appere, but the one part desirous to be in hand  
with the other, without token of trumpet, or com-  
mandement of capteine, they rushed together most  
fiercelie. The battie speed of the Picts to soine, put  
them to no small disadvantage; but the departure of  
the Englishmen, withdrawing themselves aside to  
the next mountaine, most of all discouraged them:  
for the Scots therewith giuing a shout, declared them-  
selves to be highlie recomforted with that fight.  
Duiklen in all hastie sent vnto those Englishmen a  
messenger, willing them with large promises of re-  
ward to returne to his aid: but the Englishmen an-  
swered, that their vse was not to fight without order  
and commandement of their generall, and that the  
Picts like vnskillfull men had cast awaie themselves  
to be slaine by the enemies hand, where it appertained  
vnto warlike knowledge to auoid the battell, when  
no hope of victorie appeared.

The middle ward of the Picts seeing themselves  
left naked on the one side, and assailed on the backs;  
whereas the Englishmen should haue kept their  
ground and defended them, they began to shrink:  
which the Scots perceiuing, strooke on the more  
fiercelie, till at length the Picts not able to with-  
stand their force, fell to running awaie. They made  
their course towards the water of Forth, which was  
not farre from the place of the battell, where being o-  
uertaken, they were beaten downe & slaine in great

numbers: for Kenneth gaue commandement that  
they should spare none of the Picts nation, neither  
gentleman nor other, that fell into their hands. The  
Englishmen whilst the Scots and Picts were thus  
occupied in the fight and chase, withdrew homeward  
with all speed; and by reason of the mountaine which  
they had to passe, that took awaie the sight of them  
from the Scots, they escaped into their countrie  
without anie pursue. Duiklen himselfe so lone as  
he perceived how the field went against him, got him  
to his horse, which he had appointed to be readie for  
him at hand vpon all occasions, and so escaped out of  
danger with a few other in his companie.

The Scots returning from the chase, remained in  
the place of the battell all night, keeping strong  
watch about their campe, for doubt least the Eng-  
lishmen had bene lodged in some secret place nere  
by to haue set vpon them at vnwares, if they might  
haue seene anie advantage; but in the morning when  
it was knowne how they were quite gone their  
waies, and returned into their countrie (as before ye  
haue heard) then was the spoile of the field and Pic-  
tish campe gathered and bestowed amongst the soul-  
diers, after the ancient custome of that nation. And  
then were they all licenced to depart euerie man to  
his home, with thanks for their seruice and paines in  
this iourne so manfullie imployed. Within few  
daies after, the Pictish king Duiklen sent his am-  
bassadors vnto king Kenneth to sue for peace. Ken-  
neth was contented to heare him, and promised to  
grant a peace, so they would surrender vnto his  
hands the gouernement of their kingdome due vnto  
him by right of inheritance. But this condition be-  
ing viterlie refused of the Picts, was the cause that  
the warre was effronces renewed with more cruel-  
tie than before.

The yere next ensuing this battell, Kenneth got  
Mernes, Angus, and Fife into his hands, furnishing  
all the castles and holds with men, munition, and  
vittels. But whilst he went about to subdue the  
countreies about Sterling, word was brought him  
that such as he left thus in garison in those countreies,  
were betrayed by the inhabitants, and slaine euerie  
mothers sonne. Kenneth wonderfullie kindled in  
wrath for the newes, left off his treatie, which then he  
had in hand with the people of Mernes and Ster-  
lingshire for their submission, and returned in great  
hast towards Fife, where being arrived, he put all to  
the fire and sword, not leaving one aliue of the Pic-  
tish nation within all those quarters. The like cruel-  
tie was thewed through the whole countreies of Mer-  
nes and Angus, for an example to other to beware  
how they falsified their faiths once giuen by waie of  
allegiance.

In the meane time that Kenneth with his Scots  
raged in such wise through those countreies, Duiklen  
assembling all the power of his countreies, came  
forth into the field to meet the Scots, meaning ei-  
ther to put them backe out of the confines of his do-  
minion, either else to die with honor in the attempt  
thereof. Thus passing through the countrie, at length  
he came vnto Scone, where afterwards stood a fa-  
mous abbie of chainons of saint Augustines order,  
and here he found Kenneth with his armie already  
incamped. The next day, when both parties were re-  
die to haue giuen battell, Duiklen wishing rather  
to aske peace whilst his power was yet in safetie,  
than after he were once vanquished (if such were his  
misadventure) to intreat for the same in vaine, sent  
an herald at armes vnto Kenneth, willing that he  
might talke with him before he soined, for that he  
had to say certeine things, which being followed,  
might turne to the great benefit and commoditie of  
both the Scottish and Pictish nations.

Kenneth

The English  
men escape.

Duiklen ef-  
fected by flight

The Picts  
sue for peace.

Kenneth get-  
teth Mernes,  
Angus, and  
Fife.

Fife is put to  
the fire and  
sword.

Mernes and  
Angus is  
cruellie pun-  
ished.

Duiklen  
cometh to  
rescue his  
people.

Kenneth for that he would not seeme to refuse a  
nie indifferent offers, was contented to come to a  
communication, and so thereupon both the kings in  
presence of both their armies arranged in the field  
readie to fight, came together in a place appointed,  
either of them being accompanied with a like num-  
ber of their nobles, as by the heralds it was accom-  
moded. Here Dunsken with manie reasons going a-  
bout to perswade peace, shewed how necessarie the  
same was betwixt the two nations: and againe,  
how doubtfull fortune was to them that trusted too  
much in hir vnstedfast fauour: at length he grew to  
this end, that if Kenneth could be contented to grant  
a peace, the Picts should release all such right, title  
and interest as they had in the countreies of Agernes,  
Angus, and Fife, vnto him and his successors the  
Scottish kings for ever, so that he should make no  
further claime vnto anie other of those countreies  
which the Picts as yet possessed.

The persua-  
sion of peace  
by Dunsken.

Agernes, An-  
gus, and Fife  
is required of  
the Picts to  
release.

Kenneth his  
answere.

Herevnto Kenneth answered, that he well vn-  
derstood how vnstable fortunes lawes were, but si-  
thens the Picts fought in an vnjust quarell, as to  
desiaud the posteritie of their lawfull king Hyngus,  
who latelie reigned amongst them, of the rightfull  
inheritance of their kingdome, they themselves had  
just cause to doubt fortunes chance, where the Scots  
hauing put vpon lawfull armour, and seeking to at-  
teine that by warre which by other means they could  
not attaine at the hands of the vnjust possessors, they  
had lesse cause to mistrust hir fauour, & therefore if  
the Picts were desirous of peace, they ought to cause  
a surrender to be made of their kingdome into his  
hands, accordinglie as they well knew it was rea-  
son they should. And what commoditie might there-  
of inſiue to both nations, being by such means once  
ioined and vnited into one intire kingdome, he doub-  
ted not but they vnderstood it sufficientlie enough.  
And as for other conditions of peace than this, he  
told them plainelie there would be none accepted.  
Thus did the kings depart in funder, without anie  
agreement concluded: and being returned to their  
armies, they make readie to trie the matter by dint  
of sword.

The order of  
the battell.

Kenneth exhorted his people that day to shew  
themselves men, sith the same should iudge whether  
the Scots should rule and gouerne the Picts, or the  
Picts the Scots. With these and manie other effec-  
tuall words when he had encouraged his folks to the  
battell, he diuided them into three wards, as two  
wings and a maine battell. In euerie of them he  
set first archers and arcuballisters; and next vnto  
them pikemen and speares, then bilmen and other with  
such short weapons: last of all, an other multitude  
with all kind of weapons, as was thought most  
expedient. The fore ward was committed to the lea-  
ding of one Bar, a man right skilfull in all warlike  
knowledge, the second one Dongall gouerned, and  
the third was led by Donald the kings brother. The  
king himselfe with a troope of horsemen followed  
them to succour in all places where he saw need.

King Duns-  
ken inbolde-  
neth his pro-  
ple the Picts.

The women  
were a cum-  
brance to the  
Picts.

Then commanded he his trumpets to sound to  
the battell, which the Scots began with such a chere-  
full shout, that the Picts euen vpon the first onset  
were so amazed, that if Dunsken had not with com-  
fortable words relieved their fainting stomacks, the  
most part of them had fled without anie stroke stric-  
ken. But being encouraged through the presence of  
their king, shewing himselfe with cherefull counte-  
nance amongst them, and therewith exhorting them  
to stand by him at that present, there was fought a  
right fore and cruell battell betwene them. The wo-  
men that were amongst the Picts, of whom there  
was no small number, speciallie in the right wing,  
made such a woollull noise, when they beheld the men

one kill an other, that they were a more cumbance  
to the Picts, than aid, when it came to the point of  
seruice: by reason whereof that wing was shortly  
beaten downe, and put to flight. Which when Ken-  
neth beheld, he set in with his horsemen on the  
backs of the Picts, now left bare by the running thus  
away of those in the foresaid wing: and so entring  
in amongst them, disordered their arraie in such wise,  
that by no means they were able to aid themselves,  
or come into anie order againe: so that in the end  
they were faine to throw downe their weapons, and  
take them to their fete, thereby to escape the dan-  
ger. Such heaps of slaine men, armour, & weapons  
laie here & there strewed in the place of the battell,  
that the Scots were forced in following the chase  
to breake their arraie, so to passe the more speedilie;  
by means whereof, falling amongst whole bands of  
the Picts, manie of them were slaine.

This mischiefe Kenneth perceiving, comman-  
ded to sound the retreat, and so gathering his peo-  
ple about their standards, he appointed certeine  
companies in warlike order to pursue in chase of  
the enimies, whilst he himselfe with the residue a-  
bode still in the place (where the field was fought)  
all that day and the next night following. The Sco-  
tish captiues that were sent to follow the chase,  
earnestlie executing their kings commandment,  
made great slaughter of Picts in all places where  
they might ouertake them. Dunsken the Pictish  
king himselfe being pursued to the river of Tairie,  
for that he could not passe the same, was there slaine  
with the whole residue which he had about him. It  
is said, that the Scottishmen incountred with the  
Picts that day at seuen sundrie times, and in seuen  
sundrie places, and still the victorie abode with the  
Scots. The day after the battell, such as had followed  
the chase returned to the campe; where they presen-  
ted vnto Kenneth their king, the armour and other  
spoile of Dunsken the Pictish king, which they brought  
with them, besides great abundance of other pil-  
lage and riches, which they had gotten of the enimies  
that were slaine. Dunskens armour and other things  
belonging to his owne bodie, was offered vp to  
saint Colme, in the church dedicated to his name  
with in the Ile of Colmekill, there to remaine as a  
monument of this victorie to such as should come  
after.

After this the whole preie and spoile was gathered  
and diuided amongst the souldiers. Kenneth was  
counsellor to haue discharged his armie, and to haue  
departed home; but he purposing now to make an  
end of the whole warres, sith he was in such a for-  
wardnesse, called together the multitude, and in  
this wise began to utter vnto them his mind and  
purpose. ¶ It is the dutie of a good capteine, when  
he hath the victorie in his hands, & as yet the warres  
not ended, if he mind the preferuation of himselfe  
and his countrie, and to vse the victorie as he ought,  
not to cease from pursuing the enimies once van-  
quished, till he haue either made them his friends,  
or else bitterlie destroyed & rid them out of the way;  
for if anie man shall thinke it best to suffer the eni-  
mie to remaine in quiet, after he be once weakened,  
and brought to a low ebbe, till time peraduenture he  
shall haue recovered his forces againe, he shall pro-  
cure to himselfe (as I gesse) more danger than hap-  
pilie he is well ware of. And that we may speake  
somewhat of this danger now present, the state of  
the Pictish kingdome (as ye know) is fore infiebled,  
their power being diminished by force of warre, is  
brought to that point, that it resteth in our hands v-  
terlie to destroye and exterminat the whole nation.  
Which act ought to be abhorred, if it were possible for  
vs by anie means to draw them (our hono: sauid)  
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Picts.

The king  
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Scotland par-  
tially vnto  
the Scots.

Two names  
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Angus,  
Fife.

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of the king

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Two names  
of the  
Picts  
Agernes,  
Angus,  
Fife.

The familie  
of Dunbar.

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into our friendship. But the Picts are of such a  
stubborne nature, and so desirous of reuenge, that  
so long as there remaineth anie one of them alieue,  
they will beare in their hearts a desire to reuenge  
all such losses as they haue in anie wise sustained by  
this warre. Whereupon I doe verelie belieue, that  
there is none of the Pictish nation from henceforth,  
will beare anie faithfull friendship towards the  
Scots. Therefore sith we can not make the Picts,  
thus latelic scourged by vs, our friends, I thinke  
it best (except we will neglect our owne safeties) vt  
terlie to destroe the whole nation, by putting to the  
sword not onelie both men and women, but also all  
their youth and young children: least they being de  
scended of that linage, hereafter in time to come,  
arme themselves to the reuenge of their parents  
deaths, and that not without perill of the bitter losse  
of our countrie and kingdome.

This sentence of the king, though it seemed too cru  
ell to many, yet whether for that they saw the same to  
stand with the kings pleasure, or that they thought it  
most expedient for the suertie of the Scottish com  
mon-wealth, it was allowed and ratified by them  
all. Such crueltie hereupon was forthwith shewed  
throughout all the Pictish regions, that there was  
not one living creature of humane shape left alieue,  
sparing such as saued themselves within the walles  
of Camelon, or in certaine other holds and fortres  
ses, and also about two thousand of those that fled in  
to England: for all the residue were most unmercif  
ullie murdered and slaine, without respect either  
of age, sex, profession, or estate. Thus Kenneth ha  
ving dispatched the inhabitants, seized the countrie  
into his owne hands, making partition of the same  
as he saw cause, and diuiding it amongst his nobles,  
according to the merits of euery of them dalie  
lied and considered, he added new names vnto e  
uerie quarter and region (either after the name of  
the gouernor, or else of some promontorie, riuer, or  
other notable water or place, according as was the  
ancient custome of the nation) that the memorie of  
the Pictish names might end together with the in  
habitants.

The countrie ancientlie called Hozestia, was gi  
uen vnto two brethren, Angusian, and Pernan, by  
reason whereof the one part of the same countrie  
was called Angus, and the other the Vernes. The  
linage of those two noble men remaine vnto this  
day. The region which till then was named Otholi  
nia, was turned afterwards to the name of Fife, af  
ter the name of one Fife Duffe: whose valancie  
was thoughtlie tried in these last warres with the  
Picts. There remaine vnto this day tokens and old  
ruines of a castell situate betwixt the riuer of Lenix  
and saint Kenneths church, which (as yet appeareth)  
was fenced about with seven rampires, and as ma  
nie ditches, wherein the posteritie of this worthie  
man after his decesse had their habitation by the  
space of manie hundred yeres. Louthian retained  
still the former name, so honorable was the remem  
brance of that famous prince king Loth amongst  
all men. The strongest castell of the whole countrie,  
Kenneth bestowed vpon that valliant capteine na  
med Bar, whose counsell and forward seruice stood  
the Scots in no small stead in those warres, in which  
the Picts were thus subdued. That fortresse euer si  
thence (after his name) hath bene called Dunbar,  
that is to say, the castell of Bar.

There descended of him a noble house or familie,  
bearing the name of this castell, continuing in great  
same and honor, euen vnto our time, of the which the  
earles of March had their beginning, and continued  
long in that dignitie from one to another, with sun  
dry branches of right famous memorie. The names

of diuerse dales were also changed, but yet some  
kept their old names still. Oholucia thortlie after  
began to take the name of Annandale, of the riuer  
of Annan that runned through the same. And so  
likelie Tweddale toke name of the water of  
Twed. And Cludsdale of the riuer of Clude. In  
like maner manie other countries, townes, and ca  
stels had their names changed at the same time, af  
ter they came into the possession of the Scottishmen,  
vpon sundrie considerations, for a witnesse of their  
victorious acts atchiued against the Picts. Further  
more, into the citie of Camelon were withdrawn  
the most part of all the noble mens wiues of the  
Picts, with their children, vpon trust to be in safetie  
in the same, as well by reason of strength of the  
place, as also of the strong garison which was appoin  
ted to defend it.

Kenneth therefore hauing taken his pleasure a  
broad in the countrie, came thither with a mightie  
armie to besiege the citie. And first sending vnto  
them within, to know if they would yield, he was an  
swered, how sith it plainelie appeared, that the Scots  
could be satisfied with nothing but with the slaughter  
of all such as fell into their hands, aswell of women  
and children, with impotent aged, as of others, they  
were minded neuer to surrender their hold with life.  
Whereupon the siege continued by the space of ma  
nie daies. Whilest the Scots in the meane time got  
together a great number of fagots, and other such  
brush and stufte to fill the ditches withall, which were  
verie deepe and broad, at length when they within be  
gan to want bittels, they required a truce for three  
daies, in the which meane time they might take ad  
uise for the surrender of the citie. Kenneth mistru  
sting no deceit, granted their request, and thereupon  
commanded his people to ceasse from all manner of  
annoiance of the enemies, for that terme.

But in the meane time the Picts prepared them  
selves of all things necessarie to make an issue vpon  
the Scots. There was also an old gate solet and  
stopped by with earth and stones vpon the one side of  
the citie, so that of a long time before there had bene  
no way forth by the same. Wherefore in the darke of  
the night the Picts ridding away the earth and ra  
mell therewith it was closed vp, about the thirde  
watch they passe forth at that gate in good order of  
battell, setting first vpon such Scots as kept the  
standing watch, who were in doubt of nothing lesse  
than of anie issue to be made on that side, by means  
whereof they were easilie oppressed, and likewise the  
other that kept the inner watch, insomuch that the  
slaughter went on almost euen to the kings tent  
with great noise and clamor, as is commonlie seene  
in such sudden tumults, especiallie chancing in the  
night season.

When the day began once to appeare, the Picts  
withdrawing towards the citie by the same waie  
they came, were pursued by the Scots, and no small  
number of them slaine at the entring. The citie al  
so had bene taken at the same time, but that the  
Picts out of the turrets and loupes of the walles,  
discharged a wonderfull number of quarels, darts,  
arrows, stones, and other things vpon the Scots,  
as they approached nere to the gate, where their fel  
lowes (that made the issue) halted to enter againe  
into the towne. There were slaine of the Scots at  
this bickering aboue six hundred, therewith Ken  
neth was so kindled with wrath, that detesting the  
fallshood of the Picts, he vntied by open oth that he  
would not depart from the siege, till he had put the  
citie and them within to fire and sword, without  
sparing of ante, either one or other.

Sundrie times he attempted to haue wone the  
citie by force of assault, but the Picts still defended  
their

The chan  
ging of the  
names of the  
dales.  
Annandale.  
Tweddale.  
Cludsdale.

The gentle  
women are  
preserved in  
Camelon.

Kenneth sen  
deth vnto Cas  
milon, coman  
ding them for  
to yield.

They of Cas  
milon require  
truce for three  
daies.

The Picts  
issue vpon the  
Scots with  
great fortune.

An extreme  
bow made by  
king Kenneth

The constan  
cie of the  
Picts when  
they were be  
sieged.

their walles so stoutlie, that he could not atchieve his purpose. Whereupon the siege continued for the space of foure moneths together. So that such scarcitie of all kinds of vittels still arose amongst them, that the wretched citizens abstained from nothing that might in anie wise be eaten, though it were neuer so much to be abhored. And yet although they were brought into such miserable state, that there was no hope longer to defend themselves, if anie man notwithstanding all such extremitie, were heard make mention of surrendering, he was forthwith slaine by his fellowes, as an enimie to his nation and a friend unto the Scots. It was thought that Kenneths oth made them so obdurate in their wilfull contumacie, because they saw nothing but death, which way soeuer they inclined.

A pretie craft  
used by Ken-  
neth.

At length when the citie was thus reduced into all extreme miserie, and the ditches filled with faggots and other such stufte, Kenneth one night appointed six hundred of his choicest souldiers to lie in ambush within a wood, joining nere to one side of the citie, so that in the morning when he should give the assault on the contrarie side, they might suddenlie come forth and scale the walles on that other. These souldiers, according to that which they had in commandement, shortly after the breake of day, hearing that Kenneth had begun the assault on his part, quicklie came forth of the wood, and having their ladders readie, came to the walles, reared them vp, and swiftlie getting into the citie, opened one of the gates where one part of the armie entered; the citizens standing in no doubt at all of anie attempt on that side: so as being gotten together to defend the walles on that part where Kenneth gaue the approach, and now hearing how the enimies were got into the citie, and coming on their backs, they were wonderfullie amazed, but yet so long as they were able to make anie resistance, they did what lay in their bettermost power to beat backe the Scots, and to drive them out of the citie againe.

The Scots  
enter the  
citie.

The Picts  
are miserable  
slaine, with-  
out regard  
of person.

The slaughter therfore was great which the Scots made of the Picts in enerie passage & corner of the streets, inso much that the Scottish lords and other capteins, in reuenge of the late receiued losse of their men, through the false practised policie of the Picts, commanded in a great furie to set fire on the houses, and to kill and slea all such of the Pictish nation as came in their way. Thus the murder proceeded upon all estates, as well religious as other, and like wise upon women and children, without anie difference. A number of ladies and gentlewomen, getting them into the presence of king Kenneth, besought him in most lamentable wise, to haue pitie vpon their wooll estate, and to saue their liues from the hands of his most cruell souldiers. But such was the rage kindled in the Scottishmens hearts, that there was no more fauor shewed toward them than toward the other, and so immediatlie were they also slaine without all compassion. So farre forth was the murder executed on all hands, that there was not one left aliue of the Pictish nation, neither man, woman, nor child to bewaile that miserable destruction of their countrie and kinsfolkes. Then were the walles throwne downe & made euen with the plaine ground. The houses and buildings as well priuate as publicke, with churches and chapels, were set on fire, and that which might not be consumed with the rage of fire was ruinated and destroyed with hand, so that there remained of all that famous citie, nothing but the ashes, with heapes of the broken and burned stones, and likewise of the pavement and foundation of some part of the walles.

All the Pic-  
tish nation  
destroyed.  
The citie of  
Camelon is  
throwne  
downe.

The castell of  
Maldens is  
left of the  
Picts.

At the same time the castell of Maldens, now called commonlie Cdenborough castell, was still kept with

a mightie garrison of Picts, but they hearing of the miserable destruction of Camelon, and doubting to fall into the like mischance, left the castell void, and fled to Northumberland. Thus ended the kingdome of the Picts in Albion, in the yere after they first began to reigne therein 1173, and in the yere after the birth of our Sauioz 839, from the first coming of Fergus 1166, and after the creation of the world 4806, if the Scottish chronicles be true. ¶ But there as the truth concerning the time of the first coming into this Ile, as well of the Scots as Picts, resteth doubtfull, and that as well by authoritie of approved writers, as by reasonable coniectures, we haue in the historie of England moze largelie written thereof; we referre those that be desirous to see further of that matter, vnto the same, following here in this historie of Scotland the report most an end, as we find it in Hector Boetius, and other the Scottish writers, not taking vpon vs so franklie to set downe our owne opinion in this Scottish, as in the English historie, through want of such helpes in the one, as we haue got in the other.

There were seene the same yere two comets or blazing starres of dreadfull aspect to the beholders, the one went before the sunne rising in haruest season, and the other followed the going downe thereof in the spring of the yere. There was oftentimes also seene in the aire a vision of fire armies, running together with burning stauces, and the one being vanquished, they suddenlie both of them vanished away. Also at Camelon, as the bishop was at seruice holding his crosse staffe in his hand, it was kindled so with fire, that by no meane it could be quenched, till it was burnt euen to ashes. About same daie, the aire being faire and cleare, as well in the countreies of the Scots as of the Picts, there was heard such a noise and clattering of weapons and armor, with brailing of hozes, as though two armies should haue bene together in fight, whereby manie of either nation which heard it, were put in great feare. These vncouth wonders were interpreted by diuiners diuerselie: some of them affirming the same to betoken top and hapie prosperitie, and other alledging, how they signified rather mishap and bitter calamitie.

But to returne to our purpose. King Kenneth having thus destroyed the Pictish kingdome, together almost with the whole nation, caused the marble stone (which Simon Breke sometime brought out of Spaine into Ireland, and the first Fergusse out of Ireland into Albion, as before is recited) to be brought now forth of Argile (where till that time it had bene diligentlie kept) into Courie, which region before appertained to the Picts, there to remaine from thenceforth as a sacred token for the establishment of the Scottish kingdome in that countrie: he placed it at Scone vpon a raised plot of ground there, because that the last battell which he had with the Picts was fought nere vnto the same place, the victorie (as before is specified) chancing to the Scots. Upon this stone (as before is rehearsed) the Scottish kings were used to sit, when they receiued the investiture of the kingdome. ¶ Some writers haue recorded that by commandement of Kenneth, at the same time when this stone was thus by him removed, those Latine heres were grauen vpon it, whereof mention is made before, where we spake of the afore said Fergusse the first his coming ouer forth of Irel and into Albion there to reigne.

Now in the meane time, when those few of the Picts, which by flight had escaped the Scottishmens hands, and were gotten into England, could by no meanes perswade the Englishmen, being troubled with intestine warre, to aid them in recouerie of their countrie, some of them passed the seas ouer into

The Scots  
warre quick.

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Prophesie  
tolerance  
in the an.

Keneth me-  
sitate.

The tables of  
the law to be  
kept.

Others to  
be hanged.

Penitment  
for these and  
murder.

A woman co-  
demned to be  
drowned, or  
burned quick.

Philosophers  
haue their  
things cut out.

The punish-  
ment for a  
her.

A man accu-  
sed to be con-  
demned by  
men of quick  
men.

Robbers to be  
put to the  
sword.

Magabonds  
to be shipped  
and burnt in  
the stake.

The Scotie shal  
not suffer for  
the husbandes  
of the  
wife.

The con-  
science and the  
more to haue  
with the punish-  
ment.

The rest of  
the Picts  
were disper-  
sed.

ting of the  
ubbing to  
void, and  
singdome  
ep first be-  
pore after  
coming  
the world  
But where  
first com-  
Bids re-  
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the Sco-  
helie to set  
as in the  
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Kenneth ha-  
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seas ouer fir-

829.  
1421. H. B.  
603. H. B.

Prodigious  
tokens seen  
in the air.

The interpre-  
tation of the  
tokens.

The marble  
stone is re-  
ued from the  
gile into the  
vie, in the  
place called  
Scone.

The resti-  
on of the  
were disper-  
sed.

Excess  
tranquill.

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tranquill.

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Excess  
tranquill.

to Norway, and some into Denmarke, and diuerse  
other of them remained still in England, where they  
got their living either by some manuell occupation,  
either else by seruice in the warres. The Scots from  
thenceforth liued in quiet, during the life time of K.  
Kenneth, who deserued eternall fame, by the enlar-  
ging of the bounds of his kingdome, so mightlie  
and in such wise, that where he found the frontiers, he  
made the same well nere the middest of his king-  
dome. Other things he did also teaching the politike  
gouernement of his subiects in time of peace, no  
lesse worthie of praise than his noble and famous  
conquests: but speciallie he ordeined certeine lawes  
for the wealth of his people, whereby his iudges and  
other officers shoud proceed in the administration  
of iustice, of the which I haue thought requisite to  
rehearse part as yet being died, that alwell the au-  
thor, as the time of their first establishment, maie  
the better appeare, vnto such as shall peruse this hi-  
storie.

The Chapters of those lawes which  
yet remaine to be obserued,  
are these.

**E**t euerie thire haue certein men  
skilled in the lawes appointed to  
be resident in the same, according  
as in the beginning it was insti-  
tuted. Let their sonnes also in their youth  
be brought vp in knowledge of the same  
lawes.

Let them onelie keape in their custodies  
the tables of the lawes, with the register  
bookes of the kings & piers of the realme.

If any of them be conuicted of extort bri-  
bing, or other the like vniust dealing, let  
him die vpon the gallowes, and his bodie  
remaine vnburiel.

Such as are codemmed for theft, let them  
be hanged, and those that are proued guiltie  
of murder, let them lose their heads.

A woman which is condemned to die, ei-  
ther let hir be drowned in some riuer, ei-  
ther else let hir be buried quicke.

He that blasphemeth the name of God,  
of the saints, of his pnnce, or of the cap-  
taine of his tribe, let him haue his tong  
cut out.

He that is conuicted of a lie to his neigh-  
bours hinderance, let him haue his sword  
taken from him, and be banished out of all  
mens companie.

Such as be accused of any crimes that  
deserue death, let them passe by the sen-  
tence of 7 honest men, either else of 9, 11,  
13, 15, or more, so that the number be od.

Robbers by the high waies, destroyers  
of corne growing in the fields, as is used by  
enimies in time of warre, let them die by  
the sword.

Fugitiues, bagabonds, and such other  
idle persons, let them be whipt and burnt  
in the cheeke.

Let not the wife suffer for the husbands  
offense, but the husband shall answer for the  
wines misdeeds, if he be priuie thereunto.

Any mans lemmen or concubine shall  
suffer the same paines that he dooth which  
offendeth with hir.

He that rauisheth a maid shall die for it,  
butlesse she require for safegard of his life,  
to haue him to hir husband.

If any man be taken with an other mans  
wife in adulterie, the consenting vnto him  
therein, they shall both suffer death for it.  
But if she consent not, but be forced a-  
gainst hir will, then he shall die onelie for  
the same, and she shall be released.

If the child hurt the father either with  
tong, hand, or foot, let him first be deprived  
of that member, and then hanged, his bo-  
die to remaine without buriall.

A murderer, a dumbe person, or he that  
is vnthankfull to his parents, shall not in-  
herit his fathers patrimonie.

Juglers, wizards, necromancers, and  
such as call by spirits, and be to seke vpon  
them for helpe, let them be burnt to death.

Let no man sow in the earth any graine  
before it be purged of all the weeds.

He that through negligent slouth, suffe-  
reth his arable ground to be choked by  
and ouergrowne with weeds; for the first  
fault let him forsake an oxe, for the second  
ten oxen, and for the thirde let him forgo the  
same ground.

Thy companion in the warres, or thy  
friend being slaine, see him buried, but let  
the enimie be vnburiel.

Anie straie cattell that commeth into  
thy grounds, either restore them to the ow-  
ner, either els deliuer them to the searcher  
out of tharues, commonlie called Tonode-  
rach, or to the parson or vicar of the towne:  
for if thou reteine them in thy hands by  
the space of thre daies, thou shalt be ac-  
counted guiltie of theft.

He that findeth anie thing that belon-  
geth to an other man, let him cause it to be  
cried in the market, or els he shall be iud-  
ged for a fellow.

He that striketh him, with whom he go-  
eth to the law, about anie matter in con-  
trouersie, shall be iudged guiltie of the acti-  
on, and the other let free.

If oren or kine chance by running togi-  
ther to kill one another, the truth being  
not known which it was that did the hurt,  
that which is found without hornes shall  
be iudged the occasion of the skath; and he  
that is owner of the same, shall haue the  
dead beast, and satisfie him for the losse to  
whome it belonged.

If a sowe eate hir pigs, let hir be stoned  
to death, and buried, so that no man eate of  
hir flesh.

A swine that is found eating of corne  
that groweth in the field, or wroting vpon  
the tilled grounds, let it be hanged for anie  
man to kill the same without danger.

Other kinds of beasts, wherein other  
men haue anie propertie, if they breake in-  
to thy pastures, or eate by thy corne, im-  
pound them, till time the owner haue satis-  
fied thee for the quantitie of the damage.

These were ciuill ordinances belonging  
to the good gouernement of the people, o-  
ther there were, which appertene to reli-  
gion:

Adulterers  
shall die.

Adulterers  
shall die.

A child hur-  
ting his father  
shall die.

who are not  
to inherit.

Juglers and  
wizards, &c.

Sowing of  
graine.

Emil hus-  
bandrie.

Buriall of  
friends.

wailes and  
straies.

Things  
found.

Aduersaries  
in lute of lawe.

Oxen or kine  
hurting ech  
other.

A sowe.

Swine.

Beasts da-  
mage fallant.

Articles con-  
cerning religion

gion: as these.

Thou shalt deuoutlie reuerence the altars, temples, images, oratories, chapels, priettes, and all men of religion.

Keeping of ho-  
lie daies.

Thou shalt obserue with due reuerence festiuall and solemne holie daies, fasting daies, bigils, and all maner of ceremonies instituted by the godlie ordinance of man, in the honoz of our S. Christ & his saints.

Priests.

To hurt a priest, let it be accounted an offense worthe of death.

Ground to be  
left untilled.

That ground wherein anie that is slaine lieth buried, leaue it untilled for seuen yerres space.

Graues.

Repute euerie graue holie, and adorne it with the signe of the crosse, so as thou shalt be well aduised that in no wise with thy feet thou tread vpon it.

Buriall.

Burie the dead according to the quantitie of his substance.

Buriall of no-  
ble men.

The bodie of a noble man & of him that hath well deserued of the common-wealth, shall be buried in solemne and pompous wise, but yet in mourning sort & dolorous manner.

Let there be two knights or esquires to attend his bodie to the graue. The one being mounted vpon a white horse shall beare the coate-armoz of the dead, and the other in mourning apparell with his face couered shall ride vpon a blacke horse; who after the corpes is brought to church, turning his horse from the altar, shall crie out how his maister is dead: and there with the people making an outcry against him, he shall streitwaies depart and get him with all speed to the place fro whence he came: the other going streight to the altar, shall there offer by vnto the priest his coate-armoz with his horse, as a token to signifie thereby that his maister doth inioy euerlasting life, in the land of permanent light and ioies eternall.

¶ But this custome of buriall, as that which was supposed not appertaining to the order of the christian religion, the age that followed did vtterlie abolish, appointing to the priests in steed of the horse and armor, five pounds sterling in monie for the offering. With these and diuers other ordinances, which time and other statuts by other kings deuised haue abrogated, Kenneth governed his people in great felicitie during his life time.

S. Kenelhis  
church, now  
called S. Alant  
Andzewes.

The bishops see, which before had bene at Abirne-  
thie, he translated vnto the church of that holie man  
S. Kenel. Euer since which time the towne hath been  
called S. Andzewes, and those which gouerned the  
same church a long time after, were called the great  
bishops of Scotland; for the realme was not di-  
uided into dioceses till the daies of Malcolme the 3,  
who by diuine inspiration (as is said) ordeined the  
see of Perthlake, now called Abirten: but such as  
were reputed of virtuous behauiour and know-  
ledge meet for the office, vied the authoritie & rowne  
of bishops, in what place soeuer they were resident:  
Yet such was the continuance of those which gou-  
erned the church of S. Andzewes, that there haue bene  
about the number of fortie bishops resident there;  
since the first institution of that see; manie of them

for the opinion conceiued of their holinesse, being  
numbered according to the manner in times past in  
the register of saints. But now to returne vnto Ken-  
nel, who hauing (as is said) enlarged the bounds of  
his kingdome, so as the same stretched forth vnto  
the confines of Northumberland on the one side, and  
to the Isles of Orkney on the other, the sea compas-  
sing the residue, at the length after he had reigned a-  
bout twentie yerres in great renowne and glorie,  
he departed out of this life, through too much abun-  
dance of rheumatike matter, at Forthnot, in the  
yere of our Lord 856. His bodie was conueied into  
the Ile of Colmekill, and there honozable buried a-  
mongst his ancestors.

After his deceasse succeeded in government of  
the realme his brother Donald, farre differing  
in qualities from his noble brother the foresaid Ken-  
nel; but yet before he came to the rule of the realme,  
he disclosed not his vicious nature, for doubt of of-  
fending the king his brother. Neuerthelesse he had  
continued scarce two yerres in the estate, but that he  
had subuerted all god orders in his realme, by his  
naughtie examples of dissolute liuing: for his mind  
was set on nothing but on wanton pleasure; as in  
the vnlawfull vse of concubines, riotous banquet-  
ting, keeping of batwakes, hounds, & horses for plea-  
sure, and not for the vse of warres, whereof he had no  
regard at all: for such charges as he should haue  
bene at for maintenaunce of men of warre to keepe  
the frontiers of his realme, were imployed on a sort  
of rascals, that serued him in the furtherance of his  
wanton delights and voluptuous desires, as hunt-  
men, falconers, cokes, batwodes, ruffians, and such  
like lozzels.

Wherevpon diuers of the nobles remembryng  
what appertained to their duties, spared not but fre-  
lie admonished the king what danger would insue of  
his misordered behauior, if he reformed not his ma-  
ners, nor restrained the licentious boings of his ser-  
uants and familie. But when they perceiued that  
their words were not regarded, but for the same  
they themselves ran into displeasure; they forsooke  
not a little, to see to small hope of amendment of such  
enormities, as euerie where reigned through the re-  
gion: for all youthfull persons giuen to sensuall lust  
followed the same without anie feare or care of cor-  
rection, so that there was no measure of offending  
and haunting of euill rule in all parties, insomuch  
that hostlie, through want of all god gouernance,  
was long was placed in stead of right, and contempt of  
Gods honoz embraced euerie where in place of ver-  
tue and godlinesse.

In this meane while, the residus of the Brits re-  
maining amongst the Englishmen, ceased not to  
solicit the gouernors of the countrie to aid them to-  
wards the reconerite of their dominion out of the  
Scottishmens hands, promising to be subiects vnto  
the English nation, if by their helpe they might be  
restored to their ancient seates. At length Albert  
and Ella kings of Northumberland were perswaded  
through instant sute to take that enterprise in hand,  
the rather vpon trust of good successe, for that they  
vnderstood what lacke of politike gouernement then  
remained amongst the Scots, by reason of the  
kings naughtie demeanoz; and most inordinat trade  
of life. But first there was a league concluded with  
new articles of agreement betwixt the Englishmen  
and Britains, as yet inhabiting alongst the coasts  
of Cumberland, by meanes of which league both  
Britains and Englishmen joined their powers to-  
gether, and in most speedie and forcible wise passed the  
water of Tweed, first pitching their campe in the  
countrie of Mers. From whence immediatlie king  
Albert (being appointed as generall in that towne)

The bound  
of the Scotch  
kingdome.

King Ken-  
nel departed  
out of this life  
856. H. B.

Albert is put  
slight as  
a robber, or  
robber.

Albert his  
position by  
water is ta-  
ken by the  
Scottishmen.

The king  
admonished  
of his nobles  
great dif-  
ficultie in the  
countie  
tyme.

The Scots  
campe sub-  
mitted to the  
Englishmen.

The English  
kings request  
aid of the  
Englishmen.

Albert and  
Ella kings of  
Northumber-  
land.

The English  
men and Bri-  
tains joined  
their powers  
with the  
Brits.

The whole  
armie of  
Northumber-  
land.

being  
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Donald.  
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sent an herald vnto Donald the Scottish king, com  
manding him either to surrender vp vnto the Picts  
all such regions as the Scots had taken from them;  
either else to loke to haue the Englishmen and Bri  
tains no lesse their enemies than the Picts, whose  
cause they had taken vpon them to mainteine and  
defend.

Donald being at the first sore troubled with these  
nelmes, yet at length (by the aduise of his nobles) he  
toke a god hart vnto him, and in defense of his  
realme caused musters to be taken throughout all  
his dominions, and forthwith came into the field to  
10 encounter his enemies, whome he found at Jed  
burgh ready to giue battell: where after soze fight,  
in the end Obert with his people was chased to  
the next mountains. Donald hauing thus obtai  
ned the victorie in this conflict, supposed all had  
bene his owne, and thereupon remoued ouer  
Tweed with all possible hast, marching forth till he  
came to the mouth of that riuer, where there laie at  
20 anchoe certeine English vessels, laden with proui  
sion of vittels and all other things necessarie for the  
furniture of an armie. Donald setting vpon these  
ships, with small resistance toke them, spoiled them  
of all such things as were found aboard, and after set  
fire on them. The spoile was diuided amongst the  
soldiers and men of warre, which serued them to  
small vse or commoditie: for all the youth of the ar  
mie, through example of their prince, was so corrup  
ted in vicious customes, that the campe was repl  
nished with hoges, badges, stews, and dicing tables,  
30 in such wise, that all such prouision as should haue  
serued for soze and stayle of vittels, was spent in  
riotous banqueting without anie order or measure:  
so oftentimes (as it chanceth where politike gouerne  
ment lacketh) there happened amongst them in the  
armie, discord and variance with sundrie murders  
and slaughters.

When the enemies were aduertised how far out of  
order all things stood in the Scottish campe for want  
of god and discret chieftains, Obert with all speed  
got a mightie host togither againe, and before his  
approch was looked for of the Scots, he commeth vp  
on them one morning in the breake of the day, and  
assaileth them in their lodgings, wherein he found  
them so vnprouided of all helps to make resistance,  
that it was a wonder to see the disorder that appea  
red amongst them: some of them running vpon  
their enemies naked without all discretion, other  
breaking forth of the campe to saue themselves by  
flight, not sparing hill nor dale where they saw anie  
way to escape the enemies hands, though it were  
with present danger of breaking their necks downe  
the sliding banks and craggie rocks, being forced  
thereto by the fierce pursute of the Englishmen and  
Britains, who most eagerlie pleased vpon them in  
all places, to reuenge the late receiued ouerthrow  
and slaughter of their friends and kinsfolks. There  
died of the Scots in this mortall bickering aboue  
40 twentie thousand persons. King Donald being fast  
asleepe at the first assault of the enemies, as he that  
had drunke ouer night more than enough, was ta  
ken before he could make anie shift for himselfe,  
with the residue of the nobilitie, that escaped with life.

The Scottish campe, the next day after this  
ouerthrow, was rifled, the spoile being diuided a  
mongest the Englishmen and Britains. But when  
the fame of this infortunat battell was noised once  
through the realme of Scotland, how the king was  
taken prisoner, his campe twone, the armie discom  
fited, and almost all the soldiers and men of warre  
slaine, those few of the nobles which were left alive  
remaining prisoners in the enemies hands, there  
was such dole and lamentation made ouer all, as

though the realme had already bene lost without re  
course. Some there were that blamed fortune,  
some cursed the wicked trade of life in the king, o  
ther bewailing the great calamitie of this mischance  
put the fault in diuers other things, as in such cases  
commonlie it falleth out: for in sundrie heads are e  
uer sundrie opinions. Sparie ran by and botone  
the streets and high waies, to inquire the certaintie  
of all things, and whether there were anie hope at  
all left to resist the enemies, also which way the en  
emies held, whereabout they went, and what they pur  
posed to do.

Anon after, when it was certeinlie knowne that  
the Englishmen were entred by Louthian, and the  
Britains by Galloway, there was such feare mixed  
with sorrow (for losse of their friends and kinsfolks)  
stricken into the peoples hearts, and namelie into  
the womens, that a greater hath not bene heard  
of in anie region. So that all prouision to defend  
their countrie was quite neglected, so amazed were  
the Scots with the sudden change of fortunes fauor.  
The Englishmen hereupon toke all the countrie e  
uen to the water of Forth, and likewise the Britains  
seized into their hands all that which lieth from the  
bounds of Cumberland vnto Sterling bridge, find  
ing no resistance in their way at all. Wherevnto as  
well the Englishmen as Britains vied the victorie  
verie cruelle, sparing neither one nor other of the  
Scottish blood, that by anie means fell into their  
hands, but pitiless and all passed one way, that is, by  
the edge of the sword.

King Obert purposed to haue passed the water  
of Forth, that waie to haue entered into Fife, & so  
ouer Tait into Angus: but hearing that the Scots  
had gathered a power to impeach his passage, he  
staid certeine daies. At length vnderstanding that  
the enemies were nothing of that puissance or num  
ber, as at the first they were reported to be, he de  
termined to set ouer in certeine boats ten thousand  
of his men; but through a sudden tempest of wind  
and weather, that rose in that instant, there were  
siue thousand of them drowned, the residue being  
constrained to land againe on the same side from the  
which they lofed, hauing lost through violence of the  
weather all their tackle and whole furniture of their  
vessels. Obert being also admonished with this mis  
fortune, thought god to attempt no more the furi  
ous rage of the water, but determined by land to  
go vnto Sterling, where he vnderstood he should  
find the Britains, with whome he might ioine his  
power, and passe ouer the bridge there, and so inuade  
other of the Scottish regions which lay thereabout.

But at his comming thither, certeine Scottish am  
bassadors came vnto him to sue for peace, which  
they humble required at his hands in name of the  
whole realme, beseeching him to consider well the  
state of the case as it stood, and not to trust too much  
on bittle fortune, the which the weth his selfe neuer  
stable, but commonlie vseth to call backe againe his  
grant of prosperous successe, where the receiuer  
hath not skill to vse it moderatlie, and the vanqui  
shed seemeth to haue bene sufficientlie corrected. As  
for the Scots, though it might appeare that their  
force was greatlie abated, & that resistance should  
little auail them: yet were they minded to die in  
defense of their liberties, rather than to submit them  
selves vnto anie conditions of vile seruitude. The  
words of these ambassadors being throughlie towied  
(though some toke them in great disdain) yet in the  
end it was supposed that after victorie thus had a  
gainst the enemies, honorable conditions of peace  
ought to be preferred before doubtful warre.

Whereupon answere was made to the ambassa  
dors, that both the English and British people with  
99. ij. their

The English  
men inuade  
Louthian, the  
Britains  
Galloway.

The Scots  
left comforta  
lesse.

The Bri  
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erland, and  
those other  
counties li  
eng by the  
coast of thos  
west seas.  
The victorie  
vied cruelle.

A great manie  
Englishmen  
drowned.

Embassadors  
sue for peace.

Fortune is  
bittle.

Peace granted with conditions.

Articles of peace proposed.

The Forth called the Scottish sea.

Dunbryeton. It was called before Caer Brecluth, thar is, the citie upon Clud, as H. Lihoid holdeth.

Hoffages are required.

The Scots milike the articles of peace.

Calene his graue counsell taketh place.

The multitude contented into Calene his sayings.

The Scots receive the peace.

their kings were contented to haue peace with the Scots (though it laie in their hands now to destroy the whole nation) if so be the Scots would agree to resigne aswell to the Englishmen as Britains all such lands and countreys as they had now gotten into their possessions, without anye claime or title to be made to the same from thenceforth, either by them or anye of their posteritie, so that the water of Forth on the east halfe, should diuide the Scottish dominions from the confines of the Englishmen & Britains, and be called from that time enen after, the Scottish sea. On the west the water of Clide should diuide the Scottish lands from the Britains; the castell of Mellich, standing at the mouth of the same river, to remaine in the hands of the Britains, from thenceforth to beare the name of Dunbryeton, that is to say, the castell of the Britains. And furthermore, that if anye of the Scots should attempt to passe the said bounds into anye of the British or English borders, he should die for that offense. And if by force of tempest it chanced anye of them to be driven to land on the south shore, within anye of those parties, they should take nothing away with them but water or vittels, and depart within thre daies, except some reasonable cause of staie constrained them to the contrarie. Moreover, they should not fortifie anye towne or castles on the frontiers nere to the English or British confines. And further, they should covenant to pay unto the Englishmen and Britains, within the space of twentie years, the summe of one thousand pounds of siluer. For performance of which articles of agreement, the Scots should deliuer thre score hostages, being the sonnes and heirs apparant of the chiefe noble men of all their realme and countrey. And if it so were that they misliken and refused anye of these articles, he commanded that there should no other ambassadour come to him for anye other treatie of accord.

The ambassadours returning home, and declaring how they had sped, manie of the Scots thought the articles nothing reasonable for free people to accept; they iudged that either they must come to some agreement with the Englishmen and Britains, or els put the land in extreme perill. Thus had the people bene diuided into two contrarie opinions and factions, had not one Calene a noble man, borne of high parentage, and gouernour of Angus, with sober reasons and strong arguments appeased this contention, perswading them to haue respect to the time. And first the force of the realme was so infested, abated, and brought vnder lot through aduerser fortune: better it was to yeld unto necessitie in satisfying part at that present, in hope after, when occasion serued to recouer the residue, than through obstinat wilfulness to lose the whole. For considering the present danger, it could be reputed no dishonour to receive conditions of peace at the enemies hands, first there wanted not the like example of the Romans, who gladly accepted such articles of peace, as that noble prince king Cals appointed them: and yet it is not to be iudged, that there wanted men of great knowledge and wisdom amongst them, and such as regarded their honor, so far forth as reason in anye wise did reach.

The multitude moued with these words of Calene, whose graue authoritie (by reason of his age, and toime) was of no small reputation amongst them, hauing lost nine of his owne sonnes in the last battell, they finally determined to follow his opinion, in receiuing the same conditions of agreement which Mbert had prescribed: and thereupon sent againe their ambassadours with the hostages appointed for the establishing of the peace, in manner as is before rehearsed. Which being throughly accomplished in

such solemne wise, as in those daies and in the like cases was accustomed, Mbert set Donald with his nobles at libertie, sending them home together with the ambassadours, being earnestly required so to do, both by the English lords, and also by the Britains.

The agreement being thus made, the lands were diuided betwixt the Englishmen and the Britains, in such sort as the Britains had for their part all that which lieth from Sterling vnto the west sea, betwixt the rivers of Forth and Clide, vnto Cumberland: and the Englishmen possessed the other parcels, lieng from Sterling vnto the east sea, betwixt the Scottish sea and Northumberland: so that by this means, Clide water, Forth, and the Scottish sea (where Forth runneth into the maine sea) diuided the Scots from the Englishmen and Britains. And thus was the towne of Sterling a common march vnto those thre people; the same towne with the castell remaining vnto Mbert, as it was couenanted amongst other articles of this peace. Here (as the Scottish writers haue) he ordeined his mint, and his coines of monie to inhabit, whereupon came by the name of Sterling monie: but therein they are deceiued, for (as in the historie of England shall appere) that name came not in use till manie yeres after. Mbert also in this place caused a stone brydge to be made ouer the water of Forth, in stead of the wooden brydge which the Picts had made there, and was now pulled downe, and in the midst of this new stone brydge he set by a crosse, whereon were ingrauen these verses, to be read of the passers by:

*Anglos à Scotis separat crux ista remotis,*

*Arma his sunt Bruti, sunt Scoti hac sub cruce tuti.*

I am free march as passengers maie ken,  
To Scots, to Britains, and to Englishmen.

The Picts which had bene with the Englishmen in this iourne, euer hoping to be restored to their lands and former possessions by Mbert, when they saw how he retained the same in his owne hands, appointing his subiects to inhabit therein, they doubted that which afterwards came to passe in deed, least the Englishmen or friends would now become enemies, seeking the destruction of the whole Pictish generation, thereby to assure themselves in the possession of those lands and linings, whereunto the Picts (as they thought) would euer make some claime and title, whilest anye of them remained alieue.

Upon this mistrust therefore did those Picts, which were amongst the Englishmen, make the best shift they could for themselves, so that manie of them got ships, and sailed into Norwaye and Denmarke, vnto their countreimen there: the other that could not make shift to get away, were slaine anon after by the Englishmen, so that one of them was not to be found alieue within anye of the English dominions. And such was the end of the Picts that fled vnto the Englishmen for succour. In this meane time the Scottish king Donald being restored againe to his countrey, was receiued with moze ioy and honor than he had deserved, in hope yet by this scourge of aduerser fortune, that he would haue reformed his former abuses. Neuerthelesse, he had not bene at home any long tyme, but that he fell to his old vicious trade of life againe, removing from his companye such honorable personages as wished the succour of his estate, with the advancement of the common welth, to the reliefe and ease of his poore miserable subiects. At length the nobles of the realme, perceiving the danger that their countrey stood in, by reason of Donalds insolent misorder, vnder their rule and gouernement, they found means to agree with him, and commit him vnto safe keeping. What the monstrous creature, within a few daies after he

The Scottish king in prison. 860.

was himf 860.

Young babe

gave war

ing into his mother.

Reas ro mag died.

Gifts like in hope to men.

Door and lockes fell downe out of the face.

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was thus put in ward in great desperation line himself, in the first peare after he had begun his infortunat reigne, and in the peare of our Saviour 860.

The same peare that the realme of Scotland was brought unto such miserable state by the puissant force of the Englishmen and Britains, as above is rehearsed, there were sundrie wonders heard of in the countrie; as in Louthian a child of one moneth old and a halfe, admonished the mother to flie out of that countrie: for it would come to passe, that the enimies should come and take that region out of the Scottishmens hands. Wreaths also, as they were passing abroad in the fields there, roaring after a strange sort, suddnlie died. Fishes likewise, in shape resembling the figure of man, were found dead in the sands of the Scottish sea. In Galloway there fell such abundance of adders and snakes out of the skie, that the aire being corrupted with the sanour of them lying on the ground, both men and beasts died of certeine diseases, which they took through infection thereof.

Such as were accounted to be skilfull in divination, affirmed that these things did signifie an infortunat reigne, with an euill end unto king Donal, as afterwards it happened, who hauing made away himselfe in prison (as before is exprest) Constantine the sonne of king Kenneth was crowned king at Scoone, in the chaire of marble there, according to the manner as their vsed. After his first entering into the estate, he would gladielie haue gone in hand with the wars against the Englishmen, to haue recovered out of their possessions, those countreies which they had lately taken from the Scots in his predecessors time; but his counsell aduised him otherwise, declaring that the state of the commonwealth was so decayed by the misgouernance of his said predecessor, that till the same were reformed, and such intestine discorde, as through licentious libertie reigned amongst his subjects might be appeased and quieted, there was no hope to achieve any worthie enterprise abroad against forreigne enimies.

Hereupon by their aduertisements and good aduise, he deuised a reformation of all such misorders as were growen by in all parts of his realme: and first for the spiritualtie, he ordeined that priests should attend their cures, and not to intermeddle with any secular businesse, but to be free from going forth to the warres: neither should they keepe houses, hawks, or hounds. And if any of them were found negligent in doing his dutie appertaining to his vocation, he should for the first fault forfeit a peece of monie, but for the second he should lose his benefice. For the youth of his realme he took order (to bryde them the better from wanton delights and sensuall lusts) that none of them should haue past one meale a day, and that of no fine or deintie delicats, and to abstaine from all such drinke as might dissemper their brayne, so that if any yong person, either man or woman were knowen to be drunken, they should die for it.

He commanded further, that all the youth of his realme, should exercise running, wrestling, shooting, throwing of the dart and bowle: so to auoid slothfullnesse, that their bodies might with such exercises be made the more able to endure paines and trauell: and for the same purpose he took order, that they should lie vpon the bare boards, with one mantle onlie shrouen under them, so that they should tast nothing neither by day nor night, that might molest them in any wanton delights or effeminat pleasures. It was also ordeined, that all such as kept bittelling houses for banketting there, should

be banished the realme, with those that kept brothell houses. Thus were the Scots by obseruing of these ordinances, made within short tyme of gluttons and excessive feeders, sober and temperat men: of delicat and easfull persons, hard, tough, and able to abide any trauell or labor: were the same neuer so painfull: and hereof the state of the commonwealth began to grow to good perfection, so that Constantines administration was liked of the most part of all his subjects.

The first that went about to disquiet the prosperous reigne of that worthie prince, was one Euan, a man of an ancient house, and borne in the westerne Isles. Such haue bene the vnquiet nature of the Scottishmen, euen from the beginning, neuer to lye contented any long tyme either with peace or warre: for being once wearied with the charges of the warres, they streightwaies wish for peace; and hauing in tyme of peace heaped together some wealth, then can they not suffer the gouernement of their superiours, but either are ready to fall out with some forreigne enimie, or else to raise some commotion amongst themselves. This Euan therfore being the kings lieutenant of his castell of Dunstaffage in Loughababer, practised a conspiracye against the king, with a number of other light persons being gentlemen borne, mistaking the administration of things, onelie for that they saw hold their inordinat libertie to oppresse inferior persons, and to vse such wild and insolent misdeuour, as they had done afore tyme, was now restrained by lawfull iustice and execution of due punishment for the same.

But as these conspirators went about to haue moued the people of Loughababer, Murray land, Kesse, and Cathnesse, to haue ioined with them in their traitorous interprise, some of them in whom Euan put most trust, secretlie aduertised the king of all the whole matter, who gathering a competent number of men together, made such speedie hast towards Dunstaffage, where the chiefe captaine of the rebels as then lay, that he came before the same veranie inking were knowen to them within of his approach. By meane thereof comming vpon them so at vnwares, he had the castell sone at his pleasure; and immediatlie hereupon caused Euan to be trusted by on a high paire of gallowes, for a spectacle to all his complices. And furthermore, least the other conspirators might prouide them of some other chiefe teine, he apprehended diuerse of the nobilitie that were accused to be of Euans confederacie, the which he put in strict prison, there to be safely kept, till the peeres of the realme had determined with good deliberation, what should become of them. This busines being in this wise appeased, when all men looked for quietnesse, there suddnlie followed a greater and more pernicious trouble: for such is the course of the world, that when men least thinke of mischief, they fall oftentimes into most danger.

Cadane king of Denmarke, pretending a title to all such lands as sometimes belonged to the Picts, for that the residue of that nation which had escaped the hands of the Scots and Englishmen, had resigned vnto him all their right and interest of the same lands, he determined in that quarrell (and in reuenge of the injuries which the Picts alledged they had suffered) to make warres both vpon Scots and Englishmen. He caused therfore an huge number of ships to be prepared, and a mightie armie of men to be put in a readinesse, to passe in the same ouer into Albion, vnder the leading of his two brethren, the one named Hungar, and the other Hubba. These two chiefe teins hauing their ships and men with all prouision appertaining once ready, took the sea, and sailed forth

houses be b-  
mied.

Scots were  
made sober  
and able to  
abide hardies

Euan disqui-  
etted the king  
and realme.

The vnquiet  
nature of  
Scottishmen.

Euan lieuten-  
ant of Dun-  
staffage conspi-  
red against  
the king.

The king is  
aduertised of  
Euans treason.

The king co-  
meth to Dun-  
staffage with  
an armie.

Euan is exe-  
cuted.

Manie kept  
in prison.

One trouble  
followeth  
another.

Cadane king  
of Denmarke

The cause  
that made the  
Danes to  
make warre  
against Eng-  
land and  
Scotland.

A great nauie  
sent into  
Scotland.

forth till they came to the coasts of Scotland, where they toke land within the countrie of Fife, before any tidings were heard of their coming thither.

The Danes  
of great  
crueltie.

The inhabi-  
tants fled the  
countrie.

They that  
fled into Ang-  
land were  
slaine.

The uncerten-  
tie of writers  
in this matter  
of these mar-  
tyrs.

Constantine  
assembled a  
mightie army.

The Danes being set on land, spared no kind of crueltie that might be shewed against the inhabitants, and namely for that they had not as yet receiued the faith of Christ, they raged without all measure against priests, and religious persons, overthrowing and burning up churches and chapels, wheresoever they found any in their way. Whereupon the Englishmen that inhabited in Louthian, and the Scots that dwelled in Fife, left their houses & possessions, fleeing into other parties, where they thought they might best escape the hands of their new come aduersaries. A great companie also of such vertuous and goodlie persons, as about the same time laboured busilie in setting forth the word of life vnto the people in those parties, fled with one Adrian as then bishop of the Scottishmen, into the Island called Orkney, which lieth in manner in the midway of the passage betwixt Fife and Louthian, where as then there was a famous monastirie of monks. But neither the reuerence of the place, neither the innocencie of those harmles creatures could restrain the Danes from polluting their wicked hands in murdering that deuout companie, as they were then esteemed.

This is that reuerend band of martyrs, which the Scottish people haue had in such reuerence in the foresaid Island of Orkney; a few names of some of that multitude as yet remaining in memorie amongst writers, as the foresaid bishop Adrian, Glodan, Calus, or (as others write) Ananias archdeacon of saint Andrews, and bishop Stobrand: the names of the residue are forgotten. Some there be that affirme how this companie were Hungarians, the which fled out of their countrie, from the persecution which was their exercised by men of misbelieve against the christians, they arrived here in Scotland, and applied themselves to the instructing of the Scottishmen in the way of saluation. Other write that they were Scots and Englishmen thus assembled there together. But of whence soeuer they were, certein it is that by custome they were become Scots, and instructed the Scots (as before is said) in the way of saluation. After this cruell slaughter thus by the Danes committed, they continued in their wood rage, as they passed through Fife and the other countries nere bordering vpon the same, till all the inhabitants were auoided out of their houses, either by flight or slaughter.

Constantine the Scottish king being kindled in the meane time with passing great displeasure, for these so notable iniuries receiued at the hands of the Danes, thought good with all speed to go against them, and to attempt the chance of battell before they had wasted any further within his dominions, so greatlie to the diminishing of his roiall power and effimation amongst his subjects. Hereupon leueng his people, and assembling a mightie host together, he passed forth with the same towards his enemies, the which were lodged in two severall camps, the one being distant from the other about a quarter of a mile, seuered in sunder with the course of a little riuer called Leulin, the which (vpon the approach of the Scots vnto that part of the campe that lay on the further side next vnto them) chanced to be raised on such hight, thorough abundance of raine, that in two daies after vnneth it might be passed over at the fords.

After this soze and tempestuous weather, the aire cleared vp and waied verie faire and calme, giuing occasion to the Scots to worke their feat against one part of their enemies, whilst the other could not

come ouer vnto their aid and succor. In this manner which lay on that side the riuer next vnto the Scots, Hubba was lodged, who did what he could to haue slayed his men from issuing forth of the campe, to giue battell when the Scots drew nere to the same, and assailed all waies by prouoking the Danes with skirmishes to come forth and fight with them in plaine field. But notwithstanding all that he could doe, forth they rushed in such wise by plumps, and with so great noise and clamour, that the captains were constrained of necessity to set them in order of battell, with they would needs giue the onset vpon their present enemies.

The Danes did weare aloft vpon their armor, cer- teine lincen garments, wrought with red silke, shew- ing faire and white both at hand and a far off. Their weapons were of such sort as serued for the push rather than for downe-right blowes, the points being of such a handsome strong fashion, that no armor might lightlie hold forth against them. These kind of weapons, together with the muster of their huge bodies, was dreadfull at the first for the Scottishmen to behold, as they marched towards them in arae of battell. But anon comming nere together ready to ioine, the Scots manfullie taking to them new courages, set vpon the Danes with great violence, who likewise began the battell verie stoutlie, so that the same continued right fierce and cruell a good space. At length the Danes being assailed on each side, both afront before, and on their backs behind, oppressed as it were with multitudes, did throw downe their weapons and fled amaine. Some of them making towards their campe were ouertaken and slaine, diuerse of them falling into the ditch were oppressed with thzing, aswell of their owne companie, as of their enemies, as they passed ouer them in following the chase, and struing to enter the campe vpon such as stood to defend them from entering. Other there were that leaping into the water in hope to get ouer, were drowned in the whirling waues of the streame; though some, through helpe of their fellowes (which stood on the other side ready to haue passed the water, if they might so haue done without manifest danger of drowning) escaped and got ouer, amongst whom Hubba was one, to the great reioicing of his brother Hungar, to see him thus deliuered twice from perill of death, as first from amongst his enemies, and secondlie out of the roaring streame of that deepe and swift raging riuer.

The Scots hauing thus put one part of their enemies to the worse, with that happie success: toke such comfort and immoderate ioy, as though they had bene now sure of victorie ouer all the residue, so that for two daies together, there was such banking, singing, and piping amongst them, as the like hath not bene heard of. Sea so farre proceeded their insolent outrage, that they began to contend amongst themselves for the prisoners and spoiles, which they counted now their owne, as though already they had the same whole in their possession; and further reasoned, not without altercation, whether the Danish captives after they had them once in their hands, should be put to death, or els be kept allue to be shewed to the people in triumph or no. Great adoe and manie baine words were spent hereabout, in such earnest sort, that they were at point to haue fallen out amongst themselves: but there was no mention at all made touching the ordering of their battels, and other the necessarie proceedings against their enemies. At length, when the riuer was fallen and come to his old course againe, so that it might easilie be passed. Constantine in order of battell got ouer with his people, to the other side where the Danes were lodged, who hauing more mind to set themselves in such order,

The Scots  
Danes vnto  
their battell.

The Danes  
apparel  
The weapons.

All men of  
bodie and  
limbs.

The battell.

The Danes  
take the flight.

Hubba was  
sauered from  
by swimming.

The Scots  
toke of this  
victorie  
derate ioy.

The Scots  
for to proceed  
to follow.

The Danes  
approach to  
wards the  
Scots.

The Danes  
are put to  
flight.

Constantine  
proceeded to  
gainst his ene-  
mies.

whereby

The order of  
placing of the  
Danes army.  
Hubba had  
the right wing  
where he had  
the left wing.

Hungar kept  
the battell.

Hungar made  
a bow.

The Scottish  
men made the  
like bow.

King Con-  
stantine ple-  
ased his men in  
this manner.

In encourage-  
ment giuen to  
his soldiers.

The Danes  
approach to  
wards the  
Scots.

The Danes  
did quarrels  
and these  
Danes.  
The Scots  
did arrows  
and darts as  
these as  
these.

The Scots  
are put to  
flight.

Constantine  
proceeded to  
gainst his ene-  
mies.

whereby

is to mys  
e Scots,  
to haue  
ampe, to  
the same,  
nes with  
them in  
he could  
the battell,  
aps, and  
captains  
n order of  
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armo; cer  
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e push ra  
nts being  
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h side, both  
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d to the peo  
ahie baine  
armest fort,  
it amongst  
at all made  
no other the  
imies. At  
ne to his old  
passed. Con  
his people,  
odged, who  
such order,  
whereby

The Scots  
Danes some  
he could  
the battell,  
aps, and  
captains  
n order of  
set upon

The Dances  
apparel.

Their Sara  
pons.

Call men of  
bodie and  
ings.

A battell.

The Dances  
take the fight

The Dances  
take the fight

Hubba was  
sauced from  
by owning.

The Scots  
take of this  
victorie num  
berate top.

The Scots  
for top readie  
to fall out,

The Dances  
approch to  
the Scots.

The Dances  
and quarrels  
the Scots.

The Scots  
and quarrels  
the Scots.

The Scots  
and quarrels  
the Scots.

Constantine  
proceeded as  
gainst his en  
mies.

whereby they might gaine the victorie, than to deuise  
for the dividing of the spoile, perceiuing occasion  
now offered to giue the onset, forthwith arated their  
people in this sort.

Hubba with six thousand Danes, was placed in  
the right wing. The left was led by one Buerne an  
Englishman bozne, who was fled out of his coun  
trie, for that he could not beare such iniuries as Al  
bert offered him in forcing his wife, to the great re  
proch and dishonoz of his house and name. He had  
with him in this left wing certeine bands of Eng  
lishmen, with those that had escaped ouer into  
Denmarke (as before is mentioned.) Hungar with  
all the residue of the armie, kept the battell in middle  
ward, exhorting his men to shew their force & man  
hood that day, with the same should either put them in  
possession of the whole land of Albion, with all the  
substance and riches contained therein, either else  
bring them perpetuall scrutubie with ignominie a  
mongst their most cruell and fierce aduersaries. He  
therefore himselfe openlie in presence of them all,  
vowed with solenne oth, either to retorne with vic  
torie to his campe, either else to die in the place, wil  
ling them all to make the like couenant. Whereby,  
on the vniuersall multitude allobed him so much  
for this his motion, that there was not one amongst  
the whole number, which agreed not to sweare the like  
oth. Constantine keeping in manner the like order,  
placed in the right wing his brother Ethus, in the  
left Duncan the lieutenant or thane of Athole, ap  
pointing to either of them ten thousand men a peece.

All the residue were set in the battell where he him  
selfe stood. And first he ga. ie them all hartie thanks in  
that they had so valiantlie achieved the victorie in the  
last battell, requiring them now not to blemish their  
former glorie with anie faintnesse of courage, re  
creant cowardise, or dishonorable flight: and further  
he willed them in no wise to be afraid of their en  
mies, in respect more for their hugeness of bodie,  
than for anie of their valiant stoutnesse of heart: for  
if they assailed them with one whole and entire con  
sent, according to their wonted forwardnesse & man  
like prowes, they should quicklie put them to flight,  
and obtaine a loislall victorie. Wherewith he also war  
ned them not to run rashlie upon the enemies, but to  
suffer them first to giue the charge: for by that  
meanes he thought the Danes would with their ear  
nest violence disorder themselves, and so should it be  
more easie for the Scots to breake in amongst them.

But this deuise did not a little abate the Scottish  
mens courages. For the Scots be is, when they  
shall enter into battell, to make a great shout and  
noise, and therewith to run upon their enemies, by  
which meanes (as they suppose) they both put the en  
mie in feare, and incourage themselves to the bat  
tell. The Danes at the sound of the trumpet marched  
forth towards the Scots, where they stood thus in or  
der of battell: but when they perceiued that the  
Scots came not forward, they also staid in the mid  
way to refresh themselves, least at the joining they  
should be out of breath. Anon after, passing for  
ward an easie pace, they shot quarrels, and threw  
darts at their enemies verie freshlie, and the Scots  
let lie at them againe with arrowes and darts as  
thicke as it had bene a storme of hails.

After this they rushed together with great vio  
lence on both sides: but within a while, the Danes  
had put both the wings of their enemies to flight, and  
after compassing the maine battell round about,  
they constrained the same in the end with great bloud  
shed and slaughter to giue backe and fle out of the  
field. Ten thousand Scots died that day in this in  
fortunate battell with Constantine himselfe, who be  
ing first taken was had into a caue by the sea side &

amongst the rocks, and there cruellie murdered by  
the enemies. The place was called certeine yeeres  
after, the blacke den: but now they name it the di  
uels den, in memorie of that heinous murder there  
committed. The Scottish nation also had bene utter  
lie as then destroyed, had not Ethus the brother of  
Constantine, perceiuing how the field was lost, es  
caped awaie with two companies of his best men of  
warre, so reseruing himselfe to the time of more luc  
kie fortune.

The people likewise doubting for want of a go  
uernoz to be the soner overcome by their en  
mies, did lead the said Ethus to Scone, where they  
crowned him king, in the yeere after the birth of our  
Saulour 874, and the 13 after Constantine began  
to rule the estate of the realme. The same yeere  
were manie wonders and vnketh sights seene with  
in the Scottish dominions. In the mouth of the  
Forth, otherwise called the Scottish sea, there ap  
peared fishes in great numbers, like vnto men in  
shape, swimming by and downe in the streame  
with halfe their bodie aboue the water, and hauing  
a blacke skin, which couered their heads and necks,  
from their shoulders vpwards like an hood. These  
are called Bassinates, and vse to go in great compa  
nies together, as though they were skulles of ber  
rings, signifieng (when they are seene) some great  
misfortune vnto the countrie, as the common people  
haue long had an opinion. Also the loches, riuers,  
and all maner of other waters were frozen from the  
beginning of Nouember, till the latter end of Ap  
rill; and when the frost brake, and the snoue mel  
ted, there was such a flood flowing ouer all the  
plaines euen to the roots of the mounteins, as the  
like had not bene seene. Furthermore, when the same  
thunke and went away, in the mud and slime there  
was such a sort of frogs left, that when they were  
dead, and began to putrifie, the aire was so infected,  
that manie deable diseases insued, whereof great  
numbers of the inhabitants did perish. Moreover,  
there was a mightie starre or comet seene with fire  
raies issuing forth of the same, which both night and  
day folowed the mone during the moneth of Aprill,  
to the great horroz of all that beheld it.

But to proceed. The Danes (as is said) hauing  
banquished the Scots, and wasted the countrie of  
Aife, passed ouer into Louthian, where robbing and  
spoiling all before them, they pursued the inhabi  
tants into Northumberland, whither they fled for  
refuge. Where the Danes being aided with certeine  
Englishmen in fauour of Buerne, due in battell  
both Albert and Ella, kings of that countrie. The  
crueltie of the Danes was such after they had atchi  
ued the victorie, that few escaped with life, but such  
as saued themselves by flight. But chieflie there  
rage appeared most against priests, and such as pro  
fessed themselves men of religion. For the Danes  
being Ethniks, persecuted most egerlie those that  
in anie wise professed Christ. The like outrageous  
murdering of the christians was practised through  
out the countrie, and at length came vnto that  
blessed king saint Edmund, reigning as then o  
uer the people of the Eastangles, as in the English  
hystorie more plainlie mate appeere. Whoboeit other  
of the English kings maintained the warres with  
these Danes certeine yeeres after this, with variable  
fortune; the most part of those people which inhabited  
on that coast toward the Germane seas, either be  
ing slaine or brought into miserable bondage and  
thraldome. But Alured, which succeeded his brother  
king Edbelred, not in the kingdom of Northfolke  
and Suffolke (as Hecet Boetius affirmeth) but in  
the kingdom of the Westsaxons, rebelled a great  
part of this miserie, into the which the countrie was  
thus

to taken and  
murdered.  
The blacke  
den or caue.

Ethus bzo  
ther vnto  
Constantine  
was saued by  
flight.

Ethus.

874.

Fishes like  
vnto men in  
shape.

Bassinates.

A long winter

Frogs in the  
mud & slime.

A comet.

The Danes  
went into  
Louthian.

King Albert  
& Ella slaine.

This crueltie  
inured the  
folke also.

King Alured  
rebelled those  
harmes.  
Hecet Boetius  
us miseth

divers mat-  
ters touching  
the report of  
our histories.

Ethas surna-  
med Lightfoot

Ethas neg-  
lected the op-  
portunitye.

A conspiracie  
made against  
king Ethas.

King Ethas  
is arrested,  
with his fa-  
vourers.

Gregorie is  
chosen king.

Gregorie.

876. H.B.  
875. 10. Ma.

A convocati-  
on of the cler-  
gie.  
Priests are  
free of all tri-  
bute.

They should  
not be called to  
serve in the  
warres.  
Authority gi-  
ven unto bi-  
shops to order  
kings.

thus brought by the Danes, by subduing them in sundrie condies, and sleaing their two capteins the foresaid Hungar and Hubba, as in the same English historie is further exprest.

But now to retorne unto Ethas, I find that he was of such swiftnesse of foot, that he would match and make waie in running with harts and hounds, and thereupon was surnamed Lightfoot: but of that nimble lightnesse of bodie soever he was, truth it is that he was of disposition in mind unfit to haue the order of anie publike regiment. For whereas he might haue recovered life and Louthian with other regions, whilst the Englishmen and Danes were together by the eares, he passed ouer that occasion, delighting more in following the pleasures of the bodie & sensuall lusts, than to bestow his time in feates of chivalrie and other warlike exercises. The nobles of the realme perceiuing him thus to abuse the woorthie gifts of his person, mistrusting least his insolent doings should indamage the publike state of the common-wealth, they toke counsell together how they might apprehend him, and to send him some whither out of the waie where to be safely kept, and then to place some other in the gouernement of the realme, that might rule the same with more discretion & better aduise. And least their resolution should be disclosed before it toke effect, they slackt no time, but went secretly about their businesse. And coming to the king, whome they found a hunting in Calidon wood, they suddenly arrested him, and therewith committed him to safe keeping: & those whome they knew to be fauourers of his euill rule and misgouernance, they put them also fast in irons, till they had answered vnto such articles as should be laid to their charge. This done, they proceeded to the election of a new king; and in the end by the perswasion of one Dongall gouernour of thane of Argile, they chose Gregorie the sonne of that Dongall, which reigned before Alpine, who was not past two moneths old when his father died.

This Gregorie being knotune to be a man worthy of the rowne, though he himselfe onlie was against it, at length by perswasion receiued the inuention of the kingdome at Scone, with all due solemnities. Ethas hearing thereof, through anguish of mind died within three daies after, in the second yere of his reigne, and 876, after the birth of our Saviour. There be that write how he was strangled in prison by Dongall his procurement, least by aduantage he might haue bene restored vnto libertie, and withall haue made claime to the crowne againe. Gregorie being thus established in the estate, considering that the suertie of all realmes rested in the hands of the diuine maiestie, to begin his gouernment with some luckie enterprise, caused a conuocation to be holden at Foxfair, for the aduancement of Christs religion: where amongst other things, it was ordeined, that priests from thenceforth (to the end they might more freely attend to their vocation) should be exempt from paying of tribute and all manner of exactions. Also that they should not be constrained to go vnto the warres, neither to come before anie temporall iudges, but onlie before their ordinaries and bishops, by whome they should be iudged in all causes. The same ordinaries and bishops should also haue authoritie to order all men, both publike and priuate, as well for the keeping of faith & gentlenesse, as to constrain them to confirme the same, and to punish such as should be found in the contrarie; likewise in causes of controuersie touching matrimonic, testaments, legacies, and such like: moreover the correcting of those that blaspheme either God or his saints.

Heretikes and necromancers, with other the like

offenders against the lawes and articles of the christian religion, was assigned vnto the bishops and their substitutes, so that all those which were found disobedient vnto them, and refused to be at their commandement, they should haue authoritie to excommunicate them out of the church, and from companie keeping with anie of the congregation, so as they that were thus excommunicated, should be deprived of all abilitie to intop anie inheritance or right to lands or possessions that soeuer they were. Neither should they be accepted as a witness in anie manner of cause, neither beare anie office or rule in the common-wealth. This Gregorie also (as is said) was the first author of that ordinance, by the which the Scottish kings at their coronation vfe of ancient custome to vow by solemne oth, that during their liues, they shall mainteine and defend the church with his ministers, in all ancient liberties and priuileges, and not to suffer anie man to hurt or intringe the same.

There was suerlie in this Gregorie a certaine naturall inclination to vertue, with such aduisednesse in all his wordes, that he vttered few or none but that the same seemed to be spoken with verie great consideration. He was neuer married, but continued in chastitie all his life time. Of meate & drinke he was verie spare, delighting in all kind of sobrietie, more watchfull than giuen to sleepe. But his same increased most for his mainteining of iustice and ciuill administration concerning the state of the common-wealth, not omitting the practise of warre, where necessity required. The first expedition which he toke in hand, he made into fife, to recover that countrie to the crowne of Scotland. At whose entrance into the same, the Scots, whome the Danes had left in those parties at their departure thence, being stricken with feare to fall into the hands of the Scots their ancient enemies, fled southward into Louthian, leaving fife in manner void, and without anie that would offer to defend it against the Scots.

Whereupon Gregorie so finding it desolate of inhabitants, sent for people out of other parts of his realme, appointing them dwellings in that countrie as he thought most expedient. This done he passed into Louthian, where taking the fortresses and places of defense, some by force, and some by surrender, he easilie reduced that countrie into his subiection, so that within a few daies, hauing there all at his pleasure, he came vnto Berwik, where there were a great number of Danes joined together with the Scots, as men not minding to flee anie further, but to fight with the Scots euen there, if they should come forward vpon them. But when they saw what number the Scots were of, and hairewith doubting the Englishmen to come on their backs if the matter went not well with them; they thought it best that such Danes as were of anie great reputation of nobilitie, should withdraw into Berwik before the enemies were at hand, and the residue to passe ouer the firth into Northumberland, there to ioinie with other Danes that in those parties were lately arrived.

But the Englishmen within Berwik, abhorring nothing more than to be vnder subiection of the Danes, in the euening after the receiuing of the Danish nobles into their towne, deliuered it together with their ghesse vnto the Scottishmen, who suffering the Englishmen at their pleasure either to go their waies with all their goods, or to remaine still in their houses, slew the Danes, without sparing either man, woman, or child. Then leauing a strong garri- son of Scottishmen within Berwik, Gregorie marched south with the residue of his people into Northumberland, to visite that countrie to other of his

Herbert  
threatened the  
Scots.

The Danes  
prepare to the  
battle.

The Scots  
euerie inuade  
their enemies.

King Grego-  
rie is fleeing  
to the south-  
west.

The Danes  
die to their  
camp.

He made an  
expedition  
to fife.  
The fife  
led into the  
thames.

The king  
inhabited  
in fife.  
He subdued  
Louthian.

The Danes  
and fife  
to the  
fifteenth  
year.

They did  
to fife  
berland.

The Danes  
nobles fled  
into Berwik.

The Danes  
are slain in  
Berwik.

King Grego-  
rie is fleeing  
to the south-  
west.

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Herbert  
commanded the  
host.

The Danes  
came to the  
battell.

The Scots  
were in a  
great number.

King Grego-  
rie being  
in a  
great number.

The Danes  
were in a  
great number.

Herbert  
commanded his  
host.

Herbert  
commanded  
his host.

They fled  
into North-  
umberland.

Herbert  
commanded his  
host.

King Grego-  
rie being  
in a  
great number.

his dominions that bordered vpon the same.

In those parties at that selfe time there were two armies lodged in the fields, the one of Danes not far from York, vnder the leading of one Herdunt, who had lately taken and sacked that citie, and the other of Englishmen that laie 20 miles off from the said Danes. Herdunt hearing of the slaughter which the Scots had made of his countreymen at Berwik, threatened fore that he would not leaue a man alive of the Scottis race within anie part of the confines of Albion. Which bow manie of the companie, following their capteins example, likewise made. Shortly after, hearing of their enemies approach, the whole host by commandement of Herdunt issued forth of their campe to giue battell.

Where the Scottis king standing with his people in order of battell, had thought to haue used some comfortable speech vnto them, thereby to incourage them to fight: but such halt was made by the Scots to please vpon their enemies, that he saw it more needfull to take heed to the ordering of them in perfect arate, than to stand about to exhort them, whome he saw ready inough of their owne accord to fight. Therefore he said no more vnto them, as he went amongst the ranks, but onelie willed them to remember how cruellie Constantine their king was sometime murthered, after he had yeldded himselfe prisoner to these enemies, with whome they should now ioine.

The Scots herevpon running to the battell with no lesse stoutnesse of mind than violent force, gaue their enemies scarce space to charge their weapons, but bare them downe with long speares and iavelins, and withall the bilmen following them made great slaughter on ech side, so that there needed neither exhortation of capteins, nor diligence of wil- lers to keepe them in arate. For the wrathfull stomachs of the souldiers onelie wrought the feat in such sort, that the Danes were quickly put to flight and chased. Those that could not escape to the campe, got them vnto the next mounteins, who chanced vpon better lucke than those that escaped to the campe, for the egerneesse of the Scots was such in chasing the enemies, that neither ditch nor rampire could staie them from entring the campe vpon the Danes where they made greater slaughter than they had done in the field.

The next daie Herdunt goeth about to assemble his men togither againe, being dispersed here and there: but when he vnderstood how he had lost the more halfe of his whole host, he cured that unhappie day, and determined to retire vnto Rasin, who as then was capteine generall of all the Danes that were in England. But Herdunt by reason of his wounded men, whome he was faine to carrie with him, could not make forward with anie great speed, so that he was scarce fortie miles got forth on his waie, when word came to him, that Rasin fighting with the Englishmen vnto warlike, at a place called Helcades, chanced to be slaine with a great multitude of his people: and therevnto his head was carried abroad by and downe the countrie from towne to towne to be seene. By such mishaps the prosperitie of the Danes so much flourishing of late, began now manifestlie to decaye.

Herdunt although he was not a little discouraged therewith, yet he chose forth a plot of ground most meet for his purpose, where he determined to abide in campe, till he might vnderstand what the Danes in other places were minded to do. But Gregorie king of Scots, hauing thus expelled the Danes forth of Northumberland, brought that countrie vnder his subiection: neuerthelesse he permitted the inhabitants to inioy all their possessions still, whelie to

ceining of them in name of soueraintie a paxellie tribute. So that within a few daies after, he brake by his armie, and went himselfe into Berwik, where he remained all the winter season in consulta- tion with his nobles about the publike affaires of the realme.

In the beginning of the next summer, he prepared againe for warre, and raising an armie, he purposed to make a iourne against the Britains, who held (as before ye haue heard) a great part of Scotland. But he was not daunted to vse anie force in this warre: for the Britains being bered afore this time with warre by the Danes, had compounded with them for an huge summe of monie to haue truce for thertie yeeres space: but the Danes without regard to their promise, shortly after (with a greater power than at the first) entered into the Britissh borders, re- newing the warre so fiercelie, that albeit their force was sore enfebled, by reason of the two last over- throwes; yet the Britains doubting the worst, feared to incounter with them, and therefore after con- sultation had, they thought it best to assaie if they might happilie allure the Scots, of their enemies to become their friends. Wherevpon sending vnto the Scottis king an herald, they require to ioine with them in armes against the Danes, common enemies to both their countreies, promising that if they would so do, they would willinglie render into his hands all such possessions which they held at anie time be- longing vnto the Scottis kingdome.

Gregorie weeing with himselfe how necessarie this friendship should be, not onelie to the publike weale of all the whole land of Albion, but also of the god suertie and aduancement of Christs religion, whereof the Danes were greivous aduersaries (for this he thought, that if Scots, Englishmen, and Britains did ioine in one, and knit themselves to- gither in aiding each other, there was no nation in the world that they needed to feare) he consented vnto the request of the Britains, and so accepting their offer, he had all those regions which pertained some- time to the Scots, and were now in possession of the Britains, surrendered into his hands, and so by this means were the Scottis confines enlarged and extended vnto their owne ancient limits and for- mer bounds.

This dissention and variance being ceased after this maner, it greatlie reioiced the minds of all the inhabitants of this Ile; but contrariwise, the Danes looked for nothing more than present destruction to insue vpon them, if this amitie should continue anie while amongst their enemies. Wherefore they practised sundrie means to breake th amitie thus remain- ing betwixt their aduersaries, Scots, Englishmen, and Britains. Wherein they needed not great- lie to trauell, for within a short time after the conclu- sion of the same league, the prosperous successe of the Englishmen (which for a season had followed them vnder the conduct and gouernement of their king Alured against the Danes) occasioned the Britains also (hauing now no further feare of the Danish puissance) to repent themselves of the league, which they had latelic made with the Scots, so that Constantine, whome a little before they had receiued to be their king after the deccasse of his father, raised a power, and with the same entered into Annandale, to recover that countrie out of the Scottismens hands. But hearing in the end that Gregorie was coming with a great armie to suc- cour his subiects, whome the said Britains on each side had sore afflicted, they began to draw backe to- wards Cumberland with their bottie, thinking there to be in safetie, vntill a time more conuenient.

But king Gregorie coasting the countrie, met with

tants of North-  
umberland  
to inioy their  
lands.

King Grego-  
rie wintered  
at Berwik.

King Grego-  
rie prepared  
an armie a-  
gainst the  
Britains.

The Bri-  
tains send to  
king Grego-  
rie.

King Grego-  
rie his consi-  
deration.

A peace con-  
cluded, and  
lands surren-  
dered to the  
Scots.

The Bri-  
tains repent  
them of the  
league made  
with the  
Scots.

The Scots  
ouerthrow the  
Britains.

Constantine  
is slaine.

Herbert king  
of Britaine  
sent ambassa-  
dours to Gre-  
gorie.

King Grego-  
rie his an-  
swers.

Gregorie re-  
quired a reli-  
gation of  
Cumberland  
and Westmer-  
land.

Peace was  
concluded.

Humf. Lhoid.  
870.

with them at Lochmaben, and there gaue them bat-  
tell, wherein when Constantine perceived how his  
people began to shrinke backe, as one hauing more  
regard to his honoz than to the suertie of his life, he  
rushed forth into the foremost preale, there to succour  
and relieue his standards: but being compassed a-  
bout amongst a great companie of his enimies,  
his chance was there to be slaine with a number of  
the chiefeest lords of all the British nation. The other  
multitude seeing the day go thus against them, fled  
to saue their liues, leauing the victorie so vnto the  
Scots.

This ouerthrow did put the Britains in danger to  
haue bin utterlie ouerrun, what by the Scots on the  
one side, and Danes on the other: for as for forren aid  
to be looked for of the English, they had plaine an-  
swer they should haue none, sith they had so vniust-  
lie broken the league concluded with their confede-  
rats the Scots, to the great hinderance of the pros-  
perous proceedings of all the inhabitants of this  
Ile, against their common enimies the Danes.  
Yet the better to establish the estate of their coun-  
trie, and in hope of some recouerie of their former  
damages; they crowned to their king one Herbert  
or (as some copies haue) one Hebert the brother of  
the last Constantine, and herewith sent ambassa-  
dours vnto Gregorie king of the Scottishmen to ex-  
cuse themselves, in that they had so wrongfullie at-  
tempted the warres against him and his people,  
laising all the fault in Constantine, who against the  
toills and contrarie to the minds of his subiects, did  
take vpon him that dishonorable and most infortu-  
nat enterprife.

Gregorie hauing heard the message of these am-  
bassadors, for answer declared vnto them, that  
he understood well enough, that the Britains now  
sued for peace vpon no reuerend consideration they  
had vnto their othe of covenant; but onelie for that  
they saw how if they should pursue the warre still,  
they were sure that in the end they should be like to  
haue the soile: and therefore he was fullie thus resolu-  
ed, not to conclude anie peace or truce with such  
disloyall people, till they had resigned ouer into his  
hands the whole possession of the countries of Cum-  
berland and Westmerland, with assurance neuer to  
pretend anie claimie or title vnto those dominions  
from thenceforth: and herewith for performance of  
covenants, to render into his hands not onelie the  
keies of all the towne, castels and fortresses in the  
same countries, and to auoid quite their waies into  
Wales to offer their countriemen there, but also to  
deliuer sixtie noble mens sonnes and betres appa-  
rant as pledges to remaine with the Scots.

The ambassadors returning home with this  
message, and reporting it accordingly vnto their  
king, when all men had said their aduise, in the end  
they condescended to conclude a peace with the  
rehearsed conditions prescribed by the Scottish  
king, sith they saw no better meane to preferue their  
nation from present destruction. And thus deliue-  
ring the appointed number of pledges, they left the  
countries of Cumberland and Westmerland void,  
surrendering into the Scottishmens hands the pos-  
sessions of all the towne, castels and fortresses, and  
therewith departed into Northwales, where they  
placed themselves in the countrie betwixt Conway  
and the riuer of De, out of the which they expelled the  
Englishmen (that were then in possession thereof)  
and therewith they erected a kingdome there, which  
they named Stradeluid, mainteining warres a-  
gainst the Englishmen manie yeares after.

King Gregorie hauing thus enlarged his king-  
dome, assembled his nobles at Carleill, where he  
resolved (with their aduise) to follow such good for-

tune as by Gods prouidence dallie chanced vnto  
them. Wherevpon it was agreed, that they should  
go first vnto Powke to conquire that citie, whilst  
the Englishmen in Kent were occupied with the  
Danes that were come thither; so as neither the  
one nation nor the other could attend to make anie  
attempt to hinder the Scottishmens enterprife. But  
in the meane time came ambassadors vnto Gre-  
gorie from king Alured, to congratulat his prospe-  
rous successe against his enimies the Danes and o-  
thers. These ambassadors also willed to haue the  
ancient league betwixt Englishmen and Scots re-  
newed, by which means both their powers might  
ioine together against their common enimies, when  
they should attempt anie wyongfull inuasion.

This request was granted, so that hostilie there-  
vpon peace was established betwixt those princes  
and their people, with confirmation of the old league,  
thereto were added these articles; That the Scots  
should inioy possession of Northumberland without  
anie claimie to be made to the same by the English-  
men; If the Danes chanced to inuade either of their  
dominions, the warre should be accounted as com-  
mon to them both; Neither should the Scots grant  
passage to anie enimie of the Englishmen through  
Scotland, neither the Englishmen suffer the Scot-  
tishmens enimies to passe through England; If a-  
nie Englishmen did rob or steale anie thing out of  
Scotland, that should not breake the league; but the  
offendours with the receiueurs should be deliueered  
to the Scottish magistrats, to be punished according to  
the qualitie of the offense; and the like should be ob-  
serued by the Scots towards the Englishmen.

Thus things being quieted with the Englishmen,  
as Gregorie was about to lay armour aside, word  
came to him of new troubles forth of Galloway, by  
reason of an inuasion made by the Irishmen into  
that countrie. For the Irishmen hauing knowledge  
that the inhabitants of Galloway had spoiled two  
ships of Dublin arriving on their coast, sent ouer a  
great power of men, the which landing in Galloway,  
made great slaughter of the people on each side.  
King Gregorie being aduertised hereof, straightwaies  
made towards them, but they hauing knowledge  
of his coming drew to their ships with a great prey  
of goods and cattels, and returned therewith imma-  
diatlie backe into their owne countrie.

Wherevpon Gregorie without delay got together  
his ships and followed the enimie with all his armie,  
and landing in Ireland, put the nobles of that realme  
in great feare, who as then were in contention to-  
gether which of them should haue the gouernement, by  
reason their king was latelie dead, and had left a  
sonne behind him being but a child in yeres, to suc-  
ceed him in his throne. Some therefore of the wisser  
foit, and such as tendered the wealth of their coun-  
trie, went earnestlie about to agree the parties, but  
when they saw that it would not be, they did so much  
prouaile, that a truce was taken betwixt them for  
a while, least fighting still amongst themselves, they  
should put their countrie in danger to be ouerrun of  
the Scots: against whome when they had agreed vpon  
the foresaid truce, either of the factions raised a  
power, one Owen being generall of the one, and Co-  
nelius of the other; for these two princes were heads  
of the parties, betwixt whom the controuersie for the  
gouernement of the realme rested, and therevpon by  
consent of the residue had the leading of all them  
that were of their faction.

These two capitains with their armies inuamped  
themselves vpon the banke of the riuer Bane, un-  
der the mountaine called Fute: their camps being  
seuered by a small distance the one from the other,  
in such a strong place, that it was not possible for  
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the enemies to approach them without manifest dan-  
ger to cast away themselves. Their chiefe purpose  
was to prolong the time here in this place, till they  
had furnished the Scottish armie, and then to deale  
with them at their pleasure. But the industrious pro-  
uision of Gregorie passed the politike deuise of the  
Irishmen: for he had commanded that euerie one of  
those Scottishmen, which passed the seas with him,  
should purueie himselfe of vittells, according to the  
custome of the countrie, for fittie daies space, as of  
bread, cheefe, butter, lard, and powdered bieffe: as for  
drinke, they knew they should not need to care, sith  
they were sure to find water inough in euerie place  
where they chanced to come: for as yet filthie & ser-  
uile gluttonie had not softened nor inured with wan-  
ton delicacie the warlike natures of the Scottish  
people.

In the end Gregorie, hauing for certeine daies  
rested himselfe and his men, and deuising in the  
meane time which way he might best indamage the  
enemies; at length concluded to send in the night  
season two thousand of his souldiours vp to the ridge  
of the forenamed mountaine called Fute, through  
the thicke bushes and woods, wherewith the same  
was couered, to the end that getting to the top of  
that hill, right ouer where the Irish camps laie, they  
might in the morning (at what time Gregorie with  
the rest of the armie went about to assaile his eni-  
mies) tumble downe stones from the hyowes of the  
hill vpon them, thereby either to destroy great num-  
bers of them, either else to constrain them to come  
south of their strength into the plaine fields, and so  
to fight with them in a place indifferent.

Kenneth Cullan the thane of Carriske, toke by  
on him to haue the conduct of them that should go a-  
bout this enterprise, who conueieng his band ouer the  
water of Bane, and so vp on the backeside of the  
mountaine, in the morning when their felows fell in  
hand to assaile the Irish campe, where Bzen lodged,  
they tumbled such plentie of mightie stones downe  
vpon the Irishmen, that about a thousand of them  
being slaine, all the residue were forced to forsake  
their ground, & to flee in manner without anie stroke  
stricken. The Scots that were sent to pursue them,  
toke a great number of them prisoners, and due but  
a few, hauing before hand such commandement  
from their prince.

Whilist this mischief fell vpon Bzen and his  
people, Cornelius with his folkes cursling that in-  
fortunate daie, left their lodgings, and marched their  
waies in god order of battell, till they were farre  
inough out of danger. The bodie of Bzen also was  
found amongst other in the rising of the campe,  
with the head bruised in peeces, and the baines pa-  
shed out with some stone throwne downe by the  
Scottishmen from the hill side: which Gregorie at  
the request of some of the prisoners, caused to be bu-  
ried in chistian sepulchre. He caused also women  
and children to be sent awaie harmlesse, onelie re-  
teining the men of able age prisoners. Furthermore  
he commanded that they should vse neither fire nor  
sword, but against such onelie as with weapon in  
hand made anie resistance: and commanded them  
also that they should prouide themselves of vittells to  
serue them, whilist they should lie abroad & remaine  
there in that countrie.

Hereupon manie of the Irish people thus tast-  
ing the mercifull clemencie of the Scottish king, yelded  
themselves vnto him with sundrie fortresses, so that  
Gregorie finding sufficient prouision of vittells to  
serue his host for a long season, he went vnto the  
strong citie of Doungarg, or Doungard, which he en-  
uironed about with a strong siege, & continuing the  
same certeine daies, at length they with in wearied

with continuall trauell and lacke of vittells, opened  
the gate, and suffered him to enter. He would not  
permit his men to meddle with anie of the spoile,  
but appointed the townesmen to redeme the same  
(their armour excepted) of his souldiours for a peece of  
monie.

Afterward, tarieng in this citie by the space of  
thre daies, he departed and came afoze another citie  
called Pontus, which he receiued by surrender, and  
therfore preserved the citizens from all hurt & annoi-  
ance. From thence he purposed to haue gone vnto  
Dublin, about 14 miles distant from Pontus, but  
as he marched thitherwards, he was aduertised that  
Cornelius was comming towards him with such  
an huge armie, as the like had not bene seene with-  
in the memorie of man in that Ile. Whereupon Gre-  
gorie changing his purpose of going to Dublin, vpon  
report of these newes, he got him vp into the next  
mountaine.

The next day came the Irishmen ranged in thre  
battells. In the first there was a great multitude of  
Kernes with darts and bowes: in the second were  
a great number of mightie tall men, armed in cotes  
of male, with bucklers and great long swords, which  
they caried vpon their right shoulders. In the third  
battell, wherein stood their generall Cornelius, with  
all the chiefe nobles of the countrie, were an infi-  
nite companie of all sorts of souldiours, chosen south  
of all the whole numbers. The Scots (according to  
their custome) diuided themselves into two wings,  
and a middle ward, in euerie of the which were thre  
sorts of souldiours: as first archers, and those with  
long speares, then bilmen, and last of all such as  
bare long swords and leaden mallets.

Thus the battells being ordered on both parts,  
forward they make one towards another to begin  
the fight. The Scots (after their shot and throlwing  
of darts was spent, and that they came to some) kept  
off their enemies with long speares or fauelins, in  
such sort, that they were not able to come nere them:  
which disadvantage Cornelius perceiuing, com-  
manded on high, that they should with their swords  
cut those fauelins in lunder. And as he lifted vp the  
visor of his helmet, the better to exhort his people to  
the execution hereof, he was so wounded in the face  
with a speare, that he was faine to withdraw apart  
out of the field. The Irishmen supposing he had fled,  
incontinentlie to saue themselves, threw off their  
armour and fell to running awaie. Thus did the victo-  
rie incline to the Scottish standards.

There died but a few (to speake of) in the battell,  
howbeit in the chase there was a wonderfull num-  
ber slaine: for the Scots pursued them even vnto  
Dublin gates, which citie the next daie Gregorie be-  
set on each side with a mightie siege. There was got  
into this citie at the same time a wonderfull multi-  
tude of people, what of such as were receiued into it  
fleeing from the battell, as also of other which were  
there assembled before, in hope of assured victorie  
and safegard of their goods. By reason wherof being  
thus besieged, they began quicklie to want vittells, so  
that either they must of necessitie yeld, either else by  
some issue auoid that danger wherein they were pre-  
sentlie betwappred.

But forso much as they saw no great likelihood  
of good successe in that exploit, in the end it was con-  
cluded amongst them, that (sith there was no mane-  
re for those noble men which were inclosed within that  
citie to escape the enemies hands, and that there were  
none other of anie reputation abroad able to defend  
the countrie from the Scottishmens pursuance) they  
should fall to some treatie with the Scottish king  
for a peace to be had, with so reasonable conditions  
as might be obtained: for other remedie in that pre-  
sent

The towne  
was peised.

A gentle  
ransome.

Pontus was  
surrendered  
also.

Cornelius  
came with an  
huge armie.

The Irish-  
men came in  
thre battells.  
Kernes.  
These might  
we name Gal-  
lowglashes, if  
they had bene  
furnished  
with axes.

The Scots  
came in two  
wings.

Two battells  
toine.

Cornelius  
was fore  
wounded.

The Irish  
ran away.

Dublin was  
sieged.

They confest  
upon a treatie  
of peace to be  
made.

sent mischief they could deuise none, and therefore this was iudged the best waie of the whole number, nainelie of Cozmach bishop of Dublin, a man for his singular vertue and reputation of vpright life, of no small authoritie amongst them.

Cozmach B.  
of Dublin  
went vnto K.  
Gregorie.

Duncane.

A Wittie  
saieing.

King Grego-  
rie his wife &  
godly answer.

Dublin is fur-  
rendered vnto  
K. Gregorie.

Gregorie was  
receiued with  
proceSSION.

Cozmach bi-  
shop of Dub-  
lin becometh  
a crosse-bearer.

He kisseth the  
crucifix.

He entred the  
castell.

A peace con-  
cluded with  
Ireland.

He took vpon him also to go vnto Gregorie to breake the matter, & so comming afore his pfectence, he sought him most humbly to haue compassion vpon the poore miserable citie, and in such sort to temper his wrath, if he had conceived anie pece of displeasure against the citizens, that it might please him yet vpon their humble submission to receiue them vnto his mercie, and further to accept into his protection his coufine yong Duncane, vnto whome the kingdome of Ireland was due of right, as all the world well vnderstood. He sought him also to remember, that it appertained more to the honor of a king, to preferue the lawfull right of other kings and princes with the quiet state of cities and countreies, than by violent hand to seeke their destruction.

Wherevnto the king answered, that he was not come into Ireland for anie couetous desire he had to the realme, or to the intent to spoile his kinsman of the gouernement thereof, but onely to reuenge such iniuries as the Irishmen had done to his subiects. Not the Scots but the Irishmen themselves were they that had giuen the occasion of the warre, which they had deuelie bought with no small portion of their blood (which had bene shed) as punished for that crime worthilie by the iust iudgement of almighty God. But as touching an end to be had of his quarrell, & for the referring of the kingdome vnto yong Duncans behofe, when he had the citie at his pleasure, he would then take such order as he should thinke most conuenient.

This answer of the Scottish king being reported vnto them within the citie, they determined swiftly with to set open their gates to receiue him: who, when he had caused search to be made whether all things were true like ment according to the outward shew or not, he marched forth towards the citie to enter the same in order of battell, with all his whole armie, into the which he was receiued with procession of all the estates: for first there met him all the priests and men of religion, with the bishop the foresaid Cozmach, who hauing vpon him his pontificall apparell, bare in his hand the crucifix: then followed the nobles with the other multitude.

Which order when Gregorie beheld, he commanded his battell to staie a little, and therewith he himselfe advanced swiftly on foot till he came to the bishop, and falling downe vpon his knees, he reuerentlie kisseth the crucifix, wherevpon receiuing humble thanks with high commendation of the bishop for such his clemencie, he entered the citie, not staieing till he came into the market place, where commanding one part of his armie to keepe their standing, he went with the residue vnto the church of our ladie, and after to that of saint Patricke, where hearing the celebration of diuine seruice, when the same was ended, he entered the castell, where his lodging was prepared. In the morning he caused execution to be done of certaine vncle persons of his armie, who in the night passed had broken vp the houses of some of the citizens, and rauished diuerse women. And for this act Gregorie being had in high reuerence of the Irish people, lodged part of his armie within the citie, and part he commanded to lodge without in the campe.

At length hauing remained a season in this estate at Dublin, he caused the Irish lords to assemble in counsell, where in the end the peace was concluded betwixt him and them, with these articles and covenants. First it was agreed that the yong king

Duncane should be brought vp vnder the gouernement of wise and discret persons, to be instructed in all princelie knowledge, within a strong castell, (wherein he had hitherto remained ever since his fathers decease) till he came to yeeres of discretion. And that in the meane time Gregorie should haue the gouernance of the realme, receiuing all the treasures into his possession. He should also haue the appointment of the magistrates, who should see iustice ministred according to the old statutes & ordinances of the Irish kingdome. That the Irishmen should receiue neither Englishman, Britaine, nor Dane, into their countrey, no not so much as for trade of merchandize, without safe conduct to be granted by him. So that things being thus brought to a quietnesse in Ireland, he receiued an oth of the chieftest of them for performance of the covenants, and here with taking with him threescore hostages, he returned with his victorious armie backe into Scotland.

After this there chanced no notable trouble to the Scots, neither forreine nor ciuill, by all the time of king Gregories reigne, so that passing the rest of his life in quietnesse, he studied chieflie for the politike gouernement of his people in good order and rule, to the advancement of the common-wealth: and finally died an happie old man, in a castell called Doundoie within the countrey of Garioch, in the 18 yere after his entering into his estate, and after the birth of our Sautour 893. He was neuer married, but liued in continuall chastitie: for his famous victories and other his princelie doings, he deserued of the Scots to be numbered amongst their most high and renowned princes. Amongst other his princelie acts which he set forward in his life time, to the adorning of his countrey and common-wealth, Aberdine (of a village) was advanced by him to the state and dignitie of a citie, and the church there indowed with faire reuenues, and sundrie priuiledges. His bodie was conueied vnto the abbey of Colmekill, and there buried with all solemne pompe and erequies: ouer the which his next successor, Donald the first of that name, caused a faire towne to be erected.

In the daies of this Gregorie also, there liued that famous cleark John Scot, a Scottishman in deed borne, but brought vp in studie of god literature at Athens, where hauing learned the Græke tongue, he was sent for into France, to come vnto the emperor Lewes, with whom he remained in seruice for a time: and by whose commandement he translated the booke of saint Dionysie, intituled Hierarchie, into Latine. Afterwards being sent ambassadoz from the same Lewes vnto Alured or Alfred king of England, he continued with him and taught his children, hauing a place thereto appointed him within the abbey of Palmesburie, where he had such resort of hearers and scholars, that it was a wonder to behold. Notwithstanding, at length when he ceased not to blame and sharpe to reprove the corrupt maners of such his scholars, as were giuen more to libertie than learning, he was by them murdered with daggers, as he was reading vnto them, and was afterwards registred amongst the number of martyrs.

But to our purpose. After Gregorie succeeded Donald the 5. in gouernement of the kingdome, he was the sonne of Constantine the second; who finding the state of the realme in good quiet and flourishing in wealth, he applied his whole studie to maiintaine the same in semblable plight and condition. And before all things he caused iustice to be done ministred, so that no iniurie, speciallie if it were done to anie poore person, escaped unpunished. Christ the Lord of all vertue had giuen him such a goodlie disposed

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Spanisher of  
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Godordinan-  
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lected.

Godmond ar-  
rived with a  
newe in 893  
Shumberland.

King Donald  
went to re-  
turne.

Godmond  
went beyond  
Shumber.

Donald sent  
1000 men to  
the aid of the  
Englishmen.

Godmond is  
murthered  
by A. Mured.

A peace con-  
cluded.

The Danes  
to be baptised  
and to remain  
in England.

Godmond is  
baptised with  
name mo.

The of Scot-  
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The thea-  
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The Scots  
and Danes  
confederate  
themselves to-  
gether.  
Malcolme is  
made chief  
generall of the  
armie.  
He is created  
also heire ap-  
parant.  
The earle of  
Cumberland  
heire appa-  
rant to the  
king of Scots  
The Scots  
and Danes  
ioint their  
powers togie-  
ther.  
They begin a  
cruell warre.

Athelstane  
bath sonne  
to king Ed-  
ward.

Athelstane  
come against  
the Scots.

937.

The Scots  
and Danes  
out of order.

The Scots  
and Danes  
ouerthrowne.

The nobilitie  
went to  
Wazche.

Athelstane  
toke North-  
thumberland.

Westmerland  
and Cumber-  
land recon-  
ced.

Malcolme  
escaped his  
hunts.

A counsell  
called by Con-  
stantine.

the English and Scottish nations. Hereupon both the Scots and Danes made the greatest poulion that might be, thinking verelie to subdue the Englishmen, and to bring them to bitter destruction.

Malcolme sonne to king Donald was appointed by king Constantine to haue the leading of the Scottish armie, containing the number of twentie thousand men. The same Malcolme also at the same time was created heire apparant of the realme, hauing Cumberland assigned vnto him for the maintenance of his estate. And euen then it was ordeined, that he which should succeed to the crowne after the kings decesse, should euer inioy that prouince. Malcolme iointing his power with Aualinus and Godfric (who had assembled in like manner a mightie host of Danes) they all together brake into the English confines, sparing no kind of crueltie that might be deuised, murdering the people without a nic pitie or compassion in all places where they came, to the intent that the Englishmen moued with the slaughter of their kindfolks and friends, should come forth into the field to giue battell, supposing they should not be able to withstand the force of the Danes and Scottishmen now ioined in one armie together.

But the more villanie they shewed in their doings, the sooner were they punished for the same. For Athelstane the base sonne of king Edward (whome the Englishmen had chosen to succeed in gouernement of their kingdome after his fathers decesse) with all speed fought to be reuenged of such iniurious doings. Whereupon getting together an armie, he encountered with them at a place called Bruningsfield, or Brunenburgh, in July, in the yere 937, where the English at the first of purpose gaue something backe, as though they had fled: which manner when the Danes and Scots beheld, supposing the Englishmen had fled in deed, they began to pursue amaine, leauing their order of battell, each of them struing who might be the foremost.

The Englishmen (according to the order appointed to them by their capteins) suddenlie fell into array againe, and fiercelie returning vpon their enemies, did beat them downe in great numbers, & so achieved a most triumphant victorie. There died in this mortall battell manie thousands of Danes and Scottishmen, but chiefie the Scottish nobilitie bought the bargain most deere, who choosing rather to die in the field than to suffer rebuke by dishonorable flight, it came so to passe that few of them escaped. There died on that side (as some write) 20000 men in this battell, together with Wilfert king of the Gentes, Huanwall king of Britains, and seuen dukes that came to helpe the Scots and Danes. Athelstane by god aduise following the victorie, entred into Northumberland, and finding the countrie dispurueied of men of warre, he easilie made a full conquest thereof, hauing all the holds and fortresses deliuered into his hands.

Then without further delay he passed into Westmerland, and after into Cumberland, where the inhabitants of both those regions bare-footed and bare-headed, in token of most humble submission, yielded themselves vnto him, promising from thenceforth to continue his faithfull subiects. In the meane time Malcolme being sore wounded in the battell, escaped, yet with great danger, and in an horse-litter was conueied home into his countrie, where he declared to king Constantine the whole circumstance of the ouerthrow and losse of his countreies aforesaid. Whereupon Constantine caused a counsell to be called at Abirneithie, where he perceived how sore his realme was infeebled through lacke of such of the nobilitie as were lost in the last battell, by reason the re-

sidue that were left, seemed through want of yeres, neither able by counsell nor by force to defend the realme, so as he bitterlie despaired either to be of power to beat backe the enemies, or to gouerne his realme in such pollicie for as he would haue wished. And therefore, to rid himselfe of all such cares and troubles, and withall despising all such worldly pompe as might withholde him from diuine contemplation (whereunto he was partie bent) he gaue ouer his kinglie estate, and became a canon within the abbey of saint Anozelwes amongst the count there.

This was in the yere of our Saviour 943, and in the fortieth yere of his owne reigne (as Hector Boetius saith): but if he did thus forsake the world, and entred into religion immediatlie after the battell fought at Bruningsfield or Brunenburgh (for so we find it named by some writers) then must it needs be before this supposed time alledged by the same Boetius, for that battell was fought anno 937, as the best approued amongst our English writers do report, so that it should rather seeme that Constantine refused in deed to deale with the gouernement of his realme, about the same yere of our Lord 937, or shortly after; and that Malcolme gouerned as regent and not as king whilst Constantine liued, who departed this life (after he had continued in the abbey of saint Anozelwes a certaine time) in the foresaid yere 943, falling in the fortieth yere after he first began to reigne. He was first buried in the church there amongst the bishops, but afterwards he was taken vp and translated vnto Colmekill, where he had a towe set ouer him, as was conuenient for the memorie of his name.

In the 36 yere of his reigne there were two monstrous creatures borne in Albion, the one amongst the Danes being an hermaphrodite, that is to say, a child with both sexes, hauing the head like a swine, the best standing forth moze in resemblance than the common shape of man, a fat bellie, with sexe like a goose, legs like a man, full of bristles, and a verie euill favoured thing to behold. The other was borne in Northumberland, onelic hauing a mans sex, with one whole bellie from the nauill downe, but aboue the same diuided with two breasts crested or compassed ridge-wise, and not broad like to the shape of man: beside this it had foure armes and two heads. And euen as from the nauill vpwards it was thus diuided into two bodies, so did it appeare there was two contrarie willes or desires in the same, euer lusting contrarie, as when the one did sleepe, the other would wake; when the one required to haue meat, the other passed for none at all. Sometimes would they chide and bhall together, insomuch that at length they fell so far at variance, that they did beat and rent either other verie pitifullie with their nailes. At length the one with long sickness wearied away and finalie decessing, the other was not able to abide the greuous smell of the dead carcasse, but immediatlie after died also.

About the same time there issued forth a fontaine of bloud out of the side of a mountaine in Gallo-way, and flowed in great abundance for the space of seuen daies together, so that all the riuers therabout (whereof there is great store in that countrie) had their waters mired with bloud, and so running into the sea, caused the same to seeme bloudie certaine miles distant from the shore. These prodigious sights put men in great feare, for that diuinitie did interpret the same to signifie some great bloudshed to fall vpon the Scots shortly after. They were also the better beleued, for that within a while after, that great ouerthrow happened at Bruningsfield, as before is specified.

Constantine  
became a  
canon.

943.

March.

943.

Constantine  
died.

A month.

Another  
month.

Two countie  
the Scottish  
this moneth.

One part  
before the  
year.

Westmorland  
out of an  
hill.

What time  
the bloud  
was shed.

After

After  
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After that Constantine (as is said) was entred into religion, the before named Malcolme the sonne of Donald was admitted king; or rather regent: who although he perceived right well how the force of the realme was so infirmed, that there was no hope to mainteine warres abroad; yet his chiefe studie was by all means possible to defend the borders of the Scottish dominion, and before all things to procure peace with the Englishmen. But as he was about to haue sent ambassadours vnto king Athelstane, to haue treated for peace, he was credibly informed, how Athelstane had giuen Northumberland vnto Aualassus, and made a league with him to haue his aid against the Scots. Which newes put Malcolme in wonderfull dread, for that he understood how his realme was vnpruned of skilfull capitains to make resistance. Yet he caused a counsell to be called, wherein when such as were assembled proponed manie fond and childish reasons, it might happen there was small hope of anie good conclusion; but euen as they were at a point to haue broken by without anie certeine resolution, word was brought how through seditious discord, which had chanced betwixt the Danes and Englishmen being assembled together in campe, they had fought a right cruell and bloodie battell, the victorie in the end remaining with the Englishmen, who ceased not to pursue the Danes in chase, so long as anie day light appeared in the skie.

Aualassus with such Danes as he might get togither after that overthow, fled into Westmerland, and within three daies after, in such ships as he found there vpon the coast, he sailed ouer into the Isle of Hyau, and spoiling the same, with all the prcie he passed from thence ouer into Ireland. In the meane time king Athelstane hauing lost no small number of his people in the foresaid battell, omitted his iourne into Scotland, and lay still in Northumberland, no man vnderstanding what he intended to do. Which newes were so pleasant to the Scottishmen, that there was common supplications and processions made through the whole realme, in rendering thanks to almighty God for deliuering the people by this means from so great and present a danger.

Shortlie after came ambassadours from Athelstane vnto Malcolme, to moue means for a peace to be concluded betwixt the Scottish and English nations, according to the articles of the old league, which motion was so fauourable heard of Malcolme, though he set a countenance of the matter as though he passed not whether he had warre or peace; but in the end, for that (as he said) peace was most necessarie for all parts, he shewed himselfe willing to haue the old former league renewed betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, with anie reasonable conditions which should be thought requisite.

After the returne of the ambassadours, the league was newlie confirmed betwixt the two kings and their people, with the semblable articles as were comprised in the old league, with this article onelie added thereto; that Northumberland, being as now replenished most with Danish inhabitants, should remaine to the Englishmen; and Cumberland with Westmerland to the Scots: vpon this condition, that he which should succeed as heire vnto the crowne of Scotland after the kings decesse, being heire apparant, should hold those regions, and do homage vnto the king of England as his vassall perpetuallie for the same. The peace being thus established betwixt these nations, Indulph the sonne of Constantine the third was proclaimed prince of Cumberland, and inheritor to the crowne of Scotland.

After this, Malcolme passed the residue of his life

in god quiet, without anie troubles of warre, as a man onelie studieng to mainteine the state of his realme in god order, as well for the wealth of the temporallie, as spirituallie, wherevnto he was equallie inclined. At length, as he rode about the prouinces of his realme, to see the lawes duly ministered, at Ellrine a village in Murray land, where he caused iustice to be somewhat stricte executed vpon offenders, he was murdered in the night season by treason of a few conspirators, in the fiftieth yeare of his reigne. But such as did this wicked deed with their complices, by diligent examination were tried out, and on the next day being apprehended, suffered due execution, according as they had deserved, being some in peeces with wild hories, and those peeces sent vnto sundrie cities, where they were hanged vpon the gates and towers, vntill they rotted away.

They that were the doers of the murder also, and procured the doers thereto, were thrust quite through vpon sharpe stakes, and after hanged vpon aloft on high gibbets; and other of the conspirators were put to other kinds of death, as the case seemed to require. The death of Malcolme chanced in the yeare after the death of our Saviour 959. ¶ Here we haue thought good to put you in remembrance, that either the Scots are deceiued in their account of yeares; or else mistake the names of the kings of England: for there they write that this Malcolme departed this life about the 22 yeare of Athelstane king of England, that can not be; if Malcolms decesse chanced in the yeare 959, for Athelstane was dead long before that time, to wit, in the yeare 940, and reigned but fiftene yeares.

Moreover, where the Scottish writers make mention of the warres which king Edmund that succeeded Athelstane had against Anlaf and the Danes of Northumberland, in the daies of king Indulph that succeeded Malcolme, it can not stand by anie means (if they mistake not their account of yeares;) for the same Edmund was slaine in the yeare 948. But verelie this fault in the first account of yeares is but too common in the Scottish historie, and therefore to him that should take vpon him to reforme the errors thereof in this behalfe, it were necessarie to alter in a maner the whole course of the same historie. And therefore we will not wish anie man to giue anie credit vnto their account in yeares, touching the reignes of the English kings, further than they shall see them to agree with our writers, whome in that behalfe we may more safely follow, and by conferring the same with the Scottish writers in some places, happily perceiue the true time, aswell of the reignes of their kings, as of acts done, to fall out in yeares and seasons, much differing from their account: whereof to admonish the reader, aswell here as in the English historie, we haue thought it not impertinent.

And albeit that some may aske what reason we haue to moue vs to doubt of their account of yeares, more than we do of that in our owne writers? We will referre the same vnto their iudgements that are learned, and haue trauelled indifferentlie alike, aswell in perusing the one as the other without affection. But as the errors are sooner found than amended, so haue we thought good to set downe in the margent of this booke, the yeares as we find them noted in the Scottish writers, speciallie in places where we differ anie thing from them, because we will not seme by way of controuersie to preiudice the authors, further than by due consideration the well aduised reader shall thinke it expedient.

At to my purpose. After the corps of Malcolme was once buried (according to the custome) amongst

King Malcolme was murdered.

The conspirators were put to execution.

The murderers were put to execution.

The procurers of the murder were slaine.

959.

The mistake of the names and times of the English kings in the Scottish writers.

Indulph.

mongst his predecessors in the abbie church of Colmekill, Iudolph prince of Cumberland was placed in the marble chaire at Scone, there receiving the crowne and other the inuestures of the kingdome. In the administration whereof he continued for the space of five yeares without anie notable trouble, in the end of which terme, he was required by messengers sent unto him from Aualassus, to ioine with him in league against the Englishmen, in reuenge of that ouerthrow, which aswell the Danes as Scots had receiued at Bronningfield, alledging that opportunity was now offered, sith after the decess of Athelstane, the Englishmen had created Edmund to be their king, a man of a dull wit, & not fit for the administration of high affaires: neither did the league concluded betwixt Athelstane and Malcolme inforce anie impediment, but that he might enter the warre against the Englishmen, considering that both the princes that were the authors of that league were departed out of this life, by whose decess the said league was ended.

Iudolph is provoked by Aualassus to warre against England.

His persuasions.

Iudolph his answer.

The Danes not pleased with such an answer procure warre against England.

The Norwegians come to the aid of Aualassus. Rinald a valiant capitaine.

Elgarine yielded the forts unto the Danes.

10000 soldiers sent by king Edmund.

Elgarine is taken prisoner.

But Iudolph for answer hereunto declared, that the league was concluded betwixt Malcolme and Athelstane, by great deliberation of aduise, and by consent of all the estates of both realmes, taking their solemn oaths for the true obseruing thereof, so that he could not, vnlesse he should violate that oath, attempt anie thing to the breach of peace with the Englishmen, procuring the iust indignation of almighty God against him and his people in that behalf. Whereupon the Danes accounting Iudolph but a stoutfull and negligent person for this kind of answer, as he that regarded not the honor of his realme and people, in letting passe so great opportunity to be reuenged of the Englishmen for the death of such Scots as died in the ouerthrow at Bronningfield, determined not to be noted with the like spot of reproch: but with all speed sending for aid into Norwaie, prepared to passe over into England, vnder the conduct of Aualassus, who joining his power with the Norwegians, which came to his aid vnder the leading of a right ballant capitaine called Rinald, transported with all speed over into Northumberland, vnto whome the gouernour there named Elgarine, acknowledging himselfe to be defended of the Danish blood, yielded all the castles, townes & forts, promising to aid Aualassus against king Edmund to the uttermost of his power.

These newes comming to the knowledge of Edmund, with all speed he gathereth his power, and sending into Scotland for such aid as he ought to haue from thence by covenants of the league, there came vnto him ten thousand Scottishmen with ready wils to serue him in these his wars against the Danes. Then joining his owne people with those Scottishmen, he set forward towards the enemies. There were an 8000 Northumberland men with Aualassus, the which vpon the first incounter with the Englishmen, fell straight to running away, which made an open and readie breach vnto the English part, to attaine the victorie: for the Danes being not able to resist the violent force of their enemies, encouraged now with the flight of the Northumberlanders, were quickly constrained to giue backe, and in the end to flee auaile, the Englishmen and Scots following in the chase with such fiercenesse, that all such as they overtooke died vpon the sword, though they submitted themselves neuer so humbly in requiring mercie.

Elgarine yet chancing to fall into his enemies hands was taken aliue: for so had Edmund commanded, that if anie man might take him, he should in anie case saue his life, that he might put him to death in most cruell wise, to the example of other.

After this, and for the space of thre daies after the battell, Edmund lay still in the fields nere vnto the place where they fought, and then repaired vnto Forke, where Elgarine for his treason was taken in peeces with wild hories. There chanced also no notable trouble in Albion, during the space of four yeares after this said ouerthrow of the Danes with their capitaine Aualassus, who is also otherwise called Aulase, as is to be seene in the English histories, where the same make mention of the foresaid king Edmund, whome likewise they asseme to be the brother of Athelstane, and not his sonne, as before is partly touched. Iudolph in this meane time did with great diligence see to the good order of his realme, shewing therein what belonged to the office of a worthy prince. But even as all things seemed to rest in peace & quietnes through the whole Ile of Albion, Hagorn king of Norwaie, and Helrike king of Denmarke, of purpose to reuenge the slaughter of their countymen lately made in Northumberland, came with a mightie nauie vnto the coasts of Scotland, assailing to land with their whole armie, first in the Forth, then in the river of Taie; but yet through such resistance as the Scots made, being assembled together to keepe them off, they were faine to withdraw, and waisting alongst the coasts of Angus, the Sparnes, Spar, and Buthghane, at length sailing as though they would haue taken their course homeward, they launched forth into the high seas. But within foure daies after returning againe to the shore, they landed their people earlie in one morning vpon the coast of Boen, at a place called Cullane, a countrie joining vnto Buthghane, putting such of the countrie people to flight, as presented themselves to impeach their landing and inuasion.

But Iudolph being aduertised hereof, forthwith assembling the whole power of his realme, drew towards that part with such speed, that he was come into Boen before his enemies were certified that he was set forward. So sone therefore as they heard he was come, such as were abroad forsaeking the same countrie, were called backe to the campe. But Iudolph without protracting of time came still forward, and vpon his approach to the enemies, he prepared to giue battell, and with a short oration began to encourage his people to fight manfully. But before he could make an end, the Danes gaue the onset with such violence, that the battell a long space continued doubtfull on both sides, the Danes on the one part and the Scots on the other, doing their utmost inuicible to attaine the victorie, till at length they of Louthian with their capitaine Dunbar and Graime began to appeare on the backe halfe of the Danes. With which sight they were put in such feare, that those which fought in the foreward, retired backe vnto the middle ward, whome the Scots eagerly pursuing, beat downe euen till they came vnto the reare ward, which coueting rather to die in the fight, than to giue backe, and so to be slaine in the chase (for those in the reare ward were heauie armed men) continued the battell more with a certaine stiffe stubbornnes of mind, than with anie great force or forcast, being so ouermatched as they were, & forsaken of their fellows: for other of the Danes, namelie the archers and barnes fled their waies, some towards their ships, and some here and there being scattered abroad in the fields, fell into the moles, the marshy grounds, and other streits, where they were slaine euerie one by such as followed in the chase.

Iudolph himselfe with certeine companies about him, departing from his maine battell to discover the fields, as though all had bene quiet on each side, fell by chance vpon a whole band of the Danes, where

Elgarine is taken in peeces.

Edmund was diligent in his office.

The king of Denmarke and Norwaie enter with an armie into Scotland.

The enemies are put off.

The king of Boen.

King Iudolph by his speedy march overtook the enemies.

Edmund prepared to battell.

The Danes gaue the onset.

A suppel came vnto the Scots.

The Danes fled.

The king with few in his company.

fallen into the enemies bigger through negligence.

Edmund had bene busy a dait and died.

Edmund 10.

9 6 8

Duff.

The king sent vnto the countie.

Edmund purged the king.

Edmund's father and put to death.

Edmund's brother was an occasion.

The nobles were discontented with the king's doings.

The occasion of murmuring of the nobles.

The king fell sick.

the same lay fled from the battels, with shot through whole number place. His l townes of Colme ther his predecessor reigned about though infor nation 968, a

After the Colme of Malcolme due solemnity lene the sonne of Cumberland transported order there for robbers and arruall ame fies asore hi would avoid of such maleficer common of such barrel onlie vpon of

The thane king, took r lie by public for them the fog, the whic that they hai kind of peopl either else to l with to get t uer so great t with this cri gainst their l accounting ti ended of no their liuing t appertained t degree as we of the nobilit ment by orde sot to be mai and conditio

Furtherm themselves, to the commu respect to the to be an vttle the to haue: vnles he kne This murmur in the fies, his realme, i euill of the g time the king gréuous as could percei sane in him l lie, flegme, or abound, the such decate a burreth anie l And after ward fignos nothing faile fresh and fair that more w



The whole  
matter is  
confessed.

The nobles  
of the countie  
set the wit-  
ches on work.

The witches  
were burnt.

The king is  
restored to  
health.

The king  
with an armie  
pursued the  
rebels.

The rebels  
are executed.

Captain Don-  
wald craved  
pardon for  
them but not  
granted.

Donwald  
conceined ha-  
red against  
the king.

Donwalds  
wife counsel-  
led him to mur-  
der the king.

The woman  
cull counsell  
is followed.

the king: for as the image did waffe afore the fire, so did the bodie of the king breake forth in sweat. And as for the words of the enchantment, they served to keepe him still waking from slepe, so that as the war euer melted, so did the kings flesh: by the which meanes it should haue come to passe, that when the war was once cleane consumed, the death of the king should immediatlie follow. So were they taught by euill spirits, and hired to worke the feat by the nobles of Murray land. The standers by, that heard such an abhominable tale told by these witches, straightwaies brake the image, and caused the witches (according as they had well deserued) to be burnt to death.

It was said, that the king at the verie same time that these things were a doing within the castell of Forres, was deliuered of his languor, and slept that night without anie sweat breaking forth vpon him at all, & the next daie being restored to his strength, was able to do anie manner of thing that lay in man to do, as though he had not bene sicke before anie thing at all. But howsoeuer it came to passe, truth it is, that when he was restored to his perfect health, he gathered a power of men, & with the same went into Murray land against the rebels there, and chasing them from thence, he pursued them into Kossie, and from Kossie into Cathnessie, where apprehending them, he brought them backe vnto Forres, and there caused them to be hanged vp, on gallows and gibets.

Amongest them there were also certeine young gentlemen, right beautifull and goodlie personages, being nere of kin vnto Donwald captaine of the castell, and had bene perswaded to be partakers with the other rebels, more through the fraudulent counsell of diuerse wicked persons, than of their owne accord: whereupon the foresaid Donwald lamenting their case, made earnest labor and sute to the king to haue begged their pardon; but hauing a plaine deniall, he conceined such an inward malice towards the king (though he shewed it not outwardlie at the first) that the same continued still boiling in his stomach, and ceased not, till through setting on of his wife, and in reuenge of such vnthankfulnessse, he found meanes to murder the king within the foresaid castell of Forres where he used to sojourn. For the king being in that countie, was accustomed to lie most commonlie within the same castell, hauing a speciall trust in Donwald, as a man whom he neuer suspected.

But Donwald, not forgetting the reproch which his linage had sustained by the execution of those his kinsmen, whome the king for a spectacle to the people had caused to be hanged, could not but shew manifest tokens of great griefe at home amongst his familie: which his wife perceiuing, ceased not to traueill with him, till she vnderstood what the cause was of his displeasure. Which at length when she had learned by his owne relation, she as one that bare no lesse malice in hir heart towards the king, for the like cause on hir behalfe, than hir husband did for his friends, counselled him (with the king oftentimes vfed to lodge in his house without anie gard about him, other than the garrison of the castell, which was whole at his commandement) to make him awaie, and shewd him the meanes whereby he might soonest accomplish it.

Donwald thus being the more kindled in wrath by the words of his wife, determined to follow hir aduise in the execution of so heinous an act. Whereupon deuising with himselfe for a while, which way he might best accomplish his cursed intent, at length gat opportunitie, and sped his purpose as followeth. It chanced that the king vpon the daie before he purposed to depart forth of the castell, was long in his or-

ratorie at his prayers, and there continued till it was late in the night. At the last, comming forth, he called such afore him as had faithfullie serued him in pursute and apprehension of the rebels, and giuing them heartie thanks, he bestowed sundrie honorable gifts amongst them, of the which number Donwald was one, as he that had bene euer accounted a most faithfull servant to the king.

At length, hauing talked with them a long time, he got him into his priuite chamber, enclie with two of his chamberlains, who hauing brought him to bed, came forth againe, and then fell to banquetting with Donwald and his wife, who had prepared diuerse delicate dishes, and sundrie sorts of drinke for their reare supper or collation, wherat they fate vp so long, till they had charged their stomachs with such full goyes, that their heads were no sooner got to the pillow, but asleepe they were so fast, that a man might haue remooued the chamber ouer them, sooner than to haue awaked them out of their drunken slepe.

Then Donwald, though he abhorred the act gratie in heart, yet through instigation of his wife he called foure of his seruants vnto him (whome he had made priuite to his wicked intent before, and framed to his purpose with large gifts) and now declaring vnto them, after what sort they should worke the feat, they gladlie obeyed his instructions, & speedilie going about the murder, they enter the chamber (in which the king lay) a little before cocke crow, where they secretlie cut his throte as he lay sleeping, with out anie bulking at all: and immediatlie by a posterne gate they caried forth the dead bodie into the fields, and throwing it vpon an house there pointed readie for that purpose, they conuey it vnto a place, about two miles distant from the castell, where they staid, and gat certeine labourers to helpe them to turne the course of a little riuer running through the fields there, and digging a deepe hole in the channell, they burie the bodie in the same, ramming it by with stones and grauell so close, that letting the water in the right course againe, no man could perceiue that anie thing had bene newlie digged there. This they did by order appointed them by Donwald as is reported, for that the bodie should not be found: & by blading (when Donwald should be present) declare him to be guiltie of the murder. & for such an opinion men haue, that the dead corpes of anie man being slaine, will bleed abundantly if the murderer be present. But for what consideration soeuer they buried him there, they had no sooner finished the worke, but that they due them whose helpe they used herein, and straightwaies thereupon fled into Denlie.

Donwald, about the time that the murder was in doing, got him amongst them that kept the watch, and so continued in companie with them all the residue of the night. But in the morning when the noise was raised in the kings chamber how the king was slaine, his bodie conueied awaie, and the bed all be-  
raied with blond; he with the watch ran wither, as though he had knowne nothing of the matter, and breaking into the chamber, and finding cakes of blood in the bed, and on the floore about the sides of it, he forthwith due the chamberlains, as guiltie of that heinous murder, and then like a mad man running to and fro, he ransacked euerie corner within the castell, as though it had bene to haue seene if he might haue found either the bodie, or anie of the murderers hid in anie priuite place: but at length comming to the posterne gate, and finding it open, he burdened the chamberlains, whome he had slaine, with all the fault, they hauing the keyes of the gates committed to their keeping all the night, and therefore it could not be otherwise (said he) but that they were of counsell in the committing of that most detestable

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Some wiser  
than other.  
The matter  
suspected.

Whilom  
weathers.

Culene.

The king al-  
had the cause  
of the foule  
weather.  
The bishops  
answer vnto  
the king.

The king re-  
quired pub-  
like prayers to  
be had.

The king  
made an oth.

The king  
went with an  
armie into  
Murray land.

3 guiltie con-  
science accu-  
sith a man.

Donwald get-  
teth him se-  
cretlie a waie.

The murder  
of the king is  
reuealed.

The castell of  
Forres is ta-  
ken and all the  
inhabitant's  
slaine.

The king is  
watched by  
his friends.

The king  
seemeth to  
be well.

The king  
seemeth to  
be well.

The king  
seemeth to  
be well.

The king  
seemeth to  
be well.

The king  
seemeth to  
be well.

The king  
seemeth to  
be well.

The king  
seemeth to  
be well.

ble murder.

Finallie, such was his ouer earnest diligence in the seuerer inquisition and triall of the offendours herein, that some of the lords began to milike the matter, and to smell forth thyrcowd tokens, that he should not be altogether cleare himselfe. But for so much as they were in that countrie, where he had the whole rule, what by reason of his friends and authoritie together, they doubted to vtter what they thought, till time and place should better serue thereunto, and hereupon got them awaie euerie man to his home. For the space of six moneths together, after this heinous murder thus committed, there appeared no sunne by day, nor moone by night in anie part of the realme, but still was the skie covered with continuall clouds, and sometimes such outrageous winds arose, with lightnings and tempests, that the people were in great feare of present destruction.

In the meane time Culene prince of Cumberland, (the sonne as I haue said) of king Inulph, accompanied with a great number of lords and nobles of the realme, came vnto Secone, there to receive the crowne according to the manner: but at his coming thither, he demanded of the bishops what the cause should be of such vntemperate weather. Who made answer, that vndoubtedly almightie God shewed himselfe thereby to be offended most highlie for that wicked murder of king Duffe: and suerlie vnlesse the offendours were tried forth and punished for that deed, the realme should feele the iust indignation of the diuine iudgement, for omitting such punishment as was due for so greivous an offense. Culene hereupon required the bishops to appoint publicke processions, fastings, and other goodlie exercises to be vsed of the priests and people, through all parts of the realme, for the good appealing of Gods wrath in this behalfe; and in such sort and manner as in semblable cases the vse and custome in those daies was. He himselfe made a solemne vow, confirming it with a like oath, before all the pères & nobles there assembled, that he would not cease till he had reuenged the death of king Duffe vpon the false inhabitants of Spurrey land, to the example of all other.

The multitude being present, getting them to armoz, followed their prince, taking his iourne with- out further delaie towards Spurrey land, the inhabitants of which region hearing of his approach, and the cause of his coming, were stricken with exceeding feare: but namelie Donwald, being gilty in conscience, doubted lest if he were put to torture, he should be inforced to confesse the truth. Whereupon without making his wife priuie to his departure, or anie other of his familie, saue a few such as he took with him, he secretlie got him to the mouth of the riuer of Spey, where finding a ship readie, he went aboard the same, purposing to haue fled his waies by sea into Norwaie: for this is the peculiar propertie of a gilty conscience, to be afraid of all things, and either in gesture or countenance to betraie it selfe, accounting flight most sure, if occasion may serue thereto. For this Donwald, whome no man (though some partlie suspected him) might well haue burdened with the crime of his masters death (by reason of his faithfull seruice shewed towards him aforetime) had he not thus sought to haue avoided the countrie, was now detected of manifest treason, euerie man detesting his abhominable fact, and wishing him to be overwhelmed in the raging flouds, so to paie the due punishment, which of right he owgth, for his vile treason in murdering his naturall lord.

Culene being hereof aduertised, passed ouer Spey water, and taking the castell of Forres, flue all that he found therein, and put the house to sacke and fire. Donwalds wife with his three daughters were

taken: for Culene commanded, that whosoener could light vpon them, should in anie wise saue their liues, and bring them vnto him. Which being done, he had them to the racke, where the mother vpon hir examination confessed the whole matter, how by hir procurement chiefe hir husband was moued to caule the deed to be done, who they were that by his commandement did it, and in what place they had buried the bodie. Here would the multitude haue run vpon hir and to rone hir in peeces, but that they were restrained by commandement of an officer at armes. The King with the residue for that night rested themselves, and in the morning took order for due prouision of all things necessarie to take vp the bodie of king Duffe, and then to conueie it vnto Colmekill, there to be buried amongst his predecessours.

But as they were busie hercabout, word came that the traitor Donwald was by shipwracke cast vpon the shore within foure miles of the castell, as though he were by Gods prouision brought backe into his owne countrie to suffer worthie punishment for his demerits. Whereupon the inhabitants of the places next adjoininge took him, and kept him fast bound till they knew further of the kings pleasure: who verie glad of the newes, sent forth immediatlie a band of men to fetch him. They that were sent did as they were commanded: and being scarce returned, there came in diuerse lords of Rosse, bringing with them Donwalds foure seruants, which (as before is said) did execute the murder. Thus all the offendours being brought together vnto the place where the murder was both contriued and executed, they were arraigned, condemned, and put to death in manner as followeth, to the great reioicing of the people that beheld the same.

They were first scourged by the hangman, and then bowelled, their entrails being thowen into a fire and burnt, the other parts of their bodies were cut in to quarters, and sent vnto the chiefe cities of the realme, and there set vp aloft vpon the gates & highest towres, for example sake to all such as should come after, how heinous a thing it is to pollute their hands in the sacred blood of their prince. This dreadfull end had Donwald and his wife, before he saw anie sunne after the murder was committed, and that by the appointment of the most righteous God, the creator of that heauenlie planet and all other things, who suffereth no crime to be vnreruenged. Those that were the takers of the murderers were highly rewarded for their paines and trauell therein sustained, being exempt from charges of going forth to the warres, and also of all manner of payments belonging to publicke duties, as tributes, subsidies, and such like.

These things being thus ordered, the bodie of king Duffe was taken vp, and in most pompous manner conueied vnto Colmekill, accompanied all the waie by Culene, and a great multitude of lords both spirituall and temporall, with other of the meaner states. There be that haue written how his bodie (though it had laine six moneths vnder the ground) was nothing impaired either in colour or otherwise, when it was taken vp, but was found as whole and sound as though it had bene yet alieue, the skarres of the wounds onelie excepted. But to proceed, so soone as it was brought aboue the ground, the aire began to cleare vp, and the sunne brake forth, shining more brighte than it had bene sene aforetime, to anie of the beholders remembrance. And that which put men in most deepe consideration of all, was the sight of manifold flowers, which sprang forth ouer all the fields immediatlie thereupon, cleane contrarie to the time and season of the yeere.

Within a few yeeres after this, there was a bridge made

The murder is whole confessed.

King Duffe his bodie to be taken by.

Donwald is taken prisoner.

Donwalds four seruants were taken also.

Donwald with his confederates are executed.

Rewards giuen vnto the takers of those murderers.

The bodie of king Duffe honorablie buried.

Maraculous things are sene.

The king rewarded his friends.

The king went to bed.

The king went to bed.

The king went to bed.

The king went to bed.

The king went to bed.

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The king went to bed.

The king went to bed.

Killog.

Whores eate  
their owne  
flesh.  
A monstrous  
childe.  
A sparhawk  
strangled by  
an owle.

972.

King Culene  
did not contin-  
ue as his be-  
ginning was.

He followes  
his sensuall  
lustes.

Cruel doers  
were not pun-  
ished.

God counsell  
was not heard

The kings  
answer vnto  
his graine  
paines.

He would not  
displease.

made ouer the water in the same place, where the bo-  
die had bene buried, and a village builded at the one  
end of the brydge, which is called vnto this day; Kil-  
log, that is to say, the church of flowers: taking that  
name of the wonder there happened at the remo-  
uing of the kings bodie, as the same authours would  
seeme to meane. But there is now (or was of late) a  
rich abbey, standing with a verie faire church, conse-  
crat in the hono<sup>r</sup> of the virgine Marie. Spontaneous  
fighes also that were seene within the Scottish king-  
dome that yere were these: hollies in Louthian, be-  
ing of singular beautie and swiftnesse, did eate their  
owne flesh, and would in no wise taste anie other  
meate. In Angus there was a gentlewoman  
brought forth a child without eyes, nose, hand, or foot.  
There was a sparhawk also strangled by an owle.  
Neither was it anie lesse wonder that the sunne, as  
before is said, was continuallie couered with  
clouds for six moneths space. But all men under-  
stood that the abhominable murder of king Duffe  
was the cause hereof, which being reuenged by the  
death of the authours, in manner as before is said; Cu-  
lene was crowned as lawfull successor to the same  
Duffe at Scone, with all due hono<sup>r</sup> and solemnitie,  
in the yere of our Lord 972, after that Duffe had  
ruled the Scottish kingdome about the space of foure  
yeres.

The beginning of Culenes reigne, begun with  
righteous execution of iustice, promised a firme hope  
of an other manner of p<sup>r</sup>ince, than by the admini-  
stration which followed he declared himselfe to be:  
for thortly after losing the reins of lasciuious wan-  
tonnesse to the youth of his realme, through giuing  
a lewd example by his owne disordered doings, all  
such as were inclined vnto licentious living, follow-  
ed their sensuall lusts and vnbrideled libertie, aban-  
doning all feare of correction more than euer had  
bene seene or heard of in anie other age. For such  
was the negligence of the king, or rather mainte-  
nance of misordered persons, that whatsoeuer anie  
of the nobilitie did either against merchants, priests,  
or anie of the commons, though the same were ne-  
uer so great an iniurie, there was no punishment  
vsed against them: so that all men looked for some  
commotion in the common-wealth thereupon to in-  
sue, if there were not other order prouided thercoze  
in time. The ancient p<sup>r</sup>eres of the realme also being  
graued thereat, spared not to admonish the king of  
his dutie, declaring vnto him into what danger the  
realme was likelie to fall through his negligent be-  
hauour.

Culene answered them, that he wist well enough  
how yong men were not at the first borne graue and  
sage personages, like to them with hoarie heads:  
wherefore their first youthfull yeres could not be so  
stable as they might be hereafter by old age and con-  
tinuance of time. But as for such rigorous extreni-  
tie as diuerse of his elders had vsed towards their  
subiects, he minded not (as he said) to follow, being  
taught by their example (as by the kings, Indulph,  
Duffe, and such other) into what danger he might in-  
curre by such sharpe seueritie shewed in the govern-  
ment of the estate. Whereupon he was determined  
so to rule, as he might giue cause rather to be be-  
loved than feared, which was the onelie meane (as he  
thought) to retaine his subiects in due and most faith-  
full obedience. This answer was such, that although  
it seemed nothing agreeable for the preferuation of  
the publike state in quiet rest and safetie, yet was  
there no man, by reason of his regall authoritie, that  
durst reprove the same, but diuerse there were that  
praised him therein, as those that hated all such as lo-  
ued the bysight administration of iustice.

But such ancient counsellors as had trulie ser-

ued in rule of the common-wealth in the daies of the  
former kings, Indulph & Duffe, misliking the state  
of that present world (wherein the youth of the realme,  
namelie all such as were descended of noble paren-  
tage, and vsed to be about the king, followed their  
willfull & sensuall lusts, growing euerie day through  
want of correction to be worse and worse) departed  
from the court, and withdrew to their homes, with-  
out meddling anie further with the publike admini-  
stration. In whose place there crept in others, that  
with their flatterie corrupted the residue of such  
sparks of good inclination as yet remained in the  
king, if anie were at all; inso much that in the end he  
measured supreme felicitie by the plentiful inioy-  
eng of voluptuous pleasures and bodilie lusts. He  
sanctified onelie such as could deuise prouocations ther-  
vnto, and in filling the bellie with excess of costlie  
meates and drinkes, those that could excell other  
were chieslie cherished, and most highlye of him este-  
med.

Here withall he was giuen vnto lecherie beyond  
all the bounds of reason, sparing neither maid, wi-  
dow, nor wife, prophane nor religious, sister nor  
daughter (for all was one with him) that to heare of  
such villanie and violent forcings as were practised  
by him and his familiars, it would loth anie honest  
hart to understand or remember. He was so farre  
past all shame in this behalfe, that when his leache-  
rons lust by too much copulation was so tired, that he  
might no more exercise his former lewdnesse, he  
toke speciall pleasure yet to behold other to do it in  
his presence, that his decayed lust might be the more  
stirred by with sight of such filthinesse. This abhor-  
nible trade of life he practised for the space of thre  
yeres togither, giuing occasion of much spoile, rui-  
ne, mandaughter, forcings, and rauishments of  
women, with all such kind of wicked and diuelish  
transgressions: no execution of lawes (instituted by  
authoritie of the former kings, for restraint of such  
flagitious offenses) being put in vze, through negli-  
gence of this monstrous creature.

So farre sooth also increased the libertie of thieues,  
robbers, and other offenders, maintained by such of  
the nobilitie as consented vnto their vnlawfull do-  
ings, and were partakers with them in the same,  
that if anie man went about to withstand them, or  
refused to accomplish their requests and demands, he  
should be spoiled of all that he had, and hapilie haue  
his house burnt ouer his head, or otherwise be mis-  
used in such outrageous and violent sort, that it would  
graeue all those that had anie zeale to iustice, to heare  
of such enormities as were daillie practised in that  
countrie. Howbeit, at length the death of king  
Culene brought an end to all such wicked dealings:  
for falling into a filthie disease (through abuse of ex-  
cessiue drinking and lecherie) called the wasting of  
nature, he consumed awaie in such wise by rotting  
of his flesh, that he appeared more like vnto a dead  
carcase, than vnto a liuelie creature, inso much that  
his owne seruants began to abhor him.

Whereupon the lords and other honorable perso-  
nages of the realme, vnderstanding his case, caused  
a parlement to be summoned at Scone, where they  
determined to depose king Culene, and appoint some  
other (whome they should iudge most meetest) to  
reigne in his place. Culene also not knowing where-  
fore this counsell was called, as he was going thi-  
therwards, at Duffen castell, being almost in the  
mid waie of his iourne, was murdered by one  
Cabhard the thane of that place, whose daughter he  
had rauished before time amongst diuerse other. This  
end had Culene togither with all his filthie sensuali-  
tie: but the reprochfull infamie thereof remaineth in  
memozie with his posteritie, and is not like to be for-  
gotten

Anelie com-  
celloz leane  
the court.

The p<sup>r</sup>ince  
court followe  
eth their  
small lusts.

Whiche  
time of vnlaw  
fulnesse.

A lecherous  
king.

Forcing of  
women and  
exceue.

Whiche be-  
hauour!

All honestie  
spiled.

Robbers,  
thiefes, and  
maintained.

Death made  
an end of all.

Generous.

A parlement.

King Culene  
was murder-  
ed.

976.

Kenneth.

His life re-  
turned.

King Ken-  
eth was of a  
pious and  
pious.

He loved  
strangers.

He abhorred  
sin.

He did punish  
sinners.

He kept  
his kinne,  
and  
America.

He gillieran  
man.

He king dis-  
sembled with  
his bowings.

He king  
went to visit  
Saint Shinan.

He king  
punished those  
that call the  
sinners  
into iudge-  
ment.

He assemble  
at Scone.

Heard men  
in Scone.

gotten himself  
dispatched in  
birth of our  
of the realme  
lower not of  
the

After that  
Aconquered  
mongst his eld  
sembled togithe  
Kenneth the son  
vnto Duffe, in  
his reigne, he  
from their will  
which they were  
ment of his p<sup>r</sup>i  
cruell demeano  
is, that first the  
people transfor  
p<sup>r</sup>ince: therfore  
living shew an  
ltie, and mode  
vice, but restrai  
nished all such  
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sures. He mai  
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all such as soug  
of meanes. He  
to avoid sloth,  
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Thus when  
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meanes he coi  
the lawes and  
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sit saint J<sup>r</sup>in  
he had made  
rence which l  
a deuise, wh  
vnto iudgen  
yere follow  
bare them ge  
of, they won  
purpose.

At length  
all the lords  
Scone, as it  
bout some in  
realme. The  
ther into the  
his faithfull  
close in a fe  
to their capt  
his bands till

gotten himself the world goeth about. He was thus dispatched in the first year of his reigne, and after the birth of our Saviour 976, the nobles & great pères of the realme reioicing at his death, though they allowed not of the manner thereof.

After that the bodie of king Culene was once conveyed unto Colmekill, and there buried amongst his elders, the nobles and great pères assembled together at Scone, where they proclaimed Kenneth the sonne of Malcolme the first, and brother unto Duffe, king of the realme. In the beginning of his reigne, he had inough to do to reduce the people from their wild and savage kind of life (into the which they were fallen through the negligent government of his predecesso) unto their former trade of ciuill demeanour. For the nature of the Scottishmen is, that first the nobles, and then all the residue of the people transforme themselves to the vsage of their prince: therefore did Kenneth in his owne trade of liuing shew an example of chastitie, sobrietie, liberality, and modestie, misusing himselfe in no kind of vice, but restraining himselfe from the same. He banished all such kind of persons as might prouoke either him or other unto anie lewd or wanton pleasures. He mainteined amitie aswell with strangers as with his owne people, punishing most rigorously all such as sought to moue sedition by anie manner of means. He took busie care in causing the people to auoid sloth, and to apply themselves in honest exercises, iudging (as the truth is) that to be the waie to aduance the common-wealth from decaye to a flourishing state.

Thus when he had somewhat reformed the misorders of his subjects, he inuencured himselfe by all means he could deuise to punish offenders against the lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme, and to purge all his dominions of thieues, robbers, and other such as went about to disquiet common peace. At Lanerke, a towne in Kille, was a sessions appointed to be kept for execution of iustice, where certaine offenders were summoned to appeare. But at their coming thither, perceiuing that such manifest proofes would be brought against them of such crimes as they had committed, that they were not able to execute the same, through perswasion of diuerse noble men vnto whom they were of kin, they fled secretly their waies, some into the westerne Isles, and some into other places, where they thought most expedient for safeguard of their liues. The king perceiuing that through the disloyall meanes of the lords his purpose was so hindered, that he might not minister iustice, according to the institution of his lawes, he dissembled his wrath for a time, and licensed euerie man to depart to their houses, his traine onlie excepted. Then went he into Galloway to visit saint Spintian for performance of his vow, which he had made so to do. Where he inuencured (by conference which he had with some of his priue counsell) a denise, whereby he might fetch againe the offenders vnto iudgement: but this was kept close till the pères following, for doubt least if those lords which bare them good will had come to anie inkling thereof, they would by vttering it haue disappointed his purpose.

At length, after a yere was passed, he appointed all the lords and nobles of his realme to assemble at Scone, as though it had bene to haue communed about some weightie affaires touching the state of the realme. The night then before they should come together into the counsell-chamber, he caused by some of his faithfull ministers, a sort of armed men to be laid close in a secret place, with commandement giuen to their capitaine, that in no wise he should stirre with his hand till the next day that all the lords were assembled together, and then without delaye to execute that which should be giuen him in commandement.

On the morrow after the nobles comming together into the counsell-chamber, they had no sooner taken their places, euerie one according to his degree about the king, but that the armed men before mentioned, came rushing into the house, placing themselves round about them that were set, according to the order prescribed by former appointment. The lords with this present sight being much amazed, beheld one another, but durst not speake a word. When the king perceiuing their feare, began to declare vnto them the whole cause of his calling them to counsell at that time, and that he had appointed those armed men to be there attendant. The effect of his oration there made vnto them was, that he had not caused those armed men to come into the chamber for anie harme ment towards anie of their persons, but onlie for the publike preservation of the realme. For so much as they knew, there was one kind of people much noisome to the common-wealth, being confederate as it were together by one consent to exercise all sorts of mischief and oppression against the poore people, as to rob, spoile, and take from them all that they had, to rauish their wiues, maids, & daughters, and some times to burne their houses: the which licentious libertie in such wicked persons, through want of due punishment in the daies of king Culene, what danger it had brought vnto the whole state of the Scottish common-wealth, there was none but might well vnderstand.

For sith it was so, that the lords and other high estates liued by the trauell of the commons, then if the same commons should in anie wise decaye, the lords and such other high estates could in no wise prosper: for if the labourer through iniurie of the robber were forced to giue ouer his labour, where should the lord or gentleman haue thereupon to liue? So that those which robbed the husbandman, robbed also the lord and gentleman; and they that sought to mainteine such loitering persons as used to rob the poore man, went about the destruction both of king, lord, and gentleman; yea and finallye of the vniuersall state of the whole common-wealth. Therefore he that loued the common-wealth, would not seeke onlie to defend the commons from such iniuries as thieues and robbers dailye offered them; but also would helpe to see iust execution done vpon the same thieues and robbers, according to the laudable lawes and customes of the land. The last yere (said he) you your selues remember (I thinke) how I purposed by your helpe and counsell to haue proceeded by order of the lawes against all enemies and perturbours of the peace. At Lainrike was the day appointed for them to haue appeared, but there was not one of them that would come in, but contemptuouslye disobeying our commandement kept them awaie, by whose counsell I know not. But I haue bene informed by some how diuers of you fauouring those rebels, by reason they were of your linage, were of counsell with them, in withstanding them selves so from iudgement.

The often sending of messengers betwixt them and you, well nere perswaded vs to thinke that this report was true. But yet not withstanding, I haue put away all such sinister suspicion out of my head, wishing you (as I trust you be) void of all such dissimulation. And now I require you, not as fauourers of the rebelles, but as defenders of the common-wealth, though happily somewhat slacke heretofore in discharge of your duties, to shew your selues such in helping to apprehend the offenders, as that the world may perceiue you to haue made full satisfaction for your fault and error, if before in you there were

The king and lords sitting, the armed men step forth.

The king perceiuing the lords out of doubt.

An oration made by the king.

A rehearsal of all enormities

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were anie. In the end he was plaine with them, and told them flatlie that they should assure themselves to haue those armed men which they saw there present, to be continually attendant about them, till he might haue all the rebelles at commandement.

The lords gentle supplication, with a large promise.

The king went to Bertha.

Rogers punished.

Inurious men brought unto Bertha.

A great number of bagabonds were judged to die.

The lords haue licence to depart.

The Danes seek for reuenge old losses.

The Danes take the sea to go into Albion.

The Danes arrive at the red head, or red Baires in Angus.

The lords hauing heard the kings speech, and perceiving what his meaning was, first partly excused themselves so well as they might of their cloaked dissimulation, and then falling downe upon their knees afore him, besought him to put away all displeasure out of his mind, and clearely to pardon them, if in anie wise they had offended his maiestie, promising that they would with all diligence and faithfulness accomplish his desire, in causing the offenders to be brought in vnto iudgement: and till the time that this were brought to passe, they were well contented to remaine in such place where he should appoint them to abide. The counsell then being broken vp, the king with those lords passing ouer the riuer of Tait, went vnto Bertha, which towne during the kings abode in the same, was freelie kept with watch and ward, that no creature might enter or go forth without knowledge of the officers appointed by the king to take heed thereto. If anie idle person were espied abroad in the streets, straightwaies the sergeants would haue him to ward.

The nobles remained in the kings house, or in other lodgings to them assigned, procuring by their friends and ministers to haue such offenders as used to rob and spoile the husbandmen, apprehended and brought to the king to Bertha, there to receiue judgement & punishment according to their merits: for so they perceived they must needs worke, if they minded the safeguard of their owne liues. Hereof it folloved also, that within short space after, there were brought vnto Bertha to the number nere hand of five hundred such idle loiterers as used to liue by spoile and pillage, manie of them being descended of famous houses: all which companie being condemned for their offences to die, were hanged vp on gibbets about the towne, and commandement giuen by the king, that their bodies should not be taken downe, but there to hang still to giue example to other, what the end was of all such as by wrongfull means sought to liue idly by other mens labours.

The rebelles being thus executed, king Kenneth licenced the lords to depart to their owne houses, exhorting them to remember their duties towards the common-wealth, and to studie for preservation of peace and quietnes according to their vocation. After this, the realme continued in quietnes with out anie foraine or inward trouble for the space of certeine yeares following, and had remained in the same state still, if the Danes had not made a new inuasion, who being fore greued in their hearts for such displeasures as they had sustained in Albion, determined now with great assurance to reuenge the same. Whereupon gathering an huge multitude of men together, they were imbarcked in vessels provided for them; and sailing forth, they purposed to take land vpon the next coast of Albion where they should chance to arrive; & being once on land, to destroye all before them, except where the people should submit & yeld themselves vnto them. This manie being once got abroad, within short time arrived at that point of land in Angus, which is called the red Baires, or red head, not far from the place where the abbey of Abirboth, or Abirbothoke was afterward founded.

Here the Danish fleet first casting anchor, their captains fell in consultation what they were best to do. Some of them were of this opinion, that it was

not most expedient for them to land in that place, but rather to passe from thence into England; for at the Scottishmens hands being poore, and yet a fierce and hardie nation, there was small good to be got, being thereto accustomed to giue more overthrowes than they commonlie receiued. Again, the stile of that countrie was but barren, and in manner overgrown with woods (as it was in deed in those daies) with few townes & small habitations, and those so poore, that no man knowing the same, would vouch safe to fight for anie possession of them: wherein contrariwise England (that part namelie which lieth towards the south) was so fruitfull of corne and cattell, so rich of mines, and replenished with so manie notable cities and townes inhabited with men of great wealth and substance, that few were to be found comparable thereto. So that the matter being well considered, they could not do better, than to saile into Kent, where they might be sure of rich spoile, without anie great resistance. Other there were that held how that this iourne was attempted by the counsell of their superiours, onlie to reuenge such iniuries as the Danish nation had receiued at the hands of the Scottishmen, and not to attaine riches or anie dominion.

The Scots also being a cruell people, & ready to fight in defense of other mens possessions (as in the warres of Northumberland it well appeared) would faine be ready to come to the aid of the Englishmen into Kent, euen so soon as it was known that the Danes were on land in those parts: so that by this means they should be constrained to haue to do both with the Scottishmen and Englishmen, if they first went into Kent: where if they set on land here in Scotland, they should encounter but onlie with the Scots. Therefore, the best were according to their first determination, to land amongst the Scots, with chance had brought them vnto those coasts; adding that when they had somewhat abated the arrogant presumption of their enemies there, then might they passe more safely into England, after a luckie beginning of fier and sword, to proceed against their aduersaries in those parties as fortune should lead them. This deuise was allotted of the greatest number, being glad to get beside the water. Whereupon the mariners (vpon commandement giuen) drezel with their ships into the mouth of the riuer called Esk, the which in those daies washed on the walles of a towne in Angus called then Celurke, but now Mountros. Here the Danes taking land, put the inhabitants of the countrie thereabouts in great feare; so that with all speed for their safeguard they got them into Mountros: but the towne being quicklie assailed of the Danes, was taken, put to the sacke, and after rased, cafell and all to the bare ground, not one liuing creature being left aliue of all such as were found within the same.

From thence the armie of the Danes passed through Angus vnto the riuer of Tait, all the people of the countries by which they marched fleeing afore them. King Kenneth at the same time late at Sterling, where hearing of these gracious newes, he determined forthwith to raise his people, & to go against his enemies. The assemblie of the Scottish armie was appointed to be at the place where the riuer of Erne falleth into the riuer of Tait. Here when they were come together in great numbers at the day appointed, the day next following word was brought to the king, that the Danes hauing passed ouer Tait, were come before the towne of Bertha, and had laid siege to the same. Then without further delay, he raised with the whole armie, and marched straight towards his enemies, comming that night

vnto Luncart a brier of Tait, and battell fought the hearing that the time, but forthwith

Kenneth as for the Danes at bar to order. Then v their manhand, tributs and pain space of five year he offered the sun so much worth in that should bring led them therefor ber there was ne must they trie it fled, in the end t mics hands, the found them for: ted for refuge, if Scots being ne words, kept then were appointed be giuen. Balci led the right wir tenant of Atholl uerned the batt had taken their teine right afor both the armies holding either Scots desirous Danes could n advanced forw the case require thowling of dar

The Danes were constrain sped to come se iointing their m mens arrows they came to ha was giuen on was cruell on l Scots so much, the Danes, et Which maner l uing that there they rushed fo uersaries, tha ling of the S flie backe, the r ground: but the left naked on t haue remaine of the battell c to be thought o

For as it d the same time: busie about his and stiffe in m with a balliant king with the great baliance the wings, ant great violenc in his hand, a to do the like, rather among than to remai rable thalbour bmercessull en of the battell, e

The Danes continue into England.

King Kenneth his man in array.

The king ex- tated the Scots vnto Albion.

They could not to follow them.

They could not to follow them.

Heard of the Danish army.

The Danes in the ad- uance of a mountain.

The Scots in the bat- tle.

Some thought but to land in Scotland.

The Danes do land at Mountros.

Mountros taken, and all within was done.

The Danes come to the riuer of Tait.

King Kenneth gathering a great armie.

They late sieg before Bertha.

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into Lincart a village not far distant from the ri  
ner of Laie, famous ever after, by reason of the  
battell fought then nere vnto the same. The Danes  
hearing that the Scots were come, detraied no  
time, but forthwith prepared to giue battell.

Kenneth as sone as the sunne was vp, beholding  
the Danes at hand, quicklie brought his armie in  
to order. Then requiring them earnestlie to shew  
their manhood, he promisseth to release them of all  
tributs and payments due to the kings cofers for the  
space of five yeares next ensuing: and besides that  
he offered the summe of ten pounds, or else landes  
so much worth in value to euery one of his armie,  
that should bring him the head of a Dane. He wil  
led them therefore to fight manfully, and to remem  
ber there was no place to attaine mercie: for either  
must they trie it out by dint of sword, or else if they  
slew, in the end to loke for present death at the en  
emies hands, who would not cease till time they had  
found them forth, into what place so euer they resor  
ted for refuge, if they chanced to be vanquished. The  
Scots being not a little incouraged by the kings  
words, kept their order of battell according as they  
were appointed, still looking when the onset should  
be giuen. Malcolme Duffe prince of Cumberland  
led the right wing of the Scots; and Duncane lieut  
enant of Atholl the left: King Kenneth himselfe go  
uerned the battell. The enemies on the other part  
had taken their ground at the foot of a little moun  
taine right afore against the Scottish campe. Thus  
both the armies stood readie ranged in the field, be  
holding either other a good space, till at length the  
Scots desirous of battell, and doubting least the  
Danes would not come forth to aie euen ground,  
advanced forward with somewhat more hast than  
the case required, beginning the battell with shot, and  
throwing of darts right firelie.

The Danes being backed with the mountaine,  
were constrained to leaue the same, and with all  
speed to come forward vpon their enemies, that by  
joining they might auoid the danger of the Scottish  
mens arrows and darts: by this meanes therefore  
they came to hand-strokes, in manner before the signe  
was giuen on either part to the battell. The fight  
was cruell on both sides: and nothing hindered the  
Scots so much, as going about to cut off the heads of  
the Danes, euer as they might ouercome them.  
Which manner being noted of the Danes, and percei  
uing that there was no hope of life but in victorie,  
they rushed forth with such violence vpon their ad  
uersaries, that first the right, and then after the left  
wing of the Scots, was constrained to retire and  
sle backe, the middle-ward stoutly yet keeping their  
ground: but the same stood in such danger, being now  
left naked on the sides, that the victorie must needs  
haue remained with the Danes, had not a reueler  
of the battell come in time, by the appointment (as is  
to be thought) of almightie God.

For as it chanced, there was in the next field at  
the same time an husbandman, with two of his sons  
busie about his worke, named Haie, a man strong  
and stiffe in making and shape of bodie, but indued  
with a valiant courage. This Haie beholding the  
king with the most part of the nobles, fighting with  
great valiance in the middle ward, now destitute of  
the wings, and in great danger to be oppressed by the  
great violence of his enemies, caught a plow-beame  
in his hand, and with the same exhorting his sonnes  
to do the like, hastened towards the battell, there to die  
rather amongst other in defense of his countrie,  
than to remaine aliae after the discomfort in mis  
erable thraldome and bondage of the cruell and most  
vniuersall enemies. There was nere to the place  
of the battell, a long lane fenced on the sides with dis

ches and walles made of turfe, through the which the  
Scots which fled were beken downe by the enemies  
on heapes.

Here Haie with his sonnes, supposing they might  
best staie the flight, placed themselves ouerthwart  
the lane, beat them backe whome they met fleeing,  
and spared neither friend nor fo: but downe they  
went all such as came within their reach, wherewith  
diuerse hardie personages cried vnto their fellows  
to returne backe vnto the battell, for there was a  
new power of Scottishmen come to their succours,  
by whose aid the victorie might be easilie obtained of  
their most cruell aduersaries the Danes: therefore  
might they chafe whether they would be slaine of  
their owne felowes conning to their aid, or to re  
turne againe to fight with the enemies. The Danes  
being here staied in the lane by the great valiance  
of the father and the sonnes, thought verely there had  
bene some great succours of Scots come to the aid  
of their king, and there vpon ceasing from further  
pursute, fled backe in great disorder vnto the other of  
their felowes fighting with the middle ward of the  
Scots.

The Scots also that before was chased, being in  
courageed herewith, pursued the Danes vnto the  
place of the battell right fiercelie. Where vpon Ken  
neth perceiving his people to be thus recomforted,  
and his enemies partlie abashed, called vpon his  
men to remember their duties, and now sith their ad  
uersaries hearts began (as they might perceiue)  
to faint, he willed them to follow vpon them manfully,  
which if they did, he assured them that the victorie in  
doubtedlie should be theirs. The Scots incouraged  
with the kings words, laid about them so earnestlie,  
that in the end the Danes were constrained to for  
sake the field, and the Scots egerlie pursuing in the  
chase, made great slaughter of them as they fled.  
This victorie turned highlie to the praise of the Sco  
tish nobilitie, the which fighting in the middle ward,  
bare still the brunt of the battell, continuing man  
fullie therein euen to the end. But Haie, who in such  
wise (as is before mentioned) staied them that fled,  
causing them to returne againe to the field, deserued  
immortall fame and commendation: for by his  
meanes chiefie was the victorie atchieued. And  
therefore on the morrow after, when the spoile of the  
field and of the enemies campe (which they had left  
void) should be diuided, the chiefest part was bestow  
ed on him and his two sonnes, by consent of all the mul  
titude; the residue being diuided amongst the sould  
iers and men of warre, according to the ancient cus  
tome vsed amongst this nation.

The king hauing thus vanquished his enemies,  
as he should enter into Bertha, caused coslie robes  
to be offered vnto Haie and his sonnes, that being  
richlie clad, they might be the more honoured of the  
people: but Haie refusing to change his apparell,  
was contented to go with the king in his old gar  
ments whether it pleased him to appoint. So entring  
with the king into Bertha, he was receiued with  
little lesse honor than the king himselfe, all the people  
running forth to behold him, whome they heard to  
haue so valiantlie restored the battell, when the field  
was in manner lost without hope of all reuerie. At  
his entring into the towne he bare on his shoulder  
the plow-beame, more honourable to him than aie  
sword or battell are might haue bene to aie the  
most valiant warriour. Thus Haie being honored of  
all estates, within certaine daies after, at a counsell  
holden at Scone, it was ordeined, that both he and  
his posteritie should be accepted amongst the num  
ber of the chiefest nobles and peeres of the realme,  
being rewarded (besides monie and other great gifts)

il lands and reuenues, such as he should choise  
sufficient

Haie staied  
the Scots  
running away

The Scots  
were ouer  
to their battell  
againe.

The Danes  
fled towards  
their felowes  
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Keneth  
called vpon his  
men to remem  
ber their  
duties.

The Danes  
fled towards  
the fields.

The spoile is  
diuided.

Haie refused  
coslie gar  
ments.

The king  
came to  
Bertha.

Haie is made  
one of the  
nobilitie.

He had reue  
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shed for him, in all places where anie mention chan-  
ced to be made of the losse which the realme had su-  
fered by the death of so worthie a prince, made men  
nothing mistrustfull of the matter, till at length some  
of the nobles perceiving the outward sorow (which he  
made) to passe the true griefe of the heart, began to  
gather some suspition, that all was not well: but yet  
becaule no certaintie appeared, they kept their  
thoughts to themselves. About the same time came  
ambassadors forth of England from king Edward  
the sonne of Edgar (which after through treason of  
his stepmother Escolda, was made a martyr) requir-  
ing that sith Malcolme the prince of Cumberland  
was deceased, it might please the king with the  
states of the realme to chuse some other in his place,  
whomowing his homage unto the king of England,  
according as it was covenanted by the league,  
might be a meane to confirme the same league be-  
twixt the two nations for the avoiding of all occasi-  
ons of breach thereof that otherwise hapilie might  
insue.

Kenneth at the same time held a councell at  
Seone, where having heard the request of these am-  
bassadors, in presence of all his nobles, he answered  
that he was glad to understand that king Edward  
was so carefull for maintenance of loue and amitie  
betwixt his subiects and the Scottishmen, according  
to the articles of the ancient league in times past  
concluded betwixt them, the ratification whereof for  
his part he likewise most earnestlie desired, and  
therefore in rendering most heartie thanks unto  
him for his gentle advertisement, he purposed by the  
advise of his nobles, and the other estates of his  
realme as then there assembled, to elect a new prince  
of Cumberland, without anie further delaie: and  
thereupon required the ambassadoz to be present on  
the morrow, to heare what he was whom the nobles  
should name to be preferred unto that dignitie. The  
ambassadors hereupon departing forth of the coun-  
cill chamber, were conveyed to their lodging by di-  
verse of the nobilitie that were appointed to keepe  
them companie.

Then Kenneth with a long oration went about  
to persuade the peeres, and other the estates of the  
realme there (as I said) assembled, to alter the cu-  
stome and ancient order used by their elders in cho-  
sing of him that should succeed in the governance of  
the realme, after the deceasse of him that was in  
possession. He used so manie reasons as was pos-  
sible for him to devise in that behalfe, thereby to in-  
duce them to his purpose, which was to have an act  
established for the crowne to go by succession, onelie  
to this end, that one of his sonnes might intoy the  
same immediatlie after his deceasse. He declared  
also what discommodities, seditions, and great incon-  
veniences had growne, in that the crowne had gone  
in times past by election: for though it was ordeined  
at the first that it should so do, vpon a good intent  
and great consideration, yet in proceesse of time profe  
and experience had shewed, that more hinderance  
happened unto the common-wealth thereby (beside  
the danger euer insuing incidentlie unto such issue  
as the king left behind him) than profit, if the sundrie  
murthers, occasions of ciuill discord, and other wic-  
ked practises were thoroughlie treied and considered,  
the summe whereof he recited from point to point,  
and so in the end with great instance besought them,  
that so pernicious a custome might be abolished and  
taken away, to the great benefit of the whole state  
of the realme, speciallie sith in all realmes common-  
lie the order was, that the sonne should without anie  
contradiction succeed the father in the heritage of the  
crowne and kinglie estate.

The king had no sooner made an end of his long

oration, which he handled after the pithiest sort he  
could, but that diuerse of the noble men which were  
there amongst other, being made priuite to the mat-  
ter aforehand, motioned meanes to haue Malcolme  
the son of Kenneth created prince of Cumberland,  
that he might so haue an entrance to the crowne af-  
ter the deceasse of his father. This motion by and  
by was in manie of their mouthes, which Kenneth  
perceiving, he required of the most ancient peeres  
whome they would name to be prince of Cumber-  
land, that there might be a meane to ratifie and con-  
firm the league betwixt the Scots and English-  
men, Constantine the sonne of king Cullin, and  
Grime the nephue of king Duffe by his brother Mo-  
gall: helowbeit by the force of the former law they  
might by god reason haue looked to haue had the pre-  
ferment themselves.

But yet perceiving it was in vaine to denie  
that which would be had by violence (although they  
should neuer so much stand against it) being first de-  
manded of the herald what they thought, they an-  
swerd (notwithstanding against their minds intended)  
that the king might order all things as should  
stand with his pleasure, appointing whom he thought  
most meet to be prince of Cumberland, and to ad-  
rogate the ancient law of creating the kings, in  
devising new ordinances for the same, as should  
seeme unto him and those of his councell most requi-  
site and necessarie. The multitude then following  
their sentence, cried with loud & indiscreet voices,  
to haue Malcolme the sonne of king Kenneth crea-  
ted prince of Cumberland. And thus the same Mal-  
colme (though as yet vnder age) was by the voices  
of the people ordeined prince of Cumberland, in  
place of the other Malcolme sonne to king Duffe.  
The daie next following, the ambassadors comming  
into the councell chamber, heard what was decreed  
touching their request, and then being highlie re-  
warded of the kings bountious liberalitie, they re-  
turned into England, and Malcolme with them, to  
be acquainted with king Edward, and to do his ho-  
mage for the principallitie of Cumberland, as the cu-  
stome was.

At the same time also there was a new act devised  
and made, the old being abrogated (by the appoint-  
ment of the king) for the creation of the Scottish  
kings in time to come, manie of the nobles rather  
consenting with silence, than greatlie allowing it ei-  
ther in hart or voices, though some currisauours a-  
mong them set forward the matter to the best of  
their powers. The articles of this ordinance were  
these. The eldest heire male of the deceased king,  
whether the same were sonne or nephue, of what age  
soeuer he should be, yea though he should be in the  
mothers wombe at the time of the fathers deceasse,  
should from thence forth succeed in the kingdome of  
Scotland. The nephue by the sonne should be prefer-  
red before the nephue by the daughter, in attaining  
to the heritage of the crowne. And likewise the bro-  
thers sonne should be admitted before the sisters son.  
The same law should be obserued of all such of the  
Scottish nation, as had anie lands or inheritance  
comming to them by descent. Where the king by this  
meanes chanced to be vnder age, & not able to rule,  
there should be one of the chiefe peeres of the realme  
chosen and elected to haue the governance of his per-  
son and realme, till he came to 14 yeeres of age. The  
which fouretenth yeere of his age being accompli-  
shed, he should haue the administration committed  
to his owne hands. The heires of all other persons  
of ech estate and degre should remaine vnder the  
wardship of their appointed gouernors, till they came  
to the age of 21 yeeres, and not till then to meddle  
with anie part of their lands and liuings.

D.I.

These

The peeres of  
the realme did  
willinglie  
grant to his  
request.

The herald  
required Ed-  
ward to be  
boice first.

Constantine  
his saying.

The multi-  
tude wel plea-  
sed, cried Mal-  
colme.

A new act for  
the succession  
of the crowne.

Articles con-  
tained in that  
parlement.

King Kenneth  
administered  
iustice trulie.

The good will  
of the nobilitie  
he bought  
with gifts.

The king had  
a gutie consec-  
ence.

A voice heard  
by the king.

The king  
confessed his  
sinnes.

The king tak-  
eth great re-  
pentance.

The king  
went to For-  
dune in pil-  
grimage.  
A parke with  
wild beastes at  
the castell of  
Fethircarne.

Fenella was  
of kin vnto  
Malcolme.

These lawes and ordinances being once published and confirmed, king Kenneth supposed the kingdome to be fullie assured vnto him and his posteritie, and thereupon indured himselfe to win the hearts of the people with byright administration of iustice, and the fauour of the nobles he sought to purchase with great gifts which he bestowed amongst them, as well in lands belonging to the crowne, as in other things greatlie to their contentation. Thus might he seeme happye to all men, hauing the loue both of his lords and commons: but yet to himselfe he seemed most unhappie, as he that could not but still liue in continuall feare, least his wicked practise concerning the death of Malcolme Duffe should come to light and knowledge of the world. For so cometh it to passe, that such as are pricked in conscience for anie secret offense committed, haue euer an vnquiet mind. And (as the same goeth) it chanced that a voice was heard as he was in bed in the night time to take his rest, uttering vnto him these or the like words in effect:

“ Think not Kenneth that the wicked slaughter of Malcolme Duffe by thee contriued, is kept secret from the knowledge of the eternall God: thou art he that didst conspire the innocents death, enterprising by traitorous meanes to do that to thy neighbour, which thou wouldest haue reuenged by cruell punishment in anie of thy subiects, if it had bene offered to thy selfe. It shall therefore come to passe, that both thou thy selfe, and thy issue, through the iust vengeance of almighty God, shall suffer worthy punishment, to the infamie of thy house and familie for euermore. For euen at this present are there in hand secret practises to dispatch both thee and thy issue out of the waie, that other maie inioy this kingdome which thou dost inuoluntarily assure vnto thine issue.

The king with this voice being stricken into great dread and terror, passed that night without anie sleepe comming in his eyes. Wherefore in the morning he got him vnto bishop Spouean, a man of great holinesse of life, vnto whome he confessed his heinous and most wicked offense, beseeching him of counsell, which waie he might obtayne pardon and forgiveness at Gods hands by worthy penance. Spouean hearing how the king bemoaned his offense committed, he willed him to be of good comfort. For as the wrath of almighty God was prouoked by sinne and wicked offenses, so was the same pacified againe by repentance, if so be we continue penitent and willing to amend. King Kenneth being confirmed in hope of forgiveness by these and sundrie other like comfortable words of the bishop, studied vnfeignedly to do worthy penance, leauing nothing vndone which he thought might serue for a witnesse of his penitent hart, thereby to auoid the vengeance which he stood in feare of to be prepared for him, by reason of his heinous and wicked crime.

It chanced hereupon, that within a short time after he had bene at Fordune, a towe in Spernes, to visit the relikes of Paladius which remaine there, he turned a little out of the waie to lodge at the castell of Fethircarne, where as then there was a Forrest full of all manner of wild beastes that were to be had in anie part of Albion. Here was he receiued by Fenella ladie of the house, whose son (as ye haue heard) he caused to be put to death, for the commotion made betwixt them of Spernes and Angus. She was also of kin vnto Malcolme Duffe, whome the king had made a waie, and in like manner vnto Constantine and Crine, defrauded of their right to the crowne, by the craftie deuise of the king (as before is partly mentioned.) This woman therefore being of a stout stomack, long time before hauing conceived an immortall grudge towards the king, vpon the occasions before rehearsed (namelie aswell for the death of

his sonne Cruthlin, as hauing some inkling also of the impossibility of Malcolme Duffe, though no full certaintie thereof was knowne) imagined night and day how to be reuenged.

She vnderstood that the king delighted aboute measure in goodlie buildings, and therefore to the end to compass his malicious intent, she had caused a tower to be made, joining vnto his owne lodging within the foresaid castell of Fethircarne. The which tower was covered ouer with copper finellie ingrauen with diuerse flowers and images. Hereto was it hong within with rich cloths of arras wrought with gold and silke, verie faire and costlie. Behind the same were these crossebowes set ready bent with sharpe quarrels in them. In the midst of the house there was a goodlie brazen image also, resembling the figure of king Kenneth, holding in the one hand a faire golden apple set full of pretious stones, decorated with such art and cunning, that so soone as anie man should draw the same vnto him, or remoue it neuer so little anie waie forth, the crossebowes would immediatlie discharge their quarrels vpon him with great force and violence.

Fenella therefore being thus prouided aforehand, after meate desired the king to go with hir into that inner chamber, into the which being entered, he could not be satisfied of long with the beholding of the goodlie furniture, aswell of the hangings as of diuerse other things. At the last hauing viewed the image which stood (as is said) in the midst of the chamber, he demanded what the same did signifie: Fenella answered, how that image did represent his person, and the golden apple set so richlie with smaragds, iacints, sapphires, topazes, rubies, turkasses, and such like pretious stones, she had prouided as a gift for him, and therefore required him to take the same, beseeching him to accept it in good part, though it were not in value worthy to be offered vnto his princelie honor and high dignitie. And here with she herselfe withdrew aside, as though she would haue taken some thing forth of a chest or coffer, thereby to auoid the danger.

But the king delighted in beholding the gems and orient stones, at length removing the apple, the better to aduise it, incontinentlie the crossebowes discharged their quarrels so directlie vpon him, that striking him through in sundrie places, he fell downe starke dead, and lay flat on the ground. Fenella as soone as she beheld him fall to the ground ready to die, she got forth by a backe doore into the next woods, where she had appointed hoistes to tarie for hir, by meanes whereof she escaped out of all danger of them that pursued hir, yer the death of the king were openlie knowne vnto them. His seruants still waiting for his comming forth in the latter chamber, at length when they saw he came not at all, first they knocked at the doore softlie, then they rapped hard thereat: lastlie, doubting that which had hapened, they brake open doore after doore, till at length they came into the chamber where the king lay cold dead vpon the floore.

The clamor and erie hereupon was raised by his seruants, and Fenella curst and sought for in euerie place, that had committed so heinous and wicked a deed: but the vngratious woman was conueied so secretlie out of the waie, that no where could she be heard of. Some supposed that she fled first vnto Constantine, by whose helpe she got ouer into Ireland. The ambitious desire which the same Constantine shewed he had to succeed in government of the kingdome after Kenneths deceasse, increased that suspicion greatlie. For immediatlie after it was known that Kenneth was dead, he got his friends together, and went vnto diuerse places requirring the lords to

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Constantine by their mee-  
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assist him in attaining to the crowne, which by the old ordinance and law of the realme (instituted in the beginning, and obserued till now of late, that Kenneth by his private authoritie had gone about to arrogate the same) ought to descend vnto him, as all the world verie well vnderstood.

Constantine procured friends so on each side, that by their meanes being of high authoritie in the realme, he was brought by them vnto Scone, and there crowned king the 12 day after Kenneths deceasse, in the 25 yeere after that the same Kenneth had begun his reigne ouer the Scottishmen, and in the yeere of our saluation a thousand iust, in the which yeere (as is said) sundrie vnbeth lights were seene as well in Albion, as in other places. The sea left vpon the sands on the coasts of Buchquane; an infinite multitude of fishes, the which lying there dead, caused such a filthy sauer, that the aire being therewith infected, great death of people ensued. The moone appeared of a bloudie colour, to the great terror of them that beheld it. In the summer next following, come failed, and cattell died so generallie, that if there had not bene more plentie of fish got than was accustomed to be, the people had bene famished in manie places. In Albion and also France it rained stones. But all these dreadfull wonders might not with draw the Scottishmen from their wicked vices, wherevnto in those daies they were wholly ginen, though there wanted not diuerse vertuous men, as well bishops as other, that in their sermons exhorted the people to repent and amend their naughty liuings: for other wise vnboubtedlie such grieuie sights and tokens as chanced in those daies, menaced some great mischiefe to fall vnto the whole nation. And suerlie their words proued true: for the Scots continuing in their wilfulnesse, being stubborn harted one against another, brought their countrie into danger of vtter destruction.

Malcolme the sonne of Kenneth, created (as ye haue heard in his fathers life time) prince of Cumberland, hearing that Constantine (against the ordinance lately made) had usurped the crowne, as soone as his fathers bodie was buried in Colmekill, with such funerall pompe as appertained, he desired his fathers friends to giue him such faithfull counsell as they thought most expedient, which way he were best to walke for: the appeasing of the sedition now begun, by reason of Constantines presumptuous attempt. There were some amongst that companie that toke it to be best, first to vnderstand the minds of all the peeres and nobles of the realme, before they went about anie exploit against the tyrant; least whilst Malcolme should seek to deliuer himselfe from danger, he might happlie wind himselfe further into trouble, than without extream perill of the common wealth he should be able to get forth thereof againe. Other there were that iudged it best suddenly to go against Constantine before he made himselfe strong: for if they came vpon him per he were provided for their comming, manie of them that feigned themselves to be his friends, would forsake him, so soone as they saw anie power of his enemies at hand. And then should he either fall into their hands, or be obliged to flee the realme for safegard of his life.

The fierce yong man following this counsell as the best to his seeming, & trusting more to his owne wit than to the graue aduise of men of skill, assembled together in all hast possible about the number of ten thousand men, with whome making towards Constantine with speedie fornicies, at length he came into Louthian. Constantine being informed of all his aduersaries doings, had gotten together also an huge power, so that passing forth with the same to

incounter them, the hate which ran of his great number and puissance, caused Malcolme for verie feare that he should not be able in anie part to match him, to breake vp his armie, and to flee backe into Cumberland: by reason whereof he had bene put to such hindrance and dishonour, as would not easilie haue bene recovered, had not Kenneth the bastard sonne of his father the aboue mentioned Kenneth incamped with a mightie power about Sterling, & defended the passages of the Forth, that Constantine with his armie could not come ouer. Then rose there great famine and penurie of vittells in both hostes, so that Constantine with great indignation was constrained to breake vp his campe, and so to leaue his enterprise for that season.

Thus was the realme diuided into two sundrie factions, wherevpon followed wastings and incursions made into each others possessions, with such crueltie, that the same might be a sufficient instruction what mischiefe happeneth through ciuill discord. The poore commons and husbandmen were brought to such miserie through the often spoilings and robberies vsed by the men of warre, that they were not able to till their grounds. Finally, there rose one mischiefe so fast in the necke of an other, that no kind of crueltie was spared, robbing, reauing, and forcible extortion was exercised on all sides without hope of anie redresse or amendment. Whilst the Scottishmen were thus at diuision amongst themselves, renting and pulling in peeces their owne miserable native countrie, Edward king of England being oppressed with inuasion of Danes, was glad to buye peace at their hands, for himselfe and his people, with right large summes of monie; but perceiving that his enemies ceased not daile to spoile and rob his subiects, he purposed to trie what he might doe by making them warre: and to make his part the stronger, he required Malcolme prince of Cumberland to aid him against the Danes, according to the covenant of the ancient league. Malcolme consenting to Edwards request, came with a mightie armie of Cumberland men to support him: by reason whereof the Danes doubting to be ouermatched, after certaine light skirmishes, without anie great bloodshed, condescended to haue peace, which was concluded with these conditions: that king Edward should paie vnto the Danes a thousand pounds of gold, for the which they should content themselves with those lands which they had alreadie in possession, and to inuade no further vpon the Englishmen; but contrariwise to be ready to fight in their defense, if anie foreigne enemy sought to make anie warres vpon them. In the meane time, whilst Malcolme was thus in England occupied in aid of king Edward against the Danes, king Constantine thought the time to serue verie well for his purpose, to reduce all those regions of Scotland, which took part with his aduersarie (the foresaid Malcolme) vnder his subiection.

He assembled therefore twentie thousand men, and comming into Louthian, heard how Kenneth the bastard aforesaid (being left by his brother Malcolme to resist Constantines attempts) had got together an huge armie of his brothers friends, and was come vnto Traumond, where the river falleth into the Forth, thre miles from Edinburgh, putting there to abide his enemies, if they minded to assaile him. Constantine herevpon hastened thitherwards, and comming within sight of his enemies, straight waies ioined battell with them; immediatlie wherewith there rose such an outrageous tempest of wind, comming out of the east, & driving the sand in the faces of Constantines men, that they were not able to see about them to make anie defense against

Malcolme thought himselfe too weak

Lacke of vittells caused Constantine to breake vp his campe.

King Edward, or rather Ethelred, purchased peace of the Danes.

Malcolme is ready to trie what king Edward against the Danes.

King Edward made peace with the Danes.

King Constantine renewed warre with Malcolme.

Constantine ioined battell with Kenneth the bastard.

King Constantine's name.

1002

Grime.

Grime used herakitic and gentleness towards Constantine's friends.

Malcolm prince of Cumberland is moved as against Grime. A good counsel.

Malcolm the lord of Scotland.

Malcolm has promise unto the Scots.

Malcolm his messengers are committed to prison.

Malcolm being offended therewith gathered an armie.

Grime is of greater force than Malcolme.

Malcolm should not hear his people to understand the truth thereof.

His advice is mailed not.

gainst their enemies that then pressed upon them right eagerly. By means whereof the discomfiture lighted upon Constantine's side, though neither part had any great cause to rejoice: for in the hottest of the fight, Constantine and Kenneth chanced to encounter together, and so fighting man to man, either slew the other. Thus Constantine ended his life by dint of the enemies sword, in the third yeare of his reign; & in the yeare after the incarnation 1002, his bodie was buried in Colme hill amongst his predecessors.

When Grime nephew to king Duffe, hearing of the slaughter made betwixt king Constantine and Kenneth, gathered together the residue of Constantine's armie, being scattered abroad after the overthrow, supposing that by the death of Kenneth, the partie of his brother Malcolme was soe weakened, & thereupon he came unto the abbey of Scoon, and there caused himselfe to be crowned king; and lawfull successor unto Constantine, by force of the old laws and ordinances of the realme. And to establish himselfe the more firmelie in the state, he shewed great gentleness towards all them that were friends unto Constantine, and bestowed upon them manie bountifull gifts. Neither was his liberallitie shut up from other that had favored Malcolme, for to the end he might allure them to beare him good will, he rewarded them highly both in lands and treasure: but other of the same faction, whom he saw by no means could be wonne, he caused them to be proclaimed traitors, and confiscated their goods as rebels to his person, and enemies to the crowne.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland soe moved in his mind that Grime had thus taken upon him the crowne, called his friends together, requiring to haue their aduise, which way he were best to walke in this so great a matter. They counselled him in no wise he should despise the force of his enemies, but rather to assaie by all means to draw those nobles unto his purpose, which were assitant unto Grime. Whereupon Malcolme following the counsel of his friends, sent forth secret messengers unto those lords that took part with Grime, requiring them to remember their promised faith, giuen unto his father king Kenneth, concerning the obseruance of the law established by their consent for the succession of their kings: which if they would doe in renouncing their obsequence unto the usurper Grime, he promised so to governe the realme with equall iustice, that no estate in realme should find cause to milke with his doings. Manie of the nobles by means of this message revolted from the said Grime, soliciting their friends by earnest trauell to doe the like. But other & the greater number took those that brought the message, & sent them as prisoners unto Grime, who presently committed them to prison.

Malcolme soe offended therewith, by counsell of his friends, assembled an armie to go against them, that (contrarie to the law of all nations, as he seemed to take the matter) had imprisoned his pursuants and messengers: but as he was marching forward on his purposed iourne, he heard by the way, how his aduersarie king Grime had gathered a farre greater power than he had with him, not onlie of all such of the Scottish nation inhabiting beyond the riuers of Forth and Clide, but of them also of the wessterne Isles. Malcolme doubting least if the certaintie hereof were once bruted amongst his people, the same would increase the terror more than needed; he gaue commandment therfore that no manner of wight should be suffered to come into his armie, but lest he were first brought to his presence. But this deuise nothing auailed him: for thereby that which he desired to be concealed and kept most secret, became the more manifest,

by reason that such as had some inkling of the matter, told it from one to another; making it much more than it was in deed. For there rose a murmuring amongst them; that there was such treason contriued, that if Malcolme with his armie went forward to ioin with his aduersarie, he should not be in danger onelie of them, which he knew to come against him in Grimes host; but also of no small number of them which were in his owne armie; who upon the iourne had determined to turne their speare points against him in Grimes quarrell.

This rumor passing from one to another, perthe whole number in great haste: it was such that by certaine merchants, of whom there was a great number in Grimes host, hauing their skill in buying and selling, that in a little while he was enterprised. These at the first being solicited to depart home, and could haue no grant, began to lament their miseries, in such dolefull wise, that all the campe was troubled with the noise; inso much that even the old men of warre, and diuers of the captiues, were not a little discomfited and amazed with such wailefull clamors. Malcolme being aduertised hereof, thought not good to match in battell against his fierce enemies with his people thus unniened through dread and terror; and therefore gave licence to the most part of his host to depart for that time, and abroad onelie with certaine bands of his most faithfull friends came to the water of Forth, to stop his enemies from passing ouer that river.

Whilst the realme of Scotland was thus divided and troubled with ciuill discord; Forthadus the great bishop of Scotland, a man of right approved vertue and clemencie, soe lamenting to see his countrie thus diuided and rent as it were in peeces, got him into his pontificall vestures, with a multitude of other reuerend priests and ecclesiasticall ministers, in humble wise comming and presenting themselves before king Grime, who with great reuerence receiuing them, was willing to understand the cause of their comming. Then Forthadus answered, that he was come as the seruant of Christ, the author of all peace and concord, beseeching him by way of humble supplication to take ruth and pittie of the great trouble and miserie fallen to the realme, since the time he had taken the gouernance upon him, the state of things being such, as if some redreffe were not found in all speedie wise, the utter ruine of the common-wealth must needs ensue, by reason of the fundie debats and factions daile rising among the people of all sorts and degrees, so that murders, robberies, rapes, with all other kinds of iniuries & mischiefe were still put in practise without restraint or punishment, in such licentious sort that no man could assure himselfe of his owne: for whether it were within doores, or without, the robber was as redie to laie hands on it as the owne. Neither was there any hope of reformation so long as the ciuill wars lasted. Therefore if it might stand with the pleasure of king Grime in reliefe of the poore commons of Scotland, to condescend unto some necessarie agreement with Malcolme, Forthadus offered to undertake to conclude a peace betwixt them, in such wise as should in no manner of behalfe be prejudiciall to his honor and roiall maiestie.

Grime moved with the words of the bishop (who most instantlie besought him, although the calamitie and great affliction of his people did but little mollifie his heart; yet in respect of his owne sauerie, which might not continue if his people were once destroyed, to remit part of his high displeasure) answered, that peace he could be contented to haue, so the same might be concluded with his honor saued: for suchlike wars he neuer desired but onelie in defence

of his god descended ordinance not to leaue against death. As tent him and so the faith of it would gle for peace: lured him to the better fierce ent

Forthad him to see to under not doubt reasonable state I quest, so to Grime Sterling a long calamitie which it u herewith scantial end if u sued to f heard and that he l without like case truce for they mig autho: He ding of e

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of his godd title and right, which he had to the crowne descended vnto him by the old lawes and ancient ordinaunces of the realme, and therefore he purposed not to leaue the same with life, but to fight for it against Malcolme, and all his partakers, euen vnto death. But if it were so, that Malcolme would content himselfe with the principallitie of Cumberland, and so thereupon breake vp his campe, and depart south of the lands pertaining vnto the crowne, he would gladlie come to a communication with him for peace; but if Malcolme refused thus to do, he assured him that he would not leaue off to pursue him to the uttermost of his power, as his most cruell and fierce enimie.

Fothadus hauing heard Grimes words, besought him to stae a time, till he might go vnto Malcolme, to vnderstand what his full mind was in this behalfe not doubting but to find him conformable vnto anie reasonable motion, for relieuing of the poore afflicted state of the land. Grime granting vnto this request, Fothadus in like sort and habit as he came vnto Grime, went vnto Malcolme, whome he found at Sterling; where comming before his presence with a long oration, he greatlie bewailed the dolorous calamities of the Scottis common-wealth, into the which it was fallen through ciuill sedition onlie, and herewith declared also by great likelihood of substantiall reasons, how infortunat and miserable the end should be of the warres, if the same were pursued to the uttermost. His tale being throughlie heard and well digested, wrought so with Malcolme, that he promised to withdraue into Cumberland without anie further attempt, if Grime would in like case breake vp his campe, and agree to haue a truce for three moneths space, in which meane time they might by certeine commissioners appointed and authorized thereto, talke and common for concluding of a small peace and concord betwixt them.

Grime refused not this offer, and so thereupon licenced his people to depart to their homes, repairing himselfe with certeine of his nobles into Angus vnto the castell of Ffofart, there to take further aduise what was to be done touching the appointed communication of peace. But Fothadus would in no wise rest, till the commissioners were met and assembled together in communication at Scrone, where within few daies after (chieflye through his earnest diligence) peace was concluded with these conditions. First, that Grime during his life time should intoy the crowne, and after his decesse the same to remaine to Malcolme & his heirs by lineall descent for euer, according to the ordinance & decree made & established by Is. Kenneth. And whosoever should go about either by word or deed to impeach or hinder the said ordinance and decree, should be reputed for a traitor to the common-wealth & realme. Furthermore all the lands lieng betwixt Louthian & Northumberland, and betwixt Elde and Westmerland, euen from the Almaine seas to the Irish seas, should presentlie remaine & be transported vnto the dominion & gouernement of Malcolme, with the which contenting himselfe, during the naturall life of Grime, he should continue in friendship with the said Grime, & so in no wise stirre or moue anie waie or debate, either against him or anie of his friends: for if he did, and went about to breake anie of the articles of this peace, he should not onelie lose those lands which he now held, but also be depeined of all the right, title, claime, and interest which either he or his posteritie might make or pretend vnto the crowne at anie time hereafter.

When both the princes had bound themselves by solemn othes to perfoyme euerie point and point in these articles compised, they laid armes aside,

and began to take order for reforming of all misde-meanours, which had happened within the land, by reason of the ciuill contention mooued betwixt them and their partakers. Whobeyt, commandment was giuen by either of these princes, that their subjects should be still in a readinesse with armour and weapons (if need required) to defend themselves against all sudden inuasions of their neighbours, whereby it may be gathered, that the one had the other still in some mistrust, what countenance forner they shewed outwardlie. Yet notwithstanding, for the space of 8 yeares together, the peace continued without breach, or any notable trouble betwixt them.

But Grime at length of a chaff & liberall prince, through long flouth and increase of riches, became a most couetous tyrant, and so corrupted in maners and conditions, that it passed the bounds of all reason and equitie: insomuch that when he had put vnto death diuerse of his nobles, to the end he might haue their lands and goods as forfeited by attainder, he oppressed the people by continuall exactions also each day more than other. His subjects being thus brought into extreme miserie through his wicked and vniust gouernement, not knowing where to seke for redresse, saue onelie at the hands of almighty God, the punisher of all sinne, besought him to haue pitie of their afflictions and miseries, and to change the gouernement of the realme into some better state. The lords also hauing great indignation of the trouble fallen to the realme, by the kings misgouernance and anaricions crueltie, appointed a certeine number of gentlemen to go vnto him as ambassadors from them, to require him to put awaie from him such naughtie persons as by euill counsell had peruerced his mind, & moued him to do things contrarie to his honor, and the wealth of his realme.

One of these ambassadors (to whome the charge was giuen) had the words in name of them all, who comming before the kings presence, declared to him that they were sent from the residue of the nobles and pæres of his realme, to admonish him of things pertaining to the luertie of his estate, and common wealth of his dominions: which was, that whereas through persuasion of euill counsellors he suffered manie enozmities to be committed by his ministers and officers against his subjects, to their vtter impoverishment and vndoing, the rebuke whereof did rebound vnto his dishonour; if it would please him to remoue out of his presence and seruaice all such disloyall persons as sought the hinderance of the common-wealth, he should win thereby the loue of all his liege subjects, which now could not but grudge and repine at this his gouernement, as men by the same brought into such calamitie, that better it were for them in their iudgements to be dead than aliuie, if reformation were not the soner had against such exortions as his seruants and officers did daile practise, and for the which no doubt he must needs answer, sith the sword was committed vnto him, not to enrich couetous persons, nor to oppress innocent and true dealing people, but contrariwise to punish and correct guiltie and vniust dealers.

When king Grime had heard what message these ambassadors had brought, he answered to the same with fained words, and willed them vnder the pretext of courtesie to a banquet, in purpose to haue put them all in prison: but they being aduertised thereof got them in all hast to their hostes, and fled forthwith vnto Bertha, where the residue of the nobles at the same time were assembled. Grime hauing thus no regard to the wholesome aduertisement of his nobles, thought that all things would come forthward with such felicitie and hap as he wished, not ceasing from raising new palments and exactions still of

applied their  
studies to re-  
forme misde-  
meanours.

King Grime  
his alteration  
from noble  
qualities vnto  
detestable  
vices.

The common  
peoples prayer

The lords re-  
quire Grime  
to reforme the  
misgouernment  
of his officers.

The office of  
the sword.

King Grime  
purposed to  
haue slaine the  
messenger.

The lordes of Scotland are at warre against Crine their king.

What mischief ensued.

Malcolme is required to relieve the Scottish estate.

Malcolme cometh to make warres against Crine.

Crine assenteth an armie to encounter Malcolme. The camps nere the one to the other. Crines policie.

Malcolmes request.

The battell betwixt Crine and Malcolme. Crines part discomfited.

The end of king Crine.

his subiects, till at length he was aduertised how his nobles had raised open warre against him, at which newes being soe kindled with displeasure, he got together a great number of men, and marched forth towards them that had so rebelled against him. Then followed more mischief and trouble than cuer had bene seene afore that time in Scotland: for by reason of this ciuill dissention, castles were rased and overthrowne, towines burned vp, corne destroyed, fields waisted, and the people slaine in all places, yea as well in churches as elsewhere.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland hearing of such cruell wars as were thus raised in Scotland betwixt the king and the nobles of the realme, to the danger of the utter euersion of the whole common-wealth, returned with all speed forth of England (where he was with an armie as then in aid of king Egeldred against the Danes) into his owne countrie for defense of his subiects, if anie attempt should happilie be made against them in that troublesome season. Whereupon, he was no sooner returned home, but the nobles of Louthian came vnto him, beseeching him to take pitie vpon his miserable and toome countrie, & to imploy his whole force to remove away from the people such imminent destruction as daile hastened towards them, which to doe they thought it was partie euen his dutie, sith God had bestowed vpon him such gifts, both of bodie, mind, and fortune, as most plentifully appeared in him, not onlie for the weale of himselfe, but also of his friends & countrie, & therefore his part was to shew his earnest diligence to deliuer the common-wealth of such tyrannie as was practised by the misgouernement of Crine and his unhappie counsellors. Which being done, he might order all things as should like him best.

Malcolme moued with these and the like persuasions of the Scottish lords, which daile reioyced vnto him, resolved with promise of their support to leuie warre against Crine in this so necessarie a quarell, and so assembling a great puissance together, he did set forth towards his aduersarie. By the way also there came still vnto him great numbers of men from each side to aid him in this enterprise, offering by solemne othes to become his liegemen and subiects. Crine likewise being aduertised of those newes, with all speed got together such people as he might assemble for the time, and comming forward with the same at the towne of Auchnabart, both the armies pitched downe their tents, the one fast by the other, on the Ascension daie. Here Crine supposing that he might take his enemies at some aduantage, if he came vpon them on the sudden, for that being giuen to deuotion, they would looke for nothing lesse than for battell on that daie, he got forth of his campe in the dawning of that morning, in purpose forthwith to assaile them.

Notwithstanding, Malcolme being aduertised thereof, sent vnto Crine, requesting him to desist from battell for reuerence of that blessed feast, but Crine would in no wise assent thereto, but nades would come on without stop or staie; whereupon both the armies rushing together met right fiercelie, so that in the beginning there was great slaughter made on both sides, but within a while king Crines side was put to the worse, and in the end cleaerlie discomfited. In the chase were manie slaine, but yet no such number as so notable a victorie required. It is said that Crine was taken alive standing at defense, & most fiercelie fighting, who being soe wounded in the head, had both his eyes put out, and afterwards continuing so in great miserie and languor certeine daies, at length departed out of this life, in the 9 yere of his reigne, and was buried in Colme-

kill, after the incarnation 1010 yeres.

After this victorie thus obtained by Malcolme, he called such noble men as were taken prisoners in this battell before him, vsing manie gentle wordes toward them, declaring that the right of the crowne appertained vnto him, and that the warres which he had made, were not attempted against the common wealth of the Scottish estate, but rather in reliefe thereof, to the end the people might be deliuered of the tyrannie exercised by Crine and his counsellors. When he had thus vttered his mind vnto them, he appointed a publike assembly to be kept at Secone (for the election of a new king) there to be holden within 15 daies after. Whither the Scottish nobilitie comming together at the time & place appointed, and consenting to crowne Malcolme king, he vtterlie refused to receive the crowne, except the law established by his father Kenneth for the succession thereof were first confirmed and approued, whereupon the lords bound themselves by solemne othes to performe the same, and neuer to breake or violate it in anie condition. His request herein being granted with generall consent both of the nobles and commons, the crowne was set vpon his head, he being placed in the chaire of marble, to the great reioysing of all the people present.

When the solemnitie of this coronation was ended, he called before him againe all the lords and peeres of his realme; of the which, part had aided him in the last warres, and part had bene assistant vnto his aduersarie Crine: and there vied the matter in such wise amongst them, that he made them all friends, each one promising to other to forget all former offenses, displeasures, and controuersies past, which he did to auoid all intestine trouble that might grow out of the rotes of such rancor and malice, as in time of the ciuill discorde had sprung up among them. Further, for the better administration of iustice in due forme and maner, he bestowed publike offices vpon discret persons, skilfull in the laws and ordinances of the realme. Other offices pertaining to the warres & defense of the realme, he committed to such as were practised & trained in such exercises, so that iustice was ministered on all sides throughout the kingdome, with such equitie and by rightnesse, as had not bene heard of in anie age before him. Whilst the Scottish estate was gouerned in such happie wise, by the prudent policie of king Malcolme; it chanced that Sueno king of Danes landed in England with a mightie nauie, in purpose to reuenge the iniuries done before vnto his people by the Englishmen.

This Sueno (as appeareth more at large in the historie of Denmarke) first being an earnest persecutor of christian men, and punished by the diuine prouidence for his crueltie in that behalfe, shewed by sundrie onerthrowes receiued at the enemies hands, as in being thrise taken prisoner, and in the end driven and expelled out of his kingdome, he came into Scotland for reliefe and succour, where through the wholesome instruction of godlie and vertuous men, he renounced his heathenish belasse, and received the christian faith, and being baptised, at length was restored home to his kingdome. Shortly after with a mightie armie of Danes, Gothes, Norwegians, and Swedeners, with other northerne people, he arriued (as is said) in England, and chased king Egeldred into Northumberland, who there receiving aid from the Scots, according to the league which latelie before he had contracted with them, he determined to trie the chance of battell with his enemies. Marching forwards therefore towards them, he came to the riuer of Muse, nere to the banks whereof, not farre from Forke, he pitched downe

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When pleasures hands, sending them Egeldred: cruell batgrans, and die bent: tised that into his c: for a spie: tels readi by dint of rie desirou people in that there ther they neither sit at the first continuing e fer, till at leauing t ric. The great, bul men. Eg and passe hands, b ken or le

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1010. Malcolme king of Scotland.

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downe his tents.

Then Sueno not forgetfull of the benefits and pleasures received but latelie at the Scottishmens hands, sent an herald at armes unto them, commanding them to depart their waies home, and to refuse Egeldreds companie; either else to loke for most cruell battell at the hands of the Danes, the Norwegians, and others the people of Germanie, there ready bent to their destruction. Egeldred being aduertised that his aduersaries messenger was thus come into his campe, caused him to be slaid and arrested for a spie. And the same day he brought forth his battels readie ranged into the fields, to trie the matter by dint of sword, if Sueno were so minded; who being desirous to accept the offer, brought forth also his people in perfect order and well arrayed to fight, so that there was no staie on either part, but that together they flue most fiercelie, & in such eger wise, that neither side had leasure to bestow their shot, but euen at the first they buckled together at handblowes, continuing certeine houres with great & cruell slaughter, till at length the Englishmen were put to flight, leaving the Danes a verie dære and bloudie victorie. The murder also that day of the Scots was great, but yet nothing to the number of the Englishmen. Egeldred himselfe with a few other, got a bote and passed ouer Dule, so escaping out of the enemies hands, but the rest were for the most part either taken or slaine.

Thus Egeldred being utterly vanquished and despairing of all recoverie, fled out of England ouer into Normandie, where he was verie friendlie received of Richard as then duke of Normandie, and afterwards purchased such fauour there amongst the Normans, that he married the ladie Emma, daughter unto the said duke, and begot of hir two sonnes, Alured and Edward, as in the English chronicles more at large it doth appeere. Sueno hauing thus overcome his enemies, and now put in possession of the whole realme of England, was in mind to haue destroyed all the English generation, so to establish the kingdome to him and his posteritie for euer, without anie impeachment afterwards to be made by such as should succeed of them that were then aliue. But the nobles of England aduertised of Suenos determination, came humbly before his presence, & falling downe on their knees at his feet, besought him in most pittifull wise to haue compassion on their miserable estate, who in times past being a most puissant nation, both by sea and land, were now satisfied (if he would grant them life) to continue vnder that bondage and seruitude it should stand with his pleasure to prescribe, for they desired neither possession of castles, towncs, or other souereignties, but onelie to liue with their wiues and children vnder subiection within their owne native countrie, at the victors will and appointment.

Sueno, albeit he was of nature verie cruell, yet he qualified his displeasure by this humble submission of the English nobilitie; in such sort, that he vfed the victorie farre more gentlie, than at the first he had purposed, commanding that the whole English nation should remaine in the countrie, but in such wise, as by no means they should presume to beare anie armoz or weapon, but to applie themselves vnto husbandrie, and other seruaile occupations vnder the gouernement of the Danes, vnto whom they should resigne and deliuer all their castles, forts, and strong holds: and taking an oth to be true liege men vnto Sueno, as their souereigne lord and king; they should bring in (to be deliuered vnto his vse) all their weapons and armoz, with other munition for the warres, also all their gold and siluer, as well in plate as coine. If anie of the Englishmen refused thus to

do, proclamation was made that he should immediately lose his life as a rebell and a disobedient person. These conditions were hard, and hardlie vged. The Englishmen were brought vnto such an extremitie, that they were faine to accept these conditions of peace, for other meane to avoid present death they knew none. And thus was the dominion of England conquered by the Danes, after the Saxons had reigned in the same 564 yeeres.

Such tyrannie also after this was vfed by the Danes, that none of the English nation was admitted to anie office or rule within the realme, either spirituall or temporall, but were utterly removed from the same, and some of them cast in prison and dailie put in hazard of their liues. Finally, the Englishmen were brought into such miserable thraldome, that euery houtholder within the realme was constrained to receiue and find at his owne proper costs and charges, one Dane, who should continually glue good watch what was said or done in the house, and to aduertise the king thereof, for doubt of conspiracies or treasons to be contriued and practised against his person and roiall estate. This Dane by the good man of the house and his familie, for honor sake, was called lord Dane, which word was afterwards turned to a name of reproch, as where anie idle person liued loitering, without the vse of some honest exercise to get his liuing withall, the people were and yet are accustomed to call him a lordaine.

Thus farre out of Hector Boetius we haue shewed of Suenos doings in England, the which although it agre not in all points with our English histories, yet sith the historie of Scotland in this place seemeth partlie to hang thereon, we haue thought good to set it downe as we find it in the same Boetius: but aduertising the reader withall, that if our histories be true, this which followeth touching Suenos inuading of Scotland, chanced before that Egeldred, whome the Scottish writers name Eldred, was driven to flee into Normandie. For when that Sueno lastlie returned into England, and constrained Egeldred so to forsake the land, he liued not long after but departed this life about Candelmas, in the yeere 1014 (as in the English histories ye may read more at large) not hauing time to make anie such iourne into Scotland: so that it may be thought, if he did enterprise anie such exploit there, it was before this his last arrivall in England.

But now to proceed according to that which we find in the foresaid Boetius. Sueno hauing spoiled the Englishmen of their liberties (in manner before remembred, or rather brought them to become tributaries vnto him, as at the first time of his arrivall here he did in deed, he thought it necessarie, for the more suertie of his estate in England, to conclude some peace or league with his neighbours the Normans, Britains, & Scots, vnder condition that they should not support anie Englishman against him. But for so much as he could not compasse his intention here, in, he furnished all the castles and fortresses on the sea-coasts, ouer against Normandie, with men, munition, and vittels, to resist all sudden inuasions that might be attempted on that side. And on the other part towards the north, he made all the provision he could deuise to make mortall wars vpon the Scots: and the more to annoie his enemies, he sent commandement vnto Olauus his lieutenant in Norway, and to Dnetus his deputie in Denmarke, to come with all the power they might leaue into Scotland, to make warres on his enemies there.

Whereupon shortly after those foresaid capteins arrived with an huge armie in the mouth of Speie, and landed in such puissant order, that the inhabitants of Murray land fled out of their houses, with their

529. H.B. The miserie of the Englishmen vnder the bondage of the Danes.

The name of lordaine how it came by.

Sueno landed here this last time of his coming forth of Denmark into England in June, in the yeere 1013, & departed this life in the beginning of February, in the yeere 1014.

Sueno prepared to inuade the Scots.

Olauus, and Dnetus.

The Danes land in Scots land.

1004. J. M. 1010. H. B. The miserie of the Englishmen vnder the bondage of the Danes.

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The miserie of the Englishmen vnder the bondage of the Danes.

The crueltie  
of the Danes.

The castell of  
Horne belie-  
ged.

Malcolme  
sendeth am-  
bassadors to  
the Danes.

The Danes  
hear the am-  
bassadors.

The Scots  
through feare  
are affrighted.

Malcolms  
words to his  
nobles.

Moncart.

Albion the se-  
pulture of  
Danes.

their wiues, children, and goods (such as they could conueie awaie with them) into places where they thought to remaine most out of danger. But the Danes, after their manner, burne and spoile all be- fore them, as well churches and chapells, as other build- ings and edifices. Such of the people as could not flee in time, but by chance fell into their hands, were slaine without all mercie. Also all the strengths and holds in the countrie were taken by the Danes, these castles onelie excepted: that is to say, Elgin, Forres, and Horne, which the Danes named after ward Burg, and for that they trusted (when the same was wane) the other two would yield without anie fur- ther defense, they first laid siege vnto this castell of Horne, inforcing themselves with all their power to win it: but in the meane time, they were informed how Malcolme the Scottish king was come within fife miles of them with all the forces of his realme to giue them battell.

Incontinentlie hereupon they raised their siege, and hasted forth to meet him, with no lesse courage than if victorie were already present in their hands. Shortly after, there came vnto them heralds also from Malcolme, to vnderstand whie they had thus invaded his realme with open and most cruell warre, hauing no occasion giuen by him or his subjects so to do: who scarselie had done their message, but that they were slaine forthwith by cruell outrage of the Danes. Malcolme being soe moued to vnderstand the law obserued by all nations for the safetie of mes- sengers to be thus violated by the enemies, kept on his iourne with the more fierce courage, till he came to a meadow a little beside Killos, where he encam- ped for that night. Great noise and clamour was heard throughout the armie, euery man being desirous of battell, to reuenge the iniuries done by the Danes against their friends and countreimen: not withstanding on the morrow, when they saw their enemies in farre greater number, and in better order than euery had bene sene by anie of them before that time, their hart began to waver faint, hauing greater care which waie to saue their owne liues, than to giue the onset vpon their enemies.

Malcolme perceiving such dread to be entred into the harts of his people, that they were now more like to run awaie than to fight, if he should bring them forth to battell, got him to a little hill, and calling his nobles about him, he declared vnto them how he could not but detest their great cowardise, that were thus affrighted at the first sight of their enemies, with- out further triall of their forces. At home (said he) ye are most hardie and valiant, where no danger appereth. What rebuke then is it vnto you, to be thus faint harted (now that ye are come where valancie should be shewed) in degenerating so far from your worthie fathers and noble progenitors, the which at Moncart, under the conduct of my father Kenneth, obtained so famous a victorie of the selfe same nation, whose furious puissance ye sene now so much to feare: Where hath bene triall made in battell with this enemy in our time, both within the bounds of Scotland, and also of England, to the great honor and renowne of our elders. What discomfitures the Danes haue receiued are yet fresh in memorie, so manie of them losing their liues amongst vs, that Albion may well be reckoned the sepulture of Danes; as some of you can well record by your owne remembrance, and other haue heard by report of their forefathers and ancestors. Ye ought then (said he) to be of good courage, rather than to faint now at need, considering ye haue to doe with those enemies, who are but the remnant of the other, which before haue bene vanquished and ouerthrowne by Scottishmen, both at Moncart, and in diuerse other

places: yea and besides that, such as mounting warres now at this present without iust occasion, haue vio- lated the lawes both of God and man, deserting thereby iust vengeance at Gods hands, the punisher of all such brauist offenders. There is great hope therefore of victorie (said he) left vnto all such as fight against these enemies, if we take manlie hart vnto vs, and shew our selues in valiant constancie like to our elders, whereby it shall then appere what outrageous follic remained in the Danes, to invade vs without occasion of iniuries preceding. Therefore if ye haue not more regard to the safetie of your fraile bodies, which must needs at length perill, than to the defense and preservation of your common countrie, keep passage not forward, for there is now no place nor time to take longer aduise, in the matter, as ye may well vnderstand by the presence of the enemy ready to ioune.

The nobles moued with these words of their prince, began boldly to exhort their people to battell. Incontinentlie ther vpon rose such noise and raging furie through the armie, that without measuring either their owne forces or their enemies, they rush forth vpon them without anie order or god arise. Malcolme beholding the Scots to come thus furiously against them, boldly incountred them with armed battels. Whereupon ensued a verie terrible fight, with great manhood shewed on both sides, nothing being let passe that might appertene to worthie captains: the Scots inforcing themselves to defend their countrie and ancient liberties on the one side, and the Danes doing their best induer by valiant hardinesse to saue their liues and honors on the other. At length, after huge murther & slaughter made on both parts, the Scots were put to flight, Malcolme was soe wounded, & had his helmet so fast beaten to his head, that it might not well be got off, yet was he conueied out of the field in manner for dead, and kept secret in a wood, till he was somewhat amended, and then got him into places out of danger. The Danes hauing got this victorie, and gathered the spoile of the field, returned to besiege effronces the castell of Horne, with more force and violence than before.

This castell in those daies was inclosed on each side with the sea, hauing one narrow passage as an entrie vnto it, made by craft of man in manner of a bridge. Those that were within it, hauing knowledge of the ouerthrow and losse of the field, rendered the fortresse, on condition, that leauing all their armor, weapon, and other munitions behind them, they might depart with their liues and other goods saued.ouertheless the Danes, contrarie to their faith giuen, being once entred the castell, hanged all those which they found within it ouer the walls, in most despitefull manner. Thus was Horne wane by the Danes, the strongest hold within Murray land, and so garnished with men, munition, and vittels, that it was thought impregnable. Then those soldiers which kept Elgin and Forres, hearing what crueltie the Danes had thus vsed, fled out of those castles, and left them void without anie person to defend them. The Danes reioicing at this good fortune, trusted to establish themselves sure seates in Murray land, and thereupon sent backe their ships into Norwaye and Denmarke, to fetch from thence their wiues and children. In the meane time they constrained such Scots as they had laid hands on, to reape and inne the cozne growing abroad in the fields, vnto their use and commoditie.

As Malcolme being aduertised of all these things, doubting least by the arrivall of new aid, his enemies might war more puissant, in the beginning of the next summer he assembled a great multitude of war- riors,

Spethlake.

The Scots  
and Danes  
are afraid of  
another.

The Scots  
forced to re-  
treat.

The Danes  
without open  
warre simply  
battell.

The Scots  
put to flight  
Malcolme  
wounded.

Malcolms  
place.

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is to God, and  
our lord, and  
saint Adolphe,  
so to be ioune  
them together  
according to  
the manner of  
that time.

The castell  
of Horne re-  
sisted by com-  
position.

The Danes  
by breach of  
faith and per-  
uice.

The Scots  
structures re-  
newed battell.

Elgin and  
Forres left  
void.

Malcolms  
place.

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ors, and came in good order and most warlike arraie into Spurthlake, a towne of Arar, where the first residence of the bishops see of Aberdeen was founded. Here the one armie comming in sight of the other, they were suddenly both amazed: for the Scots having had too much experience of the crueltie thewbed afore time by the Danes, were put in no small feare now at the plaine & open sight of them. The Danes being farre off from the sea side, and upon an unknowne ground, were more afraid of some guilefull practise, than of the open violence and force of their enemies. Yet neuertheless in the end, by the encouragement of the capitaine on both sides, they buckled together with great fiercenesse and most cruel malicious hatred on each hand.

In the first bunt three valiant capitaine, that is to say, Kenneth of Kila, Grime of Strathern, and Patrike of Dunbar, rushing oner fiercelie on their enemies, were slaine, and gave occasion to manie of the Scottishmen to flee, but the place was such, that they could not well make their course anie waie south, by reason of the narrownesse thereof: seized on either side with deepe trenches full of water and mud: also in trauerses were laid sundrie trees, as it had bene of purpose to impeach the passage, deuised in that sort (as was thought) in time of some ciuill warres. Here though Malcolme like a valiant champion, did his best to slae them that fled, yet was he borne backe with the piasse, till he came to the modest of this place, where stood a chappell dedicated in the honor of saint Poloke, the which Malcolme beholding, cast by his hands towards heauen, making his prayer on this wise. Great God of vertue, rewarder of piety, and punisher of sinne, we thy people seeking to de-

“*scend on our native countrie granted to vs of thy benediction, as now destitute of all mortall helpe, and thus oppressed with the insatiable inuasion of Danes, do flie vnto thee in this our extreme necessitie, beseeching thee to haue compassion vpon our miserable estate: remoue (oh mercifull lord) this dreadfull terror: from thy people. And oh thou mother of God, the sweet refuge of mortall people in their distresse and miseries: and thou saint Poloke to whom this chappell was dedicate, helpe vs at this present, and in the honor of you I here make a vow to build a cathedrall church for a bishops see, to remaine as a monument, to testifie vnto our posteritie, that by your support our realme hath bene defended.*”

Scarcelie had Malcolme made an end of this prayer, when diuers of the nobles with a loud voice, as though they had bene assured that his prayer was heard, cried to their companies: Stand god fellows, for fuerlis it is the pleasure of almightie God, that we returne and renew the battell against our enemies. Whereupon rose a wonderfull noise amongst the souldiers, each one encouraging other to withstand the enemies, and to fight in most manfull wise in defence of their countrie and ancient liberties, & forthwith as it had bene by miracle they returned vpon their enemies, making great slaughter on each side, without regard to their liues or bloudie wounds, which they boldlie and without feare received. Here with Malcolme with an ambushment of stout warriors came vpon Onetus, who was prancing vp and downe the field without anie helmet on his head, as though the Scots had bene already without recouerie clearelie discomfited, and so there was he beaten downe beside his horse, and amongst the footmen slaine out of hand. The residue of the Danes beholding the slaughter of their capitaine, staied from further pursuit on the Scots. Whereof insued great boldnesse to the Scots, and discouragement to the Danes: albeit the battell continued still a long space, the souldiers doing their best on either side, till

at length the Danes were put to flight, manie of them being slaine, and but few taken. Malcolme beholding the discomfite of his people, & how his companion in authoritie was slaine, fled into Spurthland with a small companie about him.

The next day, Malcolme considering that a number of his most valiant captiues he had left in this battell, diuided the spoile of the fild amongst his men, and coasting from further pursuit of the Danes at that time, went into Angus, where he remained the residue of the yeere with the castell of Forfar, taking counsell with his nobles touching the publicke affaires of the realme: And how to recouer his countrie of Spurthland out of the enemies hands. King Sueno hearing in the meane time how infortunatellie his people had fled thus in Scotland at the battell of Spurthlake, in reuenge thereof determined to inuade the Scots with two mightie armies, the one to be rigged in England, and to come forth of the riuer of Hame, and the other to be sent from Denmarke, one Camus a Dane, verie expert in warlike knowledge, being appointed to be gouernor of all the men of warre that should come from both those parties.

The yeare next ensuing, both these fleets according to commandement and order giuen, arrived and met together within the mouth of the Forth, nere to saint Ebbes head. Here Camus going about to land his men, was kept off by the stout resistance of the Scots, there assembled for the same intent. Camus then plucking by the sailles, directed his course vnto the Ile of Sketh, where riding at anchor for the space of one moneth, and abiding for some prosperous wind, at length when the same came onte about, he passed from thence vnto the Redbraies, called in Latine *Rubrum promontorium*, & there landed his whole armie, before the countrie could be gathered to resist him. Camus being once landed, got him to the next hill, and beholding the ruine of the towne of Montros, which a few yeares before had bene destroyed by the Danes, he reioiced not a little, for that his chance was to come on land in the selfe same place, where the Danes had earst vanquished their enemies, hoping of like lucke in this his enterprise and present expedition.

After this, he took his iourne through Angus, sparing no manner of crueltie that might be deuised: cities, townes, villages, and churches, with all manner of other buildings publicke and priuat were consumed with fire. At his comming to Brechin, for that the castell there in those daies was of such strength, that it might not be hastilie wone, he caused the towne and church being right faire and sumptuouslie built in honor of the Trinitie (to whom it was dedicated) to be spoiled, & so rased to the earth, that one stone was not left standing vpon an other. With these and the semblable cruelties, Camus raging both against God and man, was finally aduertised that king Malcolme was come to Dundee with all the power of Scotland. When suddenly he took the next way towards the sea side, comming the next day following vnto a village called Balbirnie, where he pitched downe his tents. The same day, king Malcolme making all hast possible to succour his subjects, and persecue the countrie from the cruell outrage of the Danes, came to the towne of Barre two little miles from the place, where his enemies were incamped. In the morning he drew into the field, in purpose to giue them an open battell.

But before he arrayed his battels, he called his nobles and capitaine together, desiring them to consider how they should match in fight against people blinded with velle auarice, lining on the spoile and pil-

The Danes put to flight.

Danes slay into Spurthland.

Sueno preparing a new armie to inuade Scotland.

Camus appointed captain general of the Danes.

Saint Ebbes head. The Scots kept off the Danes from landing.

Camus with his armie landed at the Redbraies.

Camus marching through Angus. The crueltie of the Danes.

The towne and church of Brechin destroyed.

King Malcolme hasteth forward to fight with the Danes.

Malcolme's operation.

lage got by thēuerie, and not by ante iust warres: enimies not onelie to the christian faith, but also to all innocent people, whome they sought vniuersallie to invade, without hauing occasion so to doe, saue onelie vpon an iniurious meaning to liue by spoile of other mens goods, wherein they haue no manner of proprietie. He willed them therfore to remember how they were come thus against those enimies in defense of their native countrie, appointed vndoubtedlie by God to reuenge the cruell iniuries done by the Danes against his name, and people that professed the same. They ought not then to measure force in number of souldiers, but rather in manhood and valiance of heart. Camus likewise exhorted his people, not vsing manie words, but yet pithe, desiring them to remember how it behoued them either to win immortall fame by victorie, either else to die with miserie in an vncouth land, by the hand of their most fierce and cruell enimies.

Herewith Malcolme imbattelling his people, brought them forth stronglie ranged in good order to encounter the Danes, which likewise approached towards him in good arraie of battell. His heart was filled the more with hope of victorie, for that he had tried sundrie times before the force of the enimies in diuers conflicts and encounters. For such is the nature of noble and valiant stomachs, the more experience they haue in honorable enterprises, the more are they kindled in desire to shew their powers in famous acts and worthie attempts. The armies hereupon on both sides, fiercelie rushing together, began a battell right cruell & terrible, continuing certaine houres with such bloodshed, that the riuer of Lochte ran with a purple hue downe into the Almaine seas. The fields also where they fought, though they were full of sand (as the nature of the soile giueth) yet were they made moist by the abundance of blood spilled in the same. Manie there were so earnestlie bent to be reuenged on the enimie, that after they had their death wound, they would run themselves forward vpon their aduersaries weapon, till they might close with him, enforcing their uttermost powers to dispatch him also; so that diuers were seene to fall to the ground together fast grasping one another, and so immediatlie both of them to die withall: such burning hatred kindled their hearts, that thus were they wholie set on reuenge. At length yet the honor of the field remained with Malcolme.

Camus perceiuing the discomfort to fight on his side, with a small companie about him thought to haue escaped by flight vnto the next mounteins, but being pursued of his enimies, he was slaine by them, per he was got two miles from the place of the battell. The place where he was slaine, is named after him vnto this day, and called Camelsone, where is an obeliske set vp in memorie of the thing, with his picture grauen therein, and likewise of those that slue him. The principall seat of Camus was one Keith, a yong gentleman of right hardie courage, whose seruice in the battell was verie notable, in recompense whereof he was rewarded by king Malcolme, with sundrie lands and faire possessions in Southian. His familie (saith Hector Boetius) hath and doeth continue in great honor amongst Scottishmen euen vnto this day, and is decorated with the office of the marshallship of Scotland, to the high renowne and fame thereof, amongst the chieffest peers of the realme.

An other companie of the Danes fleeing from this overthrow were slaine at Abirleimon, not past foure miles from Brechin, where is set vp a great stone or obeliske, grauen with certaine characters or letters, to aduertise them that passe that waies

forth, of this slaughter of Danes there made by our worthie elders. The residue of the Danes that escaped with life from the field, hauing certaine Scottishmen to their guides corrupted with monie fled to their ships, declaring to their fellows that misapproposited the spoile of the field to be diuided amongst his souldiers, according to the lawes of armes; and then caused the dead bodies of the Danes to be buried in the place where the field had bene fought, and the bodies of the Scottishmen which were found dead were conueied vnto the places of christian buriall, and there buried with funerall obsequies in sundrie churches and churchyards. There are seene manie bones of the Danes in those places where they were buried, there lieng bare aboue ground euen vnto this day, the sands (as it often chanceth) being blown from them. The other Danes, which escaped to their ships, pulled by sailes to haue passed into Spurrey land vnto Mlauns, but remaining on the seas the space of foure daies together, tossed to and fro by contrarie winds, at length by a streinable east wind they were driuen vpon the coast of Buchquhan, and through want of conuenient harbrough were in present danger to haue bene cast away. At length, after they had ridden at anchor in the fifth there, to their great displeasure a long space, and finding no prosperous winds to depart from the shore, for that their bittels began to saile them, they set free hundred of their best and lustiest souldiers on land, to fetch in some botie or prete of cattell, therewith to relieue their hunger and famine. They that were thus sent forth, being perfectlie appointed with armour and weapon, ranged abroad till they had got together a great number of beasts, with the which drawing towards their ships, they were encountred by the way by Sparnachus the thane of Buchquhan accompanied with the power of that countrie, whose force when they saw how they were not well able to resist without some aduantage of place, they got them vp into an high crag, where, with tumbling downe stones vpon the Scottishmen as they mounted vp towards them, they caused them some what to staie; but at length through the earnest exhortation of Sparnachus, the Scots (as people inflamed with wood desire to be reuenged) mounted the hill in despite of their enimies, though diuers of them were slaine in that assault. Those which wan the height of the crag vpon the Danes, made such a cruell battell with them, that there was not one Dane that escaped their hands.

This conflict was fought nere vnto Gemmer a village or towne in Buchquhan, where, in memorie thereof, lie manie great bones of the Danes to be seene yet euen vnto these daies. It should appeare by the same bones, that men in former time were of more huge growth and stature, than they be at this present. The other Danes which were on ship board, vnderstanding what had happened to their fellows (because they returned not againe to the ships) so lone as the wind came about for their purpose, holled vp sailes, and took their course forthright towards Spurrey land. In the meane time king Sueno hearing of these overthrowes, which his people had in such sort receiued at the Scottishmens hands, as a prince of a right haughtie courage, not lightlie ouercome with anie aduerser fortune, made preparation in all speedie wise to be reuenged, appointing his brother Canute, as then hauing the administration of Denmarke, to come from thence with a new fléete and armie against the Scots. It is said, that this Canute, according to order prescribed him by his brother Sueno, landed first in Buchquhan, and

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The burning  
of the spoile.

Bones of  
Danes.

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cence to fight.

The onset is  
given.

The Scots  
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Buchquhan.

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men the Danes, which had bene there made late-  
lie before.

Malcolme fore kindled in wrath by these iniuries, though through continuance of the wars his power was greatly decayed, yet did he assemble an armie with all speed he could deuise, and marched with the same towards the Danes, in purpose to staie them with often skirmishes and light encounters, but in no wise to iopard with them in anie pitcht field or generall battell, for feare least if he had the over-throw, he should not be able to furnish a new power for defense of his countrie, against the rage of the enimies. For the space therof of sixtene daies together, there was often skirmishing betwixt the parties. The which terme being expired, the Scots beholding so huge murder of their countriemen and friends, with the spoile of the fields, and destruction of the towne and villages, burning and blasing on each side before their faces, they come to king Malcolme, and desired him that he would grant them licence to fight with their enimies, protesting plaine-  
lie, that if he would not consent thereto, they would giue battell at their owne choise.

Malcolme perceiving the earnest minds of his people to encounter their enimies in plaine field, and that he might no longer protract the time, he granted their petition, and therewith beseeching them to remember their honors and duties: incontinentlie the onset was giuen with great hatred and malice on either part, so that most egerlie continuing in fight a long time, they enforced themselves to rid each other out of life: so that all the nobles well nere on both sides were slaine, the name of victorie rather than the victorie it selfe remaining with the Scots, who were so feble and faint with long fight & slaugh-  
ter, that in the end of the battell they were not able to pursue those few of the Danes, which escaping with life fled faintlie out of the field. And so for that night, which followed the day of this bloudie battell, they lodged here and there in severall places, at ad-  
uerture as well as they might.

On the morow after, when it was understood on both parties, what losse they had sustained, their minds were converted rather to peace than to re-  
new battell, because they were not of power longer to mainteine it. Whereupon by mediation of such as toke vpon them to treat a peace, the same was con-  
cluded with these articles. First, that the Danes should depart out of Murrey land, Buchquhan, and all other the bounds of Scotland. That the warres should clearelie cease betwixt the Danes and Sco-  
tishmen, during the naturall liues of Sueno and Malcolme, or either of them. That neither of those two nations should aid or in anie wise support the others enimies. That the field where the last battell was fought, should be hallowed for christian buriall, within the which the Danes that were slaine in the same battell should be buried, and a church to be built there, and lands appointed for the main-  
tenance of priests, to celebrate there according to the order of the christian religion, then used by both the people: for the Danes latelie before that season had also received the faith. This peace being ratified by the solemn othes of both the kings, Sueno and Malcolme, Canute with his Danes resigning by the pos-  
session of such holds and places as they held in Murrey land, Buchquhan, or else where within anie part of the Scottish dominions, got him to his fleet, and departed with the same home into Denmarke.

King Malcolme hauing thus restored his countrie unto so full peace, thought nothing so good as to per-  
forme the articles of the agrement accorded be-

twixt him and the Danes, and therefore caused a church to be builded in the place appointed, dedica-  
ting the same in honor of saint Dainis patrone of Denmarke and Norwaie, to signifie vnto such as came after, that sundrie nobles of the Danes laie buried in that church. In memorie hereof, the lands that were giuen to the same church, are called euen yet vnto these daies Crowdan, which signifieth as much as if ye should say, The slaughter of Danes. The church which was first builded there, chancing as often happeneth in those parties, to be overcast with winds, an other was erected in place not farre off, hauing a more commodious site. Sundrie of the bones of them that were buried in this place, being left bare by reason that the lands were blowne away besides them, Hector Boetius (the writer of the Scot-  
tish chronicle) beheld in the yere 1521, which seemed more like vnto giants bones, than to men of com-  
mon stature (as he auseth) whereby it should ap-  
peare, that men in old time were of much greater stature and quantitie of bodie, than anie that are to be found in these our daies.

Malcolme being thus deliuered of his enimies the Danes, caused publike praiers generallie to be made throughout the realme, in rendering thanks to almightie God, that it had pleased him to deliuer his people from the troubles of warre. He toke order also, that churches should be repaired, which by the enimies in time of the warres had bene destroyed. And further, he caused the administration of the lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme to be used and put in practise, according to the due forme of the same, which manie yeres before could haue no place, by reason of the warres. He caused an assen-  
blye of all the estates of his realme to be called at Bertha castell, in those daies standing not farre from the place where the towne of Perth now standeth. In which conuention were manie things enacted, both for the setting forth of Gods honor, and the weale of the realme, whereby Malcolme wan much praise amongst his subiects, to the eternall memorie of his name.

After this, supposing it most honorable to ad-  
uance the blood of such as had serued well in the last warres, or had their fathers or other friends slaine in the same, he called a parlement at Scorne, in the which, causing partition to be made of the realme, by diuiding it into baronies, he bestowed it amongst the nobles, according to the qualitie of euerie one his merits, reseruing in manner nothing to the main-  
tenance of the crowne, common entries onelie ex-  
cepted, with the mountaine wherein the marble chaire stood, and a few other possessions which he purposed to giue vnto churches and chapels. The nobles on the other part, to the end the king might haue suffi-  
cient wherewith to mainteine his roiall estate, gran-  
ted vnto him and his successors for euer the custodie and wardship of their heires, if they chanced to die leauing them vnder the age of 21 yeres: and in the meane time till the same heires came to the said age, they agreed that the king and his successors should inioy the vse and profits of their lands, whether they were men or women, and when they came to the age of 21 yeres, that then they should enter into the possession of their lands, paying vnto him or his successors one yeres rent in name of a reliefe; and if they chanced not to be married before their fathers deceasse, then also should they marrie at the kings appointment, or else compound with him for the same.

Thus ended the parlement for that season, with great ioy and comfort on each hand, for that the king had shewed such liberall bountifullnesse towards his barons, and they no lesse mindfull of their duties had  
declared

A church  
builded.

Crowdan.  
what it sig-  
nifieth.

Bones of  
Danes.

Publike  
praiers.

The repara-  
ring of chur-  
ches.  
The restoring  
of lawes and  
iustice.

A parlement  
at Bertha.

A parlement  
at Scorne.  
Diuision of  
the realme in-  
to baronies.

The ward-  
ship of heires  
granted to  
the king.

Marriage of  
barons.

declared such benevolent hearts, as appeared in that their free and large gift granted in forme and maner as before is exprest. Neither did Malcolme forget the vow which he made at Murthlake, when he was in danger to haue receiued the ouerthrow at the hand of the Danes. For according to the same vow, he caused a church to be built in the same place, erecting a bishops see there, and endowed it with the lands & possessions of these thre places, Murthlake, Cleomeith, and Dummeth, with all ecclesiasticall iurisdiction and tithes appertaining thereto. The bishops that sat in this see were called the bishops of Murthlake, till the daies of king David the first, who changing the name, caused them to be called the bishops of Abirden, augmenting the see with sundrie faire reuenues to the better maintenance thereof.

Malcolme thus hauing purchased rest from further troubles of warre, governed the realme a certeine time after in good order of iustice, and caused a booke to be set forth, called *Regia maiestas*, containing the lawes and ordinances wherby the realme should be governed: and assigning forth in the same what fees also should be giuen vnto the chancelor, secreta-rie, constable, marshall, chamberleine, iustice, treasurer, register, comptroller, and other the officers of his house. Such princelie doings and noble vertues were found in this Malcolme for a season, that if the same had continued with him in his latter age, there had neuer reigned anie king in Scotland, that might haue bene thought to haue passed him in worthie fame: neuertheless his excellent qualities were strained at length by that reprochfull vice of vici-  
ousness. For as it oftentimes happeneth, couetousnesse and age laid hold on him both at once. He then began to repent in that he had bene so liberall in giuing away his lands to his barons; & to recouer the same againe, he surmised feigned matter by vntreue suggestions against diuerse of the chiefe nobles, putting some to death, & banishing other, that he might by this meanes inspo their lands and goods as confiscate to the crowne for their supposed offenses.

The nobles hauing great indignation at such cruelty vsed by the king against them and their linage, and that vpon no iust causes, but onelie vpon forged deuises, they conspired in sundrie meetings secretly appointed amongst them, to find some meanes to dispatch him out of life. At length he chanced to haue some inkling whereabout they went, & doubting to fall into their hands, fled for safegard of his life vnto Glamis, where diuerse of the conspirators were brought into his lodging, by some of his owne household seruants, and there slue him in reuenge of their friends, whome he before had wrongfullie put to death. These murderers with their complices incontinentlie fled with all speed possible to auoid further danger for this their act: but missing their way (for the ground was quite couered as then with snow) they finallie came to the loch of Forfar, which was the same time frozen ouer. They therefore thinking to passe ouer it, when they came into the midst, the ice brake vnder them, so that sinking in, they were finallie drowned. Howbeit their bodies were afterwards draue forth of the loch with drags, and dismembred, and their heads and quarters were sent to diuerse towne of the realme, and there hong vp for a signification of their wicked treason. This was the end of king Malcolme in the 32 yere of his reigne, if ye reckon from the death of Constantine, or 25 after the death of Crine, and after the incarnation of our Saviour 1034 yeres. He was buried in Colmekill with his ancestors.

In this season was seene manie wonders and strange sights in Albion. On Christmas daie there was an earthquake, and a great rift of the earth

made therewith in the midst of Striueling towne, out of the which issued such an abundant streame of water, that it bare away the next wood that was adjoining to the riuier of Forth. In the summer the sea rose higher, & flowed further into the land, than euer it had bene seene at anie other time. On Whitsonmer daie, which is the feast of saint John Baptist, there was such a vehement frost, that the corne and other fruits of the earth were blasted and killed, so that thereupon followed a great dearth in all the countrie.

After Malcolme succeeded his nephew Duncane the sonne of his daughter Beatrice: for Malcolme had two daughters, the one which was this Beatrice, being giuen in marriage vnto one Abbanath Crinen, a man of great nobilitie, and thane of the Isles and west parts of Scotland, bare of that marriage the foresaid Duncane; the other called Doda, was married vnto Sinell the thane of Glamis, by whom he had issue one Hakbeth a valiant gentleman, and one that if he had not bene somewhat cruell of nature, might haue bene thought most worthie the gouernement of a realme. On the other part, Duncane was so soft and gentle of nature, that the people wished the inclinations and maners of these two cousins to haue bene so tempered and interchangeable bestowed betwixt them, that where the one had too much of clemencie, and the other of crueltie, the meane vertue betwixt these two extremities might haue reigned by indifferent partition in them both, so should Duncane haue proued a worthie king, and Hakbeth an excellent capitaine. The beginning of Duncans reigne was verie quiet and peaceable, without anie notable trouble; but after it was perceiued how negligent he was in punishing offenders, manie misruled persons took occasion thereof to trouble the peace and quiet state of the common-wealth, by seditions commotions which first had their beginnings in this wise.

Banquo the thane of Lochquhaber, of whom the house of the Stewards is descended, the which by order of linage hath now for a long time insited the crowne of Scotland, euen till these our daies, as he gathered the finances due to the king, and further punished somewhat sharpelie such as were notorious offenders, being assailed by a number of rebels inhabiting in that countrie, and spoiled of the monie and all other things, had much a doe to get auaile with life, after he had receiued sundrie grievous wounds amongst them. Yet escaping their hands, after he was somewhat recovered of his hurts, and was able to ride, he repaired to the court, where making his complaint to the king in most earnest wise, he purchased at length that the offenders were sent for by a sergeant at armes, to appeare to make answer vnto such matters as should be laid to their charge: but they augmenting their mischievous act with a more wicked deed, after they had misused the messenger with sundrie kinds of reproches, they finallie slue him also.

Then doubting not but for such contemptuous demeanour against the kings regall authoritie, they should be invaded with all the power the king could make, Hakdovald one of great estimation amongst them, making first a confederacie with his nearest friends and kinsmen, took vpon him to be chiefe capitaine of all such rebels as would stand against the king, in maintenance of their grievous offenses lately committed against him. Manie slanderous words also, and railing taunts this Hakdovald uttered against his prince, calling him a faint-hearted milkeop, more meet to gouerne a sort of idle monks in some cloister, than to haue the rule of such valiant and hardie men of warre as the Scots were. He

bled also such ments, that in mightie power there came vnto them, quarell, and o no small nung gladlie please him to

about him, i ple as were! discomfiting Malcolme a his head. He did put him small skill in nobles to a use for the bels. Here were fure; to euerie m much again nefe in put time to aff ding, if ti vnto Ban beth shoul and that n to make re

And eu with a net ber, the such feare, lie auaie uerthelel beth, with being ou (within ti length wh hold anie surrende first slue least if be executed Hakbeth then let eng dea dies, whi cruell m head to sent it a Bertha hang v

He that the terpale whome to beari Herbp toward bloudie the kin full wo againf fles, ti brall some o sented king t law re the oil vpon upon a scriu

Justice & law reposed, Sheno king of Shrowas loked in Rife scriu

The see of Murthlake, of a crovie & beeren.

The booke called Regia maiestas.

Malcolme wasch and vicious. Couetousnes and age art- uing together.

Malcolmes crueltie to purchase riches.

The conspi- racie of the Scottish nobles against Malcolme.

Malcolme slue at Glamis.

The murder- ers drowned.

21. H.B. 1040. H.B.

Strange sights.

Duncane.

Duncane's sonne.

The final fall of the king in battle at Forfar.

Hakbeth.

Duncane's sonne.

Hakbeth's sonne.

Hakbeth and Banquo are sent against the rebels.

The rebels slue their captain.

Hakbeth and Banquo are sent against the rebels.

The rebels slue their captain.

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The rebels slue their captain.

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The rebels slue their captain.

Hakbeth and Banquo are sent against the rebels.

The rebels slue their captain.

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bled also such subtil persuations and forged allu-  
ments, that in a small time he had gotten together a  
mightie power of men: for out of the weslerne Isles  
there came vnto him a great multitude of people, of-  
fering themselves to assist him in that rebellious  
quarrell, and out of Ireland in hope of the spoile came  
no small number of kernes and Galloglasses, offer-  
ring gladlie to serue vnder him, whither it should  
please him to lead them.

Spakdowald thus hauing a mightie puissance  
about him, encountered with such of the kings peo-  
ple as were sent against him into Lochquhaber, and  
discomfiting them, by mere force toke their capteine  
Malcolme, and after the end of the battell smote off  
his head. This ouerthrow being notified to the king,  
did put him in wonderfull feare, by reason of his  
small skill in warlike affaires. Calling therefore his  
nobles to a counsell, he asked of them their best ad-  
uise for the subduing of Spakdowald & other the re-  
bels. Here, in sundrie heads (as euer it hapeneth)  
were sundrie opinions, which they uttered according  
to euerie man his skill. At length Spakbeth speaking  
much against the kings softnes, and ouermuch slack-  
ness in punishing offenders, whereby they had such  
time to assemble together, he promised notwithstanding,  
if the charge were committed vnto him and  
vnto Banquo, so to order the matter, that the re-  
bels should be shortly vanquished & quite put downe,  
and that not so much as one of them should be found  
to make resistance within the countrie.

And euen so it came to passe: for being sent forth  
with a new power, at his entring into Lochquha-  
ber, the fame of his coming put the enemies in  
such feare, that a great number of them stole secre-  
lie abwaie from their capteine Spakdowald, who ne-  
uertheless enforced thereto, gaue battell vnto Spak-  
beth, with the residue which remained with him; but  
being overcome, and fleeing for refuge into a castell  
(within the which his wife & children were inclosed) at  
length when he saw how he could neither defend the  
hold any longer against his enemies, nor yet vpon  
surrender be suffered to depart with life saued, he  
first slue his wife and children, and lastlie himselfe,  
least if he had yelued simple, he should haue bene  
executed in most cruell wise for an example to other.  
Spakbeth entring into the castell by the gates, as  
then set open, found the carcasle of Spakdowald li-  
eng dead there amongst the residue of the slaine bo-  
dies, which when he beheld, remitting no peece of his  
cruell nature with that pittifull sight, he caused the  
head to be cut off, and set vpon a poles end, and so  
sent it as a present to the king, who as then laie at  
Bertha. The headlesse trunk he commanded to bee  
hong vpon vpon an high patre of gallowes.

Them of the weslerne Isles suing for pardon, in  
that they had aided Spakdowald in his traitorous en-  
terpryse, he fined at great sums of monie: and those  
whome he toke in Lochquhaber, being come thither  
to beare armor against the king, he put to execution.  
Wherevpon the Islanders conceived a deadly grudge  
towards him, calling him a couenant-breaker, a  
bloudie tyrant, & a cruell murderer of them whome  
the kings mercie had pardoned. With which reproch-  
full words Spakbeth being kindled in wrathfull ire  
against them, had passed ouer with an armie into the  
Isles, to haue taken reuenge vpon them for their li-  
berall talke, had he not bene otherwise perswaded by  
some of his friends, and partly pacified by gifts pre-  
sented vnto him on the behalfe of the Islanders, se-  
king to auoid his displeasure. Thus was iustice and  
law restored againe to the old accustomed course, by  
the diligent means of Spakbeth. Immediatlie where-  
vpon word came that Sueno king of Norwage was  
arrived in Fife with a puissant armie, to subdue the

whole realme of Scotland.

But here to the intent it maie be the better per-  
ceiued, what this Sueno was, I will somewhat touch  
from whence he descended. That Sueno, who (as ye  
haue heard) conquered the realme of England, be-  
ing also king of Denmarke and Norwage, had thre  
sonnes, Harold, Sueno, and Canute; the first he  
made king of England, the second king of Norwage,  
and the third king of Denmarke. Harold inioined not  
the same dominion of England past thre yeeres af-  
ter his fathers deceasse, but was slaine by Ethel-  
dred or Etheldred, whom his father Sueno had chased  
into Normandie. But the same Etheldred kept not  
long the kingdome in peace, for Canute king of  
Denmarke, to reuenge his brothers death, landed in  
England with a mightie host, and sleaing Etheldred,  
recovered the kingdome to the vse of the Danes:  
but yet one Edmund sonne to the foresaid Ethel-  
dred, surnamed Ironside, maintained the warre a-  
gainst Canute for a season, till at length by both their  
consents they agreed to fight a combat singularlie  
man to man, so to trie the matter betwixt them, who  
should reigne as king ouer the Englishmen.

In this fight when they had continued a long  
space, and shewed right notable proofes of their man-  
hood: Edmund (saith Canute) sith it hath pleased al-  
mightie God, that thou shouldst thus trie the force  
of my hand without hurt or wound, I thinke it bee  
likewise his pleasure, that thou shouldst inioy part  
of the realme: go to therfore, I receiue thee as parte-  
ner with me in the kingdome, so that (if thou be con-  
tented let vs diuide the kingdome betwixt vs with-  
out anie more contention. Edmund gladlie accepted  
this condition of agreement, supposing it better to  
haue halfe the kingdome, than to stand to the doubt-  
full triall of losing the whole: for he had receiued a  
wound at Canutes hands, though Canute under-  
stood not so much: againe, he foresaw that occasion  
hereafter might be offered, whereby he might with-  
out all trouble come to inioy the whole. Herevpon  
either of them lept beside their tieried horses in that  
fierce & earnest fight, & embracing each other became  
good friends, in diuiding the realme according to the  
aboue mentioned motion of Canute. That part of  
England that lieth ouer against France was allig-  
ned vnto Canute; and the other, that is, the north  
parts vnto Edmund. In the meane time Emma  
the wife of Etheldred with hir two sonnes (which the  
had by the same Etheldred) Alured and Edward, fled  
ouer into Normandie, doubting least this concord  
betwixt Canute and Edmund should turue smallie  
to hir aduancement.

But now touching the arrivall of Sueno the  
Norwegian king in Fife (as before is expressed) ye  
shall vnderstand, that the pretense of his coming  
was to reuenge the slaughter of his vnkle Canus,  
and other of the Danish nation slaine at Barre,  
Crowdane, and Gemmer. The crueltie of this Sue-  
no was such, that he neither spared man, woman,  
nor child, of what age, condition or degree soeuer they  
were. Whereof when it was Duncane was certified, he  
set all stouthfull and lingering delays apart, and be-  
gan to assemble an armie in most speedie wise, like a  
verie ballant capteine: for oftentimes it hapeneth,  
that a dull colward and stouthfull person, constrained  
by necessitie, becommeth verie hardie and actiue.  
Wherefore when his whole power was come together,  
he diuided the same into thre battels. The first was  
led by Spakbeth, the second by Banquo, & the king  
himselfe gouerned in the maine battell or middle  
ward, wherein were appointed to attend and wait  
vpon his person the most part of all the residue of the  
Scottish nobilitie.

The armie of Scottishmen being thus ordered,  
D. J. came

This agreith  
nor with our  
English  
writers.

Harold that  
reigned king  
of England,  
was not the  
son of Sueno  
but of Canute  
and was for  
slaine, but died  
of natural  
discaise.  
See moze  
hercof in  
England.  
Canute king  
of Denmarke.  
Edmund  
Ironside.

Canutes  
two sons to  
Edmund  
Ironside.

The diuision  
of the realme  
of England  
betwixt Ca-  
nute and  
Edmund  
Ironside.

Alured & Ed-  
ward the sons  
of king E-  
theldred.

The crueltie  
of Sueno  
king of Nor-  
wage.

Duncane be-  
threth him-  
selfe in assem-  
bling an ar-  
mie.

The Scottish  
armie diuided  
into thre bat-  
tels.

Sueno ban-  
quith the  
Scots.

Suenos com-  
mandement  
to spare fire  
and sword.

Duncane fled  
to the castell of  
Bertha.

Sueno belie-  
gging  
Malcolm.

Fained trea-  
tie.

Spiced cups  
prepared for  
the Danes.

The Danes  
ouercome  
with drinke,  
fall asleepe.

Malbeth at-  
tacketh the  
camp of the  
Danes, being  
ouercome  
with drinke  
and sleepe.

The slaugh-  
ter of Danes,  
Sueno with  
ten other esca-  
ped.

came into Culros, where incountering with the en-  
mies, after a fore and cruel foughten battell, Sueno  
remained victorious, and Malcolm with his Scots  
discomfited. Howbeit the Danes were so broken by  
this battell, that they were not able to make long  
chase on their enemies, but kept themselves all night  
in order of battell, for doubt least the Scots assem-  
bling togither againe, might haue set vpon them at  
some advantage. On the morrow, when the fields  
were discouered, and that it was perceiued how no  
enemies were to be found abroad, they gathered the  
spoile, which they diuided amongst them, according  
to the law of armes. Then was it ordeined by com-  
mandement of Sueno, that no souldier should hurt  
either man, woman, or child, except such as were  
found with weapon in hand ready to make resi-  
stance, for he hoped now to conquer the realme with-  
out further bloodshed.

But when knowledge was giuen how Duncane  
was fled to the castell of Bertha, and that Malbeth  
was gathering a new power to withstand the incur-  
sions of the Danes, Sueno raised his tents, & com-  
ming to the said castell, laid a strong siege round a-  
bout it. Duncane seeing himselfe thus environed by  
his enemies, sent a secret message by counsell of  
Banguho to Malbeth, commanding him to abide  
at Berthabill, till he heard from him some other  
newes. In the meane time Duncane fell in fained  
communication with Sueno, as though he would  
haue yielded by the castell into his hands, vnder cer-  
taine conditions, and this did he to drine time, and to  
put his enemies out of all suspicion of anie enterprize  
ment against them, till all things were brought to  
passe that might serue for the purpose. At length,  
when they were fallen at a point for rendezing by the  
hold, Duncane offered to send forth of the castell in-  
to the campe great prouision of vittells to refresh the  
armie, which offer was gladiie accepted of the  
Danes, for that they had bene in great penurie of  
sustenance manie daies before.

The Scots hereupon took the iuice of mack-  
wort berries, and mixed the same in their ale and  
bread, sending it thus spiced & confectioned, in great  
abundance vnto their enemies. They reioicing that  
they had got meate and drinke sufficient to satiffie  
their bellies, fell to eating and drinking after such  
gredie wise, that it seemed they stroue who might de-  
uoure and swallow by most, till the operation of the  
berries spread in such sort through all the parts of  
their bodies, that they were in the end brought into  
a fast dead sleepe, that in manner it was impossible  
to awake them. Then forthwith Duncane sent vnto  
Malbeth, commanding him with all diligence to  
come and set vpon the enemies, being in easie point  
to be ouercome. Malbeth making no delate, came  
with his people to the place, where his enemies were  
lodged, and first killing the watch, afterwards enter-  
red the campe, and made such slaughter on all sides  
without anie resistance, that it was a wonderfull  
matter to behold, for the Danes were so heauie of  
sleepe, that the most part of them were slaine and ne-  
uer stirred: other that were awakened either by the  
noise or other waies forth, were so amazed and dizzie  
headed vpon their awakening, that they were not a-  
ble to make anie defense: so that of the whole num-  
ber there escaped no more but onelie Sueno him-  
selfe and ten other persons, by whose helpe he got to  
his ships lying at rode in the mouth of Tait.

The most part of the mariners, when they heard  
that plentie of meate and drinke the Scots had sent  
vnto the campe, came from the sea thither to be par-  
takers thereof, and so were slaine amongst their fel-  
lowes: by means whereof when Sueno perceiued  
how through lacke of mariners he should not be a-

ble to conuie auaie his nauie, he furnished one ship  
thoughtlie with such as were left, and in the same  
sailed backe into Forwaie, cursing the time that he  
set forward on this unfortunate iourneie. The other  
ships which he left behind him, within three daies af-  
ter his departure from thence, were tossed so toge-  
ther by violence of an east wind, that beating and  
rushing one against another, they sunk there, and  
lie in the same place euen vnto these daies, to the  
great danger of other such ships as come on that  
coast: for being covered with the flood when the tide  
cometh, at the ebbing againe of the same, some  
part of them appere aboue water.

The place where the Danish vessels were thus lost,  
is yet called Drounelow sands. This overthrow re-  
ceined in manner afore said by Sueno, was verie  
dyspleasing to him and his people, as should appere,  
in that it was a custome manie yeeres after, that no  
knights were made in Forwaie, except they were  
first swozne to reuenge the slaughter of their coun-  
triemen and friends thus slaine in Scotland. The  
Scots hauing wone so notable a victorie, after they  
had gathered & diuided the spoile of the field, caused  
solemne processions to be made in all places of the  
realme, and thanks to be giuen to almightie God,  
that had lent them so faire a day ouer their enemies.  
But whilst the people were thus at their processi-  
ons, word was brought that a new fleet of Danes  
was arriued at Kingcome, sent thither by Canute  
king of England, in reuenge of his brother Sueno  
nos overthrow. To resist these enemies, which were  
alreadie landed, and busie in spoiling the countrie,  
Malbeth and Banguho were sent with the kings au-  
thoritie, who hauing with them a conuenient power,  
incountred the enemies, slue part of them, and chased  
the other to their ships. They that escaped and got  
once to their ships, obtained of Malbeth for a great  
summe of gold, that such of their friends as were  
slaine at this last bickering, might be buried in saint  
Colmes Inch. In memorie whereof, manie old se-  
pultures are yet in the said Inch, there to be seene  
grauen with the armes of the Danes, as the maner  
of burying noble men still is, and heretofore hath  
bene vsed.

A peace was also concluded at the same time be-  
twixt the Danes and Scottishmen, ratified (as some  
haue written) in this wise: That from thenceforth  
the Danes should neuer come into Scotland to  
make anie warres against the Scots by anie maner  
of means. And these were the warres that Dun-  
cane had with foren enemies, in the seventh yere  
of his reigne. Shortly after happened a strange and  
vncouth wonder, which afterward was the cause of  
much trouble in the realme of Scotland, as ye shall  
after heare. It fortuned as Malbeth and Banguho  
iournied towardes Foros, where the king then late,  
they went sporting by the waie togither without o-  
ther companie, saue onelie themselves, passing thro-  
ugh the woods and fields, when suddenlie in the  
middelt of a laund, there met them three women in  
strange and wild apparell, resembling creatures of  
elder world, whome when they attentiuely beheld,  
wondering much at the sight, the first of them spake  
and said: All haile Malbeth, thane of Glamis: for  
he had latelie entered into that dignitie and office by  
the death of his father Sinell. The second of them  
said: Haile Malbeth thane of Catwder. But the third  
said: All haile Malbeth that hereafter shall be king  
of Scotland.

Then Banguho; What manner of women (saith  
he) are you, that seeme so little fauourable vnto me,  
theras to my fellows here, besides high offices, ye  
assigne also the kingdome, appointing forth nothing  
for me at all? Yes (saith the first of them) we pro-  
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“ter of Forward  
“sle of For-  
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“sent to king  
“Duncane.

Danes buri-  
“in S. Colmes  
“Inch.

“A peace con-  
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“twixt Sueno  
“and Danes.

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“kingdome by  
“force.

“Prophecies  
“saue men to  
“discomfite at-  
“tacks.

“Women desi-  
“rous of high  
“estate.

“Malbeth  
“saith king  
“Duncane.

“The prophe-  
“cie of three  
“women suppo-  
“sing to be the  
“Sweet sisters  
“of Foros.

“Malbeth be-  
“lieued the  
“women.

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“mle greater benefits vnto the, than vnto him, for he  
“shall reigne in deed, but with an unluckie end: nei  
“ther shall he leaue anie issue behind him to succeed in  
“his place, where contrarie thou in deed shalt not  
“reigne at all, but of the those shall be bozne which  
“shall gouerne the Scotish kingdome by long order  
“of continuall descent. Here with the foresaid women  
“banished immediatlie out of their sight. This was  
“reputed at the first but some vaine fantastick illu  
“sion by Mackbeth and Banquo, in somuch that Ban  
“quo would call Mackbeth in telf, king of Scotland;  
“and Mackbeth againe would call him in sport like  
“wise, the father of manie kings. But afterwards the  
“common opinion was, that these women were el  
“ther the weird sisters, that is (as ye would say) the  
“goddesses of destinie, or else some nymphs or feeries,  
“indued with knowledge of prophesie by their necro  
“manticall science, because euerie thing came to passe  
“as they had spoken. For shortly after, the thane of  
“Cawder being condemned at Forres of treason a  
“gainst the king committed; his lands, livings, and  
“offices were giuen of the kings liberalitie to Mack  
“beth.

The same night after, at supper, Banquo testid  
with him and said; How Mackbeth thou hast obtai  
ned those things which the two former sisters prophe  
sied, there remaineth onelic for thee to purchase that  
which the thir said should come to passe. Where vpon  
Mackbeth resoluing the thing in his mind, began  
enen then to deuise how he might attaine to the  
kingdome: but yet he thought with himselfe that he  
must tarie a time, which should aduance him there  
to (by the diuine prouidence) as it had come to passe  
in his former preferment. But shortly after it chan  
ced that king Duncane, hauing two sonnes by his  
wife which was the daughter of Sitward earle of  
Northumberland, he made the elder of them called  
Malcolme prince of Cumberland, as it were there  
by to appoint him his successor in the kingdome, im  
mediatlie after his decesse. Mackbeth soze trou  
bled herewith, for that he saw by this means his  
hope soze hindered (where, by the old lawes of the  
realme, the ordinance was, that if he that should  
succeed were not of able age to take the charge vpon  
himselfe, he that was next of blood vnto him should  
be admitted) he began to take counsell how he might  
vsurpe the kingdome by force, hauing a iust quarell  
so to do (as he toke the matter) for that Duncane  
did what in him lay to defraud him of all maner of  
title and claime, which he might in time to come,  
pretend vnto the crowne.

The words of the thre weird sisters also (of whom  
before ye haue heard) greatlie encouraged him here  
vnto, but speciallie his wife lay soze vpon him to at  
tempt the thing, as the that was verie ambitious,  
burning in unquenchable desire to beare the name  
of a quene. At length therefore, communicating  
his purposed intent with his trustie friends, amongst  
whome Banquo was the chiefest, vpon confidence  
of their promised aid, he due the king at Enuerns,  
or (as some say) at Botgoshuane, in the first yeare of  
his reigne. Then hauing a companie about him of  
such as he had made priuie to his enterpise, he cau  
sed himselfe to be proclaimed king, and forthwith  
went vnto Scone, where (by common consent) he  
receiued the inuesture of the kingdome according to  
the accustomed maner. The bodie of Duncane was  
first conueied vnto Elgine, & there buried in king  
lie wise; but afterwards it was remoued and con  
ueied vnto Colmekill, and there laid in a sepulture  
amongst his predecessors, in the yeare after the birth  
of our Saviour, 1046.

Malcolme Cammore and Donald Bane the sons  
of king Duncane, for feare of their liues (which they

might well know that Mackbeth would seeke to  
bring to end for his more sure confirmation in the  
estate) fled into Cumberland, where Malcolme re  
mained, till time that saint Edward the sonne of  
Ethelred recovered the dominion of England from  
the Danish power, the which Edward receiued Mal  
colme by way of most friendlie entertainment; but  
Donald passed ouer into Ireland, where he was ten  
derlie cherished by the king of that land. Mackbeth,  
after the departure thus of Duncanes sonnes, bled  
great liberalitie towards the nobles of the realme,  
thereby to win their fauour, and when he saw that  
no man went about to trouble him, he set his whole  
intention to mainteine iustice, and to punish all en  
comities and abuses, which had chanced through the  
feble and slouthfull administration of Duncane.  
And to bring his purpose the better to passe without  
anie trouble or great businesse, he deuised a subtil  
wile to bring all offenders and misdoers vnto iu  
stice, soliciting sundrie of his liege people with high  
rewards, to challenge and appeale such as most op  
pressed the commons, to come at a day and place ap  
pointed, to fight singular combats within barriers,  
in triall of their accusations. When these threues,  
barretors, and other oppressors of the innocent peo  
ple were come to darren battell in this wise (as  
is said) they were streight waies apprehended by  
armed men, and trussed up in halters on gibbets,  
according as they had iustlie deserued. The residue  
of misdoers that were left, were punished and fa  
med in such sort, that manie yeares after all thess  
and reifings were little heard of, the people inioieng  
the blissefull benefit of god peace and tranquillitie.  
Mackbeth shewing himselfe thus a most diligent  
punisher of all iniuries and wrongs attempted by a  
nie disorderd persons within his realme, was ac  
counted the sure defense and buckler of innocent  
people; and hereto he also applied his whole indoeur,  
to cause young men to exercise themselves in vertu  
ous maners, and men of the church to attend their  
diuine seruice according to their vocations.

He caused to be slaine sundrie thanes, as of Cath  
nes, Sutherland, Stranauerne, and Ros, because  
through them and their scditions attempts, much  
trouble daily rose in the realme. He appeald the  
troublesome state of Galloway, and slue one Pak  
gill a tyrant, who had manie yeares before passed no  
thing of the regall authoritie or power. To be brie  
f, such were the worthy doings and princelie acts of  
this Mackbeth in the administration of the realme,  
that if he had attained thereto by rightfull means,  
and continued in vprightnesse of iustice as he began,  
till the end of his reigne, he might well haue bene  
numbred amongst the most noble princes that anie  
where had reigned. He made manie holefome lawes  
and statutes for the publike weale of his subiects.

Lawes made by king Makbeth set  
foorth according to Hector  
Boetius.

**E** that is within orders of the  
church, shall not be compelled  
to answere before a tempozall  
iudge, but be remitted to his o  
dinarie.

The tenth part of all fruits that in  
crease on the ground, shall be giuen to the  
church, that God may be worshipped with  
oblations and ppaters.

He that continueth obstinatlie in the  
curse of the church by the space of one  
yeare, shall be whole

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whole yeare, contemning to be reconciled, shall be reputed enemy to the commonwealth: and if he perseuere with indurated mind the space of two yeares, all his goods shall be forfeited.

*The order of knighthood.* He that taketh the order of knighthood, shall take an oath to defend ladies, virgins, widows, orphans, and the commonaltie. And he that is made king, shall be swozne in semblable maner.

*Eldest daughter.* The eldest daughter shall inherit hir fathers lands, as well as the eldest sonne should, if the father leaue no sonne behind him. And if anie woman marie with the lord of the soile, she shall lose hir heritage.

*The kings gift.* No man shall inioyn anie lands, rents, offices, or other possessions, but onelie by gift and grant of the king.

*No offices to go by inheritance.* No office shall go by inheritance, but shall still remaine at the kings free disposition, as shall stand with his pleasure to assigne it.

*Judges.* No man shall sit as iudge in anie temporall court without the kings commission authorizing him thereto.

All conventions, offices, and acts of iustice, shall passe in the kings name.

*Retainers.* He that is retained or becommeth a swozne man to anie other person saue onelie to the king, shall lose his life for it: and euerie man shall be bound to defend the king against all other creatures.

*Raisers of the kings people, or unlawfull assemblies.* He that raiseth the kings liege people, shall lose life, goods, and lands, and so shall they do that assemble together by his procurement.

*Waiters upon other men.* He that attendeth anie man to the church, market, or to anie other publike assemble, as a retainer, shall suffer death, except he haue liuing at his hands, on whome he so attendeth.

*Keeping of horses.* A horse kept by anie of the commons or husbandmen to anie other vie than for tillage and laboring of the earth, shall be forfeited to the king by escheat.

*Counterfeit foles, minstrels, iesters, and these kind of iuglers, with such like idle persons, that range abroad in the countrie, hauing no speciall licence of the king, shall be compelled to learne some science or craft to get their liuing, if they refuse so to do, they shall be drawn like horses in the plough and harrows.*

*Possession of lands.* Though the sonne chance to be put in possessio of his fathers lands by the kings licence, during the life of his father; yet shall the same lands be forfeited to the king if his father be afterwards convicted of treason committed against the kings person.

*Dowrie of wiues.* All such women, that are married to anie lord or baron (though she haue no issue by him) shall yet haue the third part of his lands after his deceasse, and the remanent shall go to his heires.

*Marriage of lords and barons.* All maner of lords and great barons, shall not contract matrimonie with other, vnder paine of death, speciallie if their lands and rowmes lie nere together.

All armour and weapon bozne to other effect than in defense of the king & realme in time of wars, shall be confiscated to the kings vse, with all other moueable goods of the partie that herein offendeth.

*Captains.* Such as be appointed gouernors, or (as I may call them) captains, that buy with in those limits, where their charges lie, anie lands or possessions, shall lose both lands, & possessions, and the monie which they haue paid for the same.

And if anie of the said captains or gouernors marie their sonnes or daughters vnto anie maner of person that dwelleth within the bounds of their rowmes, they shall lose their office: neither shall it be lawfull for anie of their sonnes or copertners to occupie the same office.

These and the like commendable lawes shalbeth caused to be put as then in vse, gouerning the realme for the space of ten yeares in equall iustice.

But this was but a counterfet zeale of equitie shewed by him, partlie against his naturall inclination to purchase thereby the fauour of the people. Shobthie after, he began to shew what he was, in stead of equitie practising crueltie. For the pike of conscience (as it chanceth euier in tyrants, and such as atteine to anie estate by unrighteous means) caused him euier to feare, least he should be serued of the same cup, as he had ministred to his predecessour.

The wounds also of the thre weired sisters, would not out of his mind, which as they promised him the kingdom, so likewise did they promise it at the same time vnto the posteritie of Banquo. He willed therefore the same Banquo with his sonne named Fleance, to come to a supper that he had prepared for them, which was in deed, as he had deuised, pre-

sent death at the hands of certaine murderers, whom he hired to execute that deed, appointing them to meete with the same Banquo and his sonne within the palace, as they returned to their lodgings, and there to slea them, so that he would not haue his house slandered, but that in time to come he might cleare himselfe, if anie thing were laid to his charge vpon anie suspicion that might arise.

It chanced yet by the benefit of the darke night, that though the father were slaine, the sonne yet by the helpe of almightie God referring him to better fortune, escaped that danger: and afterwards hauing some inkling (by the admonition of some friends which he had in the court) how his life was sought no lesse than his fathers, who was slaine not by chance medlie (as by the handling of the matter shalbeth would haue had it to appeare) but euen vpon a prepeined deuise: wherevpon to auoid further perill he fled into Wales.

¶ But here I thinke it shall not much make against my purpose, if according to the order which I find obserued in the Scottish historie I shall in few words rehearse the originall line of those kings, which haue descended from the foresaid Banquo, that they which haue inioined the kingdom by so long continuance of descent, from one to another, and that euen vnto these our daies, may be knowen from whence they had their first beginning.

Fleance therefore (as before is said) fled into Wales, where shobthie after by his courtous and amiable behauiour, he grew into such fauor and estimation with the prince of that countrie, that he might vnderneath haue wished anie greater; at length also he came into such familiar acquaintance with the said princes daughter, that she of courtisie in the

*Shobthie*

*Captains.*

*Waiting of lands.*

*Shobthie*

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*The line of the Scottish kings.*

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The lord  
Dunmilton.

Lord Creich-  
ton.  
James the  
third and  
his issue.

James the  
fourth,

Malbeths  
bread.

This cruelty  
caused thzough  
fear.

The castell of  
Dunsmanc  
hullop.

Wakdulle  
thane of fife.

hir a sonne that was slaine by the lord Spungumrie, and a daughter that was married to the earle of Castels. After the death of the lord Woid, the husband of this first daughter of James the second, she was efflowes married to the lord Hamilton, and by that means was the house of the Hamiltons honored with the kings blood. The other sister was married to the lord Creighton, of whom came small succession twosmie to be mentioned. James the third married Margaret daughter to the king of Denmark. Of the which marriage was borne James the fourth, Alexander that was bishop of saint Andrews & duke of Albanie, and John Steward earle of Spar, but these two died without issue.

James the fourth married Margaret daughter to king Henrie the seventh of England, and begot on hir James the fifth, who maried first the ladie Margaret daughter to Francis the French king, had no issue by hir, so that he died in the yere next after hir coming into Scotland, and then Mortie after the said James the fifth married the ladie Marie de Lorraine, duchesse of Louvise, a widow, and by hir he had issue Charles James, now king of Scotland. But to returne vnto Makheth, in continuing the historie, and to begin where I left, ye shall understand that after the contrived slaughter of Banquo, nothing prospered with the foresaid Makheth: for in manner euerie man began to doubt his owne life, and durst vnnett appeare in the kings presence; and euen as there were manie that stood in feare of him, so likewise stood he in feare of manie, in such sort that he began to make those awaie by one surmized caualition o; other, whome he thought most able to worke him anie displeasure.

At length he found such sweetnesse by putting his nobles thus to death, that his earnest thirst after blood in this behalfe might in no wise be satisfied : for ye must consider he wan double profit (as he thought) hereby : for first they were rid out of the way whome he feared, and then againe his coffers were enriched by their goods which were forfeited to his use, whereby he might better mainteine a garrad of armed men about him to defend his person from iniurie of them whom he had in aie suspicion. Further, to the end he might the more cruellie oppresse his subiects with all tyrantlike wrongs, he builded a strong castell on the top of an hie hill called Dunstunne, situate in Golorzie, ten miles from Perth, on such a proud height, that standing there aloft, a man might behold well nere all the countries of Angus, Fife, Stremouth, and Crunedale, as it were lieng vnderneath him. This castell then being founded on the top of that high hill, put the realme to great charges before it was finished, for all the stufte necessarie to the building, could not be brought by without much toile and businesse. But Makbeth being once determined to haue the worke go forward, caused the thanes of each shire within the realme, to come and helpe towarads that building, each man his course about.

At the last, when the turne fell vnto Spaldurffe  
thane of Hise to build his part, he sent workemen  
with all needfull prouision, and commanded them  
to shew such diligence in euerie behalfe, that no occasi-  
on might bee giuen for the king to find fault with  
him, in that he came not himselfe as other had done,  
which he refused to doe, for doubt least the king bad-  
ring him (as he partly vnderstood) no great good  
will, would late violent hands vpon him, as he had  
done vpon diuerse other. Shortly after, Spaldurffe  
comming to behold how the worke went forward,  
and because he found not Spaldurffe there, he was

soe offended, and said; I perceiue this man will neuer obeye my commandements, till he be ridden with a snaffle: but I shall prouide well throug for him. Heither could he afterwards abide to looke vpon the said Spakduffe, either for that he thought his puiſſance ouer great; either else for that he had lea- ned of certeine wizzards, in whose words he put great confidence: for that the prophetic had hap- pened so right, which the thre faeries or weiro sisters had declared vnto him; how that he ought to take heed of Spakduffe, who in time to come should seke to de- stroie him.

And ſuerlie herebypon had he put Makuffe to death, but that a certaine witch, whome hee had in great truſt, had told that he ſhould neuer be ſaine with man boone of anie woman, nor vanquiſht till the wood of Bernane came to the caſtell of Dunf- nane. By this prophesie Makbeth put all feare out of his heart, ſuppoſing he might do what he would, without anie feare to be puniſhed for the ſame, for by the one prophesie he beleued it was vnpoſſible for anie man to vanquiſh him, and by the other vnpoſſi- ble to ſlea him. This vaine hope cauſed him to do manie outrageous things, to the grieuous oppreſſion of his ſubiects. At length Makuffe, to auoid perill of life, purpoſed with himſelfe to paſſe into England, to procure Malcolme Cammore to claime the crowne of Scotland. But this was not ſo ſecretlie deuiſed by Makuffe, but that Makbeth had know- ledge giuen him thereof: for kings (as is ſaid) haue ſharpe ſight like vnto Lynx, and long ears like vnto Addas. For Makbeth had in euerie noble mans houſe, one ſlie fellow or other in ſe with him, to reueale all that was ſaid or done withyn the ſame, by which ſlight he oppreſſed the moſt part of the nobles of his realme.

Immediatlie then, being aduertised whereabout  
Spakdusse went, he came hastily with a great power  
into Jife, and forthwith besieged the castell where  
Spakbusse dwelled, trusting to haue found him  
therein. They that kept the house, without anie re-  
sistance opened the gates, and suffered him to enter,  
mistrusting none euil. But neuertheless Spakbeth  
most cruellie caused the wife and chylzen of Spak-  
dusse, with all other whom he found in that castell, to  
be slaine. Also he confiscated the goods of Spakdusse,  
proclamed him traitor, and confined him out of all  
the parts of his realme; but Spakdusse was already  
escaped out of danger, and gotten into England  
vnto Spalcolme Cammoze, to trie what purchase he  
might make by means of his support, to reuenge the  
slaughter so cruellie executed on his wife, his chyl-  
zen, and other friends. At his comming vnto Spal-  
colme, he declared into what great miserie the es-  
tate of Scotland was brought, by the detestable  
cruelties exercised by the tyrant Spakbeth, hauing  
committed manie horrible slaughters and murders,  
both as well of the nobles as commons, so that whiche  
he was hated right mortallie of all his liege people,  
desiring nothing more than to be deliuered of that  
intollerable and most heauie yoke of thraldome.  
Whiche they suffred at such a castles hands.

Spalcolme hearing Spakdusse wordes, which he offered in verie lamentable sort, for mere compassion and verie ruth that pearced his sorrowfull hart, bewailing the miserable state of his countreie, he fetched a deepe sigh; which Spakdusse perceiving, began to fall most earnestlie in hand with him, to enterpasse the deliuering of the Scottish people out of the hands of so cruell and bloudie a tyrant, as Spakbeth by too manie plaine experiments did shew himselfe to be: which was an easie matter for him to bying to passe, considering not onelie the good title he had, but also the earnest desire of the people to haue some or-

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cafion miniftred, whereby they might be reuenged of  
thole notable iniuries, which they dailie fufteined by  
the outrageous crueltie of *Malcolme* mifgouer:  
nance. Though *Malcolme* was verie fofofull for  
the oppreffion of his countriemen the Scots, in ma:  
ner as *Malcolme* had declared; yet doubting whether  
he were come as one that ment vnfaineable as he  
fpake, or elle as fent from *Malcolme* to betraie him,  
he thought to haue fome further triall, and thereb:  
on diflembling his mind at the firft, he answered as  
followeth.

I am trulie verie foie for the miserie chanced to  
my countrie of Scotland, but though I haue neuer  
fo great affection to relieue the fame, yet by reason  
of certeine incurable vices, which reigne in me, I am  
nothing met thereto. Firft, fuch immoderate luft  
and voluptuous fenfualitie (the abhominable foun:  
teine of all vices) followeth me, that if I were made  
king of Scots, I fhould feeke to defloure your maids  
and matrones, in fuch wife that mine intemperan:  
cie fhould be moze importable vnto you, than the  
bloudie tyrannie of *Malcolme* now is. Herevnto  
*Malcolme* answered: This fnerlie is a verie euill  
fault, for manie noble princes and kings haue loff  
both liues and kingdomes for the fame; neuertheleffe  
there are women enow in Scotland, and therefore  
follow my counfell. Spake thy felfe king, and I fhall  
conueie the matter fo wifelle, that thou fhalt be fo fa:  
tiffed at thy pleaſure in fuch fecret wife, that no man  
fhall be aware thereof.

Then faid *Malcolme*, I am alfo the moft auariti:  
ous creature on the earth, fo that if I were king, I  
fhould feeke fo manie waies to get lands and goods,  
that I would flea the moft part of all the nobles of  
Scotland by furnizid accusations, to the end I  
might inioy their lands, goods, and poſſeſſions; and  
therefore to thew you what miſchiefe may inſue on  
you through mine vnſatiable couetouſnes, I will re:  
hearſe vnto you a fable. There was a for hauing a  
foie place on him ouerfet with a ſwarne of flies,  
that continually ſucked out his blood: and when one  
that came by and ſaw this manner, demanded the:  
ther ſhe would haue the flies bzien beſide him, ſhe an:  
ſwered no: for if theſe flies that are alreadie full, and  
by reaſon thereof lucke not verie egerlie, ſhould be  
chaſed awaie, other that are emptie and fellie an hun:  
gred, ſhould light in their places, and lucke out the  
reſidue of my blood farre moze to my greuaunce  
than theſe, which now being ſatiffied do not much an:  
noie me. Therefore ſaith *Malcolme*, ſuffer me to re:  
maine where I am, leaſt if I attaine to the regiment  
of your realme, mine vnquenchable auarice may  
proue ſuch; that ye would thinke the diſpleaſures  
which now grieue you, ſhould ſeeme eaſie in reſpect  
of the vnmeaſurable outrage, which might inſue  
through my conning amongſt you.

*Malcolme* to this made anſwer, how it was a far  
woyle fault than the other: for auarice is the rot of  
all miſchiefe, and for that crime the moſt part of our  
kings haue bene laine and bzought to their finall  
end. Yet notwithstanding follow my counfell, and  
take vpon the crowne. There is gold and riches  
enough in Scotland to ſatiffie thy grãdie deſire.  
Then ſaid *Malcolme* againe, I am furthermore in:  
clined to diſimulation, telling of leaſings, and all o:  
ther kinds of deceit, ſo that I naturallie reioiſe in  
nothing ſo much, as to betraie & deceiue ſuch as put  
antie truſt or confidence in my words. Then ſith  
there is nothing that moze becommeth a prince than  
conſtancie, veritie, truth, and iuſtice, with the other  
laudable fellowſhip of thoſe faire and noble vertues  
which are comprehended onelie in ſoſtiallneſſe, and  
that lieng vtterlie ouerthoweth the ſame; you ſee  
how vnable I am to gouerne antie prouince or regi:

on: and therefore ſith you haue remedies to cloke  
and hide all the reſt of my other vices, I pzaie you  
ſind ſhift to cloke this vice amongſt the reſidue.

Then ſaid *Malcolme*: This yet is the woyle of all,  
and there I leaue thee, and therefore ſaie; Why be  
happie and miſerable Scottiſhmen, which are thus  
ſcourged with ſo manie and ſundrie calamities, ech  
one aboue other? We haue one curſed and wicked ty:  
rant that now reigneth ouer you, without antie right  
or title, oppreſſing you with his moſt bloudie crueltie.  
This other that hath the right to the crowne, is ſo re:  
plet with the inconstant behauiour and manifold vi:  
ces of Engliſhmen, that he is nothing woyle to  
inioy it: for by his owne confeſſion he is not onelie  
auaritious, and giuen to vnſatiable luſt, but ſo falle a  
traitor withall, that no truſt is to be had vnto antie  
word he ſpeaketh. Adieu Scotland, for now I ac:  
count my ſelfe a baniſhed man for euer, without  
comfort or conſolation: and with thoſe words the  
bzackiſh teares trickled drowne his cheekes verie a:  
bundantlie.

At the laſt, when he was readie to depart, *Mal:  
colme* toke him by the ſleeue, and ſaid: We of god  
comfort *Malcolme*, for I haue none of theſe vices  
before remembred, but haue teſſed with thee in this  
manner, onelie to proue thy mind: for diuerſe times  
heretofore hath *Malcolme* fought by this manner of  
meanes to bring me into his hands, but the moze  
ſlow I haue ſhewed my ſelfe to condeſcend to thy  
moſt and requelt, the moze diligence ſhall I be in  
accompliſhing the ſame. Incontinentlie herevpon  
they embraced ech other, and promiſing to be faith:  
full the one to the other, they fell in conſultation how  
they might beſt prouide for all their buſineſſe, to  
bring the ſame to good effect. Some after, *Malcolme*  
repairing to the borders of Scotland, addreſſed his  
letters with ſecret diſpatch vnto the nobles of the  
realme, declaring how *Malcolme* was confederat  
with him, to come haſtily into Scotland to claime  
the crowne, and therefore he required them, ſith he  
was right inheritor thereto, to aſſiſt him with their  
powers to recouer the ſame out of the hands of the  
wzongfull vſurper.

In the meane time, *Malcolme* purchaſed ſuch fa:  
uor at king Edwards hands, that old Siward earle  
of Northumberland was appointed with ten thou:  
ſand men to go with him into Scotland, to ſupport  
him in this enterpriſe, for recouerie of his right. Af:  
ter theſe newes were ſpread abroad in Scotland, the  
nobles bzew into two ſeueral factions, the one tak:  
ing part with *Malcolme*, and the other with *Mal:  
colme*. Herevpon inſued oftentimes ſundrie bick:  
erings, & diuerſe light ſkirmiſhes: for thoſe that were  
of *Malcolmes* ſide, would not leopord to ioine with  
their enimies in a pight field, till his coming out  
of England to their ſupport. But after that *Malcolme*  
perceiued his enimies power to increaſe, by ſuch aid  
as came to them ſoſth of England with his aduerſa:  
rie *Malcolme*, he recoiled backe into Fiſe, there pur:  
poſing to abide in campe fortified, at the caſtell of  
Dunſinane, and to fight with his enimies, if they  
ment to purſue him; howbeit ſome of his friends ad:  
uiſed him, that it ſhould be beſt for him, either to  
make ſome agreẽment with *Malcolme*, or elle to flee  
with all ſpeed into the Iles, and to take his treaſure  
with him, to the end he might wage ſundrie great  
princes of the realme to take his part, & retaine ſtran:  
gers, in whome he might better truſt than in his  
owne ſubiects, which ſcale dailie from him: but he  
had ſuch confidence in his propheſies, that he beleued  
he ſhould neuer be vanquiſhed, till Wirmene wood  
were bzought to Dunſinane; no: yet to be laine  
with antie man, that ſhould be or was bozne of antie  
woman.

*Malcolme*

Branches of trees.

Malcolme setteth his men in order of battell. Malcolme fleeth, & is pursued of Malcolme.

Malcolme is slain.

1057. 10. M.  
1061. H. B.  
8. H. B.  
Malcolme

Parlement at Fozfair.

Chances changed into earles.

Surnames.

Malcolme following harkie after Hakbeth, came the night before the battell unto Birname wood, and when his armie had rested a while there to refresh them, he commanded euerie man to get a bough of some tree or other of that wood in his hand, as big as he might beare, and to march forth therewith in such wise, that on the next morrow they might come close, lie and without sight in this manner within view of his enemies. On the morrow when Hakbeth beheld them comming in this sort, he first marvelled what the matter ment, but in the end remembred himselfe that the prophesie which he had heard long before that time, of the conning of Birname wood to Dunstan castle, was likelie to be now fulfilled. Heerethelesse, he brought his men in order of battell, and exhorted them to do valiantlie, howbeit his enemies had scarcelie cast from them their boughs, when Hakbeth perceiuing their numbers, betooke him streit to flight, whom Hakdusse pursued with great hatred even till he came unto Lunfarnatne, where Hakbeth perceiuing that Hakdusse was hard at his backe, leapt before his horse, saying, Thou traitor, what meanest it that thou shouldest thus in baine follow me that am not appointed to be slaine by anie creature that is borne of a woman, come on therefore, and receive thy reward which thou hast deserued for thy paines, and therewithall he lifted up his sword thinking to haue slaine him.

But Hakdusse quicklie auoiding from his horse, per he came at him, answered (with his naked sword in his hand) saying: It is true Hakbeth, and now shall thine insatiable crueltie haue an end, for I am euen he that thy wizards haue told thee of, who was neuer borne of my mother, but ripped out of her wombe: therewithall he slept vnto him, and slue him in the place. When cutting his head from his shoulders, he set it vpon a pole, and brought it vnto Malcolme. This was the end of Hakbeth, after he had reigned 17 yeres ouer the Scottishmen. In the beginning of his reigne he accomplished manie wondrous acts, verie profitable to the common-wealth (as ye haue heard) but afterward by illusion of the diuell, he defamed the same with most terrible crueltie. He was slaine in the yere of the incarnation, 1057, and in the 16 yere of king Edwards reigne ouer the Englishmen.

Malcolme Cammore thus recovering the relme (as ye haue heard) by support of king Edward, in the 16 yere of the same Edwards reigne, he was crowned at Scone the 25 day of Aprill, in the yere of our Lord 1057. Immediatlie after his coronation he called a parlement at Fozfair, in the which he rewarded them with lands and liuings that had assisted him against Hakbeth, aduancing them to fees and offices as he saw cause, & commanded that spectallie those that bare the surname of anie offices or lands, should haue and inioy the same. He created manie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Of anie of them that before were chances, were at this time made earles, as Fife, Penteth, Atholl, Leuenor, Marrey, Cathnes, Koss, and Angus. These were the first earles that haue bene heard of amongst the Scottishmen (as their histories do make mention.) Of anie new surnames were taken by at this time amongst them, as Cauder, Lokart, Gordon, Seton, Lauder, Malwane, Meldun, Schaw, Leirmouth, Libertoun, Strachughen, Targill, Kattrey, Dundas, Cockbourne, Pirton, Penzeis, Abercummie, Alste, with manie other that had possessions giuen them, which gaue names to the owners for the time. Others got their surnames by offices, as Steward, Burward, and Banerman. Also the proper names of manie valiant captiues were turned into generall surnames, as Kennedie, Graham,

Haie, with diuerse other too long here to rehearse. So that it came to passe then, as it hath done manie times since, that new surnames haue worne the old out of ble.

In the foresaid parlement thus holden at Fozfair, in the beginning of his reigne, there were manie hole some ordinances established, both appertaining to ciuill administration, and also to the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction. In reward also of Hakdusses seruice, who (as ye haue heard) chieflie aided him to the attaining of the crowne, he honozed him and his posteritie with three sorts of priuileges. First, that the earle of Fife for the time being, at the coronation of a king, should by his office set the crowne on the kings head. The second was, that when the king should giue battell to his enemies, the same earle should lead the haught of his host. The third, that the lineage of Hakdusse should inioy regall authoritie and power within all their lands and comes, as to appoint officers and iudges for the hearing and determining of all matters and controuersies (reason onelie excepted) and that if anie of their men or tenants were called to answer in anie court out of their circuit, they might appeale to their owne iudges to be appointed, as before is expessed.

Iohannes Maior writeth in his chronicles, that the third priuilege, which Malcolme granted vnto this Hakdusse and his posteritie, was this, that for euerie gentleman that anie of them should hap to kill by chancemelle, and not vpon pretended malice, for the summe of 24 marks he should redeeme his punishment due for the same: & for the casuall slaughter of a meaner person he should be fined at twelue marks. So that murderers were wont to say, that if they were able to paie that summe to the kinboe, they ought to be released of further punishment, by Hakdusses priuilege. But this third priuilege, together with the other two former grants, the said Maior soe reprehendeth, and not without cause, as may appere, considering the naturall inclination of that people vnto murder, which by this meanes nourishing secret hatred and malice in their hearts, might vnder the cloke of casuall falling out, slay whom they listed.

It was ordeined also at this parlement, that barons which had liberties within themselves, should make gibbets, whereon men that deserued death should suffer execution: and also draw-wels, wherein women that were condemned should be drowned, according to the order of the ciuill lawes used in Scotland. Moreover, all the lawes that Hakbeth had ordeined, were abrogated at this parlement. Thus whilst Malcolme was busied in setting orders amongst his subiects, tidings came that one Lugtake surnamed the sole, being either the sonne, or (as some write) the cosen of the late mentioned Hakbeth, was conueied with a great number of such as had taken part with the said Hakbeth vnto Scone, and there by their support receiued the crowne, as lawfull inheritor thereto. To appease this businesse, was Hakdusse earle of Fife sent with full commission in the kings name, who incountreing with Lugtake at a village called Cullen in Bogdale, slue him, and discomfited his whole power, ordering the matter with them in such wise, that afterwards there was no more trouble attempted in that behalfe.

After this, the realme continued in peace certeine yeres, till it chanced a great number of theues and robbers assembling themselves together at Cocthanes, did much hurt, by robbing and spoiling the people in the countreies of Pers and Louthian: howbeit, at length one Patrike Dunbar of Dunbar, by commandement of the king, fought with them, slue their capteine, with six hundred of his companie,

robbers of the countreie. he ca the c owin the c hertt appat land heir com and rie t arm serti e the this chief balli wood ning roud ougt sold with manning trie i most esse. also the twel thus heri fell i mar of C furn Col am t the c and l the r Eld. fran his i mur whiti Cdt Eng had i nam not i Sco son nam Is war he w bntc bte: with died His the c quer of th most his i win calle ing

company, and took fourescore prisoners, the which he caused to be hanged. And thus hauing deliuered the countrie of those pélers, with losse of fortie of his owne men, he returned to the king, with the head of the capteine of that rout: so that for his manhood hereint shewed, he was made by the king earle of March, and for the maintenance of his estate, had the lands of Cockbourne Bethe given to him and his heires for euer, vpon this condition, that in times comming, the earles of March should purge Pers and Louthian of all thêues and robbers. In memorie whereof, he was commanded to beare in his armes a fellons head sprinkled with bloud.

Shortlie after he got knowledge, how there were certeine gentlemen that had conspired to slea him, & therefore taking occasion to go on hunting, where this act should haue bene executed, he called the chiefe author of the conspiracie apart into a certeine ballie, which was closed on euerie side with thicke woods, and there brake the matter vnto him, in reproving him verie sharpelie, for that he had so traitorously conspired his death, whose preseruation he ought chieftie to haue wished, considering the manifold benefites he had receiued at his hands. And herewith leaping from his horse, drew his sword, commanding the other likewise to draw his, that now hauing conuenient time and place thereto, they might trie the matter betwixt them, who should be thought most worthy of life, by open force of knightlie prowesse. The conspirator hearing these wordes, as a man altogether astonished, fell downe vpon his knees at the kings feet; beseeching his grace of merrie for his wicked purpose and heinous offense: who seeing him thus penitent, bad him arise, and said; I am content herupon to forgieue thee, so that thou be not of counsell hereafter in anie such traitorous practise.

Whilist things passed thus in Scotland, great and marvellous chanches came to passe within the realme of England. For after the death of king Edward, surnamed the Confessor, Harold the sonne of earle Godwine took on him the kingdome. But William bastard duke of Normandie, pretending title to the crowne of England, at length inuaded the land, and sleaing Harold in field, made a full conquest of the realme, and was crowned king at London by Eldred archbishop of Yorke. Here ye haue to understand, that king Edward in his life time had sent for his nephew Edward, the sonne of his brother Edmund Ironside, to come home forth of Hungarie, whither (after his fathers deceasse) he and his brother Godwine had bene sent awhile, as in the historie of England it appereth more at large. This Edward had married the daughter of the emperor Henrie, named Agatha, sister to the quene of Hungarie, and not the king of Hungaries daughter, although the Scottish writers doe so affirme. By hir he had issue a sonne named Edgar, and two daughters, the one named Margaret, and the other Christen.

King Edward ment that his nephew the said Edward should haue succeeded him, and (as some write) he would in his life time haue resigned the crowne vnto him. But he (a thing worthy of admiration) betterie refused it, and would not once meddle therewith during his vncles life time; & (as it chanced) he died, whilist his vnkle king Edward was yet liuing. His sonne Edgar therefore, to whom it seemed that the crowne was due, when he saw the realme conquered by the Normans, despairing to recover it out of their hands, got a ship, and determined with his mother and sisters to passe ouer into Germanie to his friends and kinsfolke there: but by contrarie winds he was driuen to thore in the Forth, at a place called vnto this day the quenes ferrie. Malcolme being at the same time at Dunfermeling, when he

heard of the arrivall of this ship, and understood that they were that were aboard in hir, he resorted thither with an honorable companie about him, to visit them for honors sake, vpon fauour he bare towarde them, for that they were descended of that noble prince king Edward, in whose asore time he had found so much gentlenesse and friendship.

Finallie, when he understood their estate, he brought them home with him to his palace, shewing them all the loue and friendship he could deuise; and in the end considering the excellent beutie, wisdome, and noble qualities of the ladie Margaret, sister to the same Edgar, he required of Agatha hir mother to haue hir in marriage, wherevnto Agatha gladly condescended. Shortlie after, with an assemblee of all the nobles of Scotland, this marriage was made and solemnized after the octaues of Easter, in the yeare 1067, with all the ioy & triumph that might be deuised. As William conqueror of England, being informed hereof, feared least this alliance betwixt Malcolme and Edgar might breed some trouble and disquietnesse to his estate, with the same Edgar had manie friends through all the parties of England. To prevent therefore the occasions of intestine troubles, he confined all the linage of the foresaid Edgar, by reason whereof, a great number of Englishmen came into Scotland vnto king Malcolme, and manie of them obtaining livings at his hands, remained there continuallie during their liues, leaving to their posteritie their names & possessions. Amongst whom were these, Lindseie, Maus, Ramsie, Loeuall, Lotheris, Drestoune, Sandlands, Biskart, Sowlis, Wardlaw, Martwell, with diuerse other.

There came diuerse also out of Hungarie with quene Margaret, who likewise left their names to their families, which yet remaine euen vnto this day, as Creichtoune, Fotheringham, Ciffart, Meluill, Northwicke, and others. Also there haue come at sundrie seasons out of France diuers surnames into Scotland, as Fraiser, Sinelare, Boswell, Powtray, Mountgummerie, Campbell, Bois, Berton, or Betuin, Tallefer, and Bothwell, besides sundrie other which were but superfluous to rehearse at this time. But to the order of the historie, it is recorded by writers, that these (which at this time came out of England vnto Edgar) brought great quantitie of gold and siluer with them; also manie reliques of saints, and (amongst other) that blacke crosse which king David gaue vnto the abbey of Holie rood house in Louthian, which he founded at his owne charges. Shortlie after the proscription of these Englishmen, William the conqueror sent an herald at armes vnto king Malcolme, demanding to haue Edgar deliuered into his hands, and threatening that if he refused to deliuer him, he would surely fetch him, and that smallie for Malcolms commodity.

But Malcolme, though he understood that he should be sure of wars at his Williams hands for his deniall; yet he declared plainelie to the herald, that his maisters request was unreasonable, & therefore he minded not in anie wise to gratifie him therein. King William receiuing this answer from king Malcolme, proclaimed open warre against Scotland. In the meane time all Northumberland took part with Malcolme, for that he was their earles sisters sonne. Wherevpon William sent a valiant capteine, a Normann borne named Roger, to inuade Northumberland. Which Roger gathering a power of men, came hastily into that countrie, howbeit he abode a short time there in honor, for by the Scots & Northumberland men his armie was discomfited, and he himselfe traitorously slaine by his owne souldiers.

Malcolme  
Conqueror  
sister to  
Edgar  
king.

1067.H.B.

Englishmen  
slew into  
land.

Surnames of  
Englishmen  
in Scotland.

Surnames of  
Hungarians.

Surnames of  
Frenchmen.

The blacke  
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William con-  
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Malcolms  
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Open warre  
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William con-  
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Northumber-  
land taketh  
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Malcolme.  
Roger a Nor-  
man capteine  
or rather earle  
Roger (as I  
take it).  
He in Eng-  
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But

The earle of  
Glocester.

Gospatrike  
saith Simon  
Dunel.

Odo bishop of  
Baieus and  
earle of Kent.

Malcolme  
enterpris a-  
gainst his en-  
emies.

Robert the  
sonne of wil-  
liam conque-  
rour.  
Newcastell  
upon Tyne  
fortified.

A peace con-  
cluded be-  
twixt William  
Conquerour,  
and Mal-  
colme Cam-  
bray.

The roicrosse.  
Waltheof.

Siward earle  
of Northum-  
berland.

Rebellion in  
Galloway.

Walter the  
sonne of Fle-  
ance.

Malglaue.

Walter crea-  
ted high lie-  
ward of  
Scotland.

A new rebel-  
lion in Mur-  
reiland.

But king William nothing discouraged with this overthrow: sent one Richard earle of Glocester (whome amongst all the Englishmen he had most in trust) with a mightie armie into Cumberland, against whome were sent the earles of March and Menteith, who defended the countrie right manlie from the invasion of the said earle, so that he was not able to take any advantage of them. King William advertised hereof, feared wonderfull wrath, that no more good was done against his enemies, whereupon he sent a new power thither with all speed, under the leading of his brother Odo, who was both bishop of Baieus, and earle of Kent. By this last armie, the countrie of Northumberland was sore spoiled, and a great number both of Scots and Northumberlandmen discomfited and slaine. But as Odo was preparing to returne, there came Malcolme, with all the power he might make, and giving an onset upon his enemies, slue a great number of them, and recovered all the bottie which Odo men had got in the countrie, and so right full of that victorie, returned into Scotland. King William yet nothing abashed for these mishaps, sent his sonne called Robert, with a far greater power than at any time he had sent before, into Northumberland, who remaining a long season in campe nere to the river of Tyne, attempted no notable enterprise, saving that he repaired and noblie fortified the towne of Newcastle, which standeth upon the same river of Tyne; and then at length a peace was concluded betwixt the two kings under these conditions, that king Malcolme should enjoy that part of Northumberland which lieth betwixt Tyne, Cumberland, and Stainmore, and to do homage to the King of England for the same. In the midst of Stainmore there shall be a crosse set up, with the king of Englands image on the one side, and the king of Scotlands on the other, to signifie that the one is march to England, and the other to Scotland. This crosse was called the roicrosse, that is, the crosse of the kings. Moreover, it was concluded that Waltheof or Woldofus (as the Scottish writers name him) the sonne of Siward earle of Northumberland should marrie king Williams niece, bozne of his daughter, and to be free from all payments and exactions due to the king by any manner of prerogative or means, for the space of twentie yeares next ensuing.

In the necke of this peace thus concluded betwixt the kings, happened new trouble in Scotland, by reason of intestine rebellion: for the people of Galloway, and the Island men, rose in great numbers, and spoiled the borders of their neighbors, not sparing from slaughter in all parts, where they were any thing resisted. Against these rebels was sent by king Malcolme, Walter the sonne of Fleance (of whome there is mention made before) with a convenient armie, who at his coming into Galloway, first gave the people of that countrie an overthrow, and slue their chiefe capteine Malglaue. Then afterwards fighting with them of the Isles, he subdued them in such wise, that all things were pacified even at commandement. For which high prowess and diligence in this piece of service shewed, he was created by Malcolme high steward of the realme, so that afterwards both he and his posteritie ever since have bozne that surname, even unto these our daies.

After the quieting of this businesse, there sprang a new tumult more dangerous than the former, for the Murreiland men, procuring them of Rolfe and Cathnes, with divers other to loine with them in confederacie, did not onelie sea the kings servants, and those that were appointed under him to see

the ministered, but through support of one Pakduncane, whome they chose to be their capteine, they also waisted and destroyed the kings possessions, with more crueltie than ever had bene heard of before. Wherefore to punish these traitorous attempts, Pakduncane was sent with an armie into Murreiland. But the traitors doubting least they should not be able to withstand his puissance, thought nothing more available than to stop him with monie: but in the meane time came the king himselfe in good season into Donimusk, where he was advertised, that in manner all the north parts of Scotland with the Isles, were confederat with the Murreiland men against him. The king astonished something at these newes, vowed to give the baronnie of Donimusk (which he understood to be lands pertaining to the crowne) unto the church of saint Andrew in life, if it might please God to send him victorie over his enemies.

At length coming unto the water of Speite, he beheld his enemies on the further side, in greater number, and in better furniture for arms, than he thought had bene possible to have found in all Scotland: he perceived also that his standard-bearer began to shrink, and not to shew the like cheerefull countenance as he ought to have done. Wherefore he pulled the banner from him, and gave it to sir Alexander Carron, who with this his new office obtained sundrie faire lands and possessions, to him and to his heires for ever: but his surname was afterwards changed, and called Skringmour; of the which is descended a noble house, continuing yet in great honor in the same surname and office. When the king was once passed the water, and the armies on both sides ready to have joined, through mediation of bishops and other vertuous men, the matter was taken up, and peace made on these conditions; That the commons that took part with the rebels, should returne home out of hand, and the gentlemen to submit themselves to the kings pleasure, their lives and lands saved. Howbeit manie of them were kept in perpetuall prison during their lives, and all their goods confiscated to the kings use.

All civil trouble and commotion being thus quieted, king Malcolme (speciallie by the good admonishment and exhortation of his wife quene Margaret, a woman of great zeale unto the religion of that time) gave himselfe in manner altogether unto much devotion, and workes of mercie; as in doing of almes deeds, by providing for the poore, and such like goodlie exercises: so that in true vertue he was thought to excell all other princes of his time. To be brieve, herein there seemed to be in manner a certaine strife betwixt him, and that vertuous quene his wife, which of them should be most fervent in the love of God, so that manie people by the imitation of them were brought unto a better life. Agatha and hir daughter Chisline also, by the example of these two holie liuers, renounced the pompe of the court, and got them to a privat and solitarie life, wherein they gave themselves wholie to divine contemplation. Furthermore, Malcolme by the setting on of the quene his wife, ceased not to set his endeavor wholie to the advancement of the christian religion, and to restore things that were decayed by the negligence of his predecessors. Therefore whereas before his time, there were but foure bishops sees in Scotland, as saint Andrews, Glasgowe, Galloway, and Murreiland, and two of them, that is to say, saint Andrews and Murreiland remaining onelie in good reparation (the other being decayed) he restored the other two to their former beauties, and furthermore erected two other of new, as Murreiland and Cathnes, placing men of singular vertue and purenesse of life in the same.

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Standard  
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Sir Alex-  
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A peace con-  
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The subdu-  
tion of Galloway  
men.

King Mal-  
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quene Margaret  
to devotion.

A goodlie

Agatha and  
Chisline re-  
nounce the  
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Bishops re-  
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Malcolme.

It is said, that such outrageous riot entered at this time, and began to grow in use among the Scottishmen, together with the language and manners of the English nation (by reason that such a multitude of the same, fleeing out of their country, were daily received as then into Scotland to inhabit there, as before is shewed) that divers of the nobles perceiving what discommodities and decay to the whole realme would ensue of this intemperance, came to the king, lamenting grievously the case, for that this venomous infection spread so fast over the whole realme, to the perverting and utter removing of the ancient sobriety of diet used in the same. Wherefore they besought him to provide some remedie in time, before hope of redress were past, that the people might be againe reduced unto their former frugalitie, who hitherto used not to eat but once in the day, and then desiring no superfluous meates and drinks to be sought by sea and land, nor curiouslie dressed or served forth with sauces, but onlie feeding to satiffie nature, and not their greedy appetites.

Though this their sober fare, with the exercising of their bodies here with in continuall travell, they grew more strong and greater of bodie, than their offspring are found to be in these daies: for they were more in resemblance like unto giants than unto men of our time, with great and huge bodies, mightie armes and limbs, pressing upon their enemies like unto fierre lions, bearing downe all before them, without dread of any danger, for that they exceeded all humane strength and power. Here upon king Malcolme took great paines to haue redressed this infective poison, and bitterlie to haue expelled it forth of his realme. Howbeit the nature of man is so prone and readie to embrace all kinds of vice, that where the Scottish people before had no knowledge nor understanding of fine fare or riotous surfeit; yet after they had once tasted the sweet poisoned bait thereof, there was now no meane to be found to restrain their licentious desires. And yet those corrupted abuses and riotous superfluities (which came into the realme of Scotland with the Englishmen) planted therein by the daies of king Malcolme, are not to be compared in excess with things used in our time. For in those daies, as yet the nature of man was not so overcome with the abuse of superfluities, as it is now adates; for then though they were gone from the ancient sparseness of diet, they yet did not eat past twice a day, and had but two dishes at a meale: but now the greedy taste of mens insatiable lust is such, that no kind of flesh, fish, fruit, or whatsoever may be gotten, is unneedie able to quench their gluttonous appetit: a ravenous gozman dining; so that neither land, sea, nor aire, is left unsought to satiffie the same, as though they were worthy of most high commendation that may devour most: wherein they may be justlie compared to greedy wolues and cozurants. But to bewaile that in words which cannot be amended in deeds, is but a follie: for the infection is so entered into the inner parts of the intrails, that neither with purging, cutting, nor searing, it may be holpen. Sooner shall you destroye the whole nation, than remove this vice.

In the meane time whilst things passed thus in Scotland, king William the Conqueror died in the 21 yere of his reigne, and after the intercession of 1087. About which time king Malcolme caused the old church of Dunfermling to be plucked downe and builded up a new, beginning then at the first stone. In which season, one Egellwin or William (as the Scottish writers say) was bishop of that see, and prior of the abbeye was one Turgot, who afterward was made bishop of saint Andrews, and wrote the lives

of quene Margaret and Malcolme his husband in the Scottish tong. Afterward he deceased in saint Andrews, but his bodie was brought unto Dunfermling, and there buried, because he was first prior thereof. King Malcolme by perswasion of this Turgot, builded also a church in Dunfermling, dedicated to the Trinitie, ordaining from thenceforth that the common sepulture of the kings should be there, in like manner as it had bene afore time in the Ile of Jona at the abbey of Colmekill.

Amongst other vertuous ordinances also, which were devised and made by king Malcolme (through exhortation of his wife quene Margaret) mentioned by Turgot in the booke which he wrote of their lives, this is not to be forgotten, that he abrogated that wicked law, established by king Edwin the third, appointing halfe a marke of silver to be paid to the lord of the soile, in redemption of the womans chastitie, which is used to be paid yet unto this day, and is called the marchets of woman: where otherwise by tenor of king Ewins law, the lord had the use of their bodies all the first night after their marriage. King William surnamed the Red, the second sonne of king William the Conqueror, and successor to him in the kingdome of England, not well contented nor pleased in his mind, that the Scots should enjoy a great portion of the north parts of England, ancientlie belonging to his crowne as parcell thereof, he raised a great armie, and before any denouncing of warre by him made, invaded Northumberland, and took the castell of Antwoke, putting all furth to the sword as were found in the same.

King Malcolme, to withstand such exploits attempted by his enimie, lent a great host of his subjects, and comming with the same into Northumberland, besieged the said castell of Antwoke. And now when the keepers of the hold were at point to haue made surrender, a certeine English knight concealing in his mind an hardie and dangerous enterprise, mounted on a swift horse without armor or weapon, saving a speare in his hand, upon the point whereof he bare the keies of the castell, and so issued forth at the gates, riding directlie towards the Scottish campe. They that warded, mistrusting no harme, brought him with great noise and clamour unto the kings tent. Who hearing the noise, came forth of his pavilion to understand what the matter ment. The Englishman herewith couched his staffe, as though it had bene to the end that the king might receive the keies which he had brought. And whilst all mens eyes were earnest in beholding the keies, the Englishman ran the king through the left eie, and suddenly dashing his spurres to his horse, escaped to the next wood out of all danger. The point of the speare entered so farre into the kings head, that immediatlie falling downe amongst his men, hee perished by the ghost. This was the end of king Malcolme in the midst of his armie.

It is said, that king William changed the name of this adventurous knight, & called him Perce eie, for that he stroke king Malcolme so right in the eie, and in recompense of his service gaue him certeine lands in Northumberland: of whose those Percees are descended, which in our daies haue intioied the honorable title of earles of Northumberland. The Scots after the slaughter of their king, brake by their campe, and buried his bodie within the abbey of Tinnmouth in England. But his sonne Alexander caused it afterwards to be taken up, and buried in Dunfermling before the altar of the Trinitie. At the same time was Scotland wounded with another mishap. For Edward the prince of Scotland, eldest sonne to king Malcolme, died of a hurt

The church of Dunfermling

The sepulture of the Scottish kings.

King Ewins law abrogated or rather altered.

William Rufus.

The castell of Antwoke taken by the Englishmen.

The castell of Antwoke besieged by the Scots.

An hardie enterprise.

Malcolme is slain.

The name of the Percees had no such beginning, for they came forth of Northumberland in the conquest. Earles of Northumberland. Malcolme buried at Tinnmouth.

Edward prince of Scotland died.

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Quene Margaret died.

1097. H. B.

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Strange  
wonders.  
An huge tide.

Godwins  
sands.

Thunder.

Trees and  
coyne burnt.

Marianus.

Veremond.

The sons of  
R. Malcolme  
Cammoe.

Donald Bane

Donald Bane  
fled into the  
Fles.  
Donald Bane  
returneth into  
Scotland.  
His covenant  
for the gift of  
the fles to  
the king of  
Norwate.

The respect  
that the people  
had to receive  
Donald Bane  
for their king.

R. Malcolms  
sons sent for  
into England  
by Edgar  
their uncle.

hurt which he receiued in a skirmish not farre from Antwerp, and was buried in Dunfermling, the first of the blond roiall that had his bones laid in that place. Quene Margaret being aduertised of the death both of hir husband and sonne, as then lieng in Edinburgh castell, hir disease increased through griefe therof so vehementlie, that within thre daies after she departed out of this life, vnto an other more iofull and blessed. King Malcolme was slaine in the yere of our redemption 1092, on the 13 day of November, and in the 36 yere of his reigne.

In the same yere, manie uncouth things came to passe, and were seene in Albion. By the high spring-tides which chanced in the Almaine seas, manie towines, castels, and woods were drowned, as well in Scotland as in England. After the ceasing of which tempest, the lands that sometime were earle Godwins (of whome ye haue heard before) lieng not farre from the towne of Sandwich, by violent force and drift of the sea, were made a sand-bed, and euer thens haue bene called Godwins sands. The people haue thought that this vengeance came to that pece of ground being possessed by his posteritie, for the wicked slaughter of Alured, which he traitorously contriued. For neuer funde castels and towines in Spurrey land, were ouerthrowne by the sea tides. Such dreadfull thunder happened also at the same time, that men and beasts were slaine in the fields, and houses ouerturned euen from their foundations. In Lothian, Fife, and Angus, trees and coyne were burned by fire, kindled no man knew how, nor from whence.

In the daies of this Malcolme Cammoe, liued that famous historiographer Marianus a Scottish man borne, but professed a monke in the monastirie of Fulda in Germanie. Also Veremond a Spanishe priest, but dwelling in Scotland, storied about the same time, and wrote the Scottish historie, to whome Hector Boetius so much followeth. Malcolme had by his wife quene Margaret (otherwise called for hir holinesse of life saint Margaret) six sonnes, Edward (as is said) was slaine: Ethelred, which died in his tender age, and was buried in Dunfermling: and Edmund which renounced the world, and liued an holie life in England: the other thre were named Edgar, Alexander, and David. There be that write how Edmund was taken, and put to death by his uncle Donald Bane, when he invaded the kingdom, and usurped the crowne, after the deceasse of his brother king Malcolme, and so then was Edgar next inheritor to the crowne.

This Donald Bane, who (as before is mentioned) fled into the Fles to eschue the tyrannicall malice of Hakbeth, after he once heard that his brother king Malcolme was dead, returned into Scotland by support of the king of Norwate, vnto whom he covenanted to giue the dominion of all the Fles, if by his means furtherance he might obtaine the crowne of Scotland. Hereupon landing with an armie in the realme, he found small resistance, and so with little adoe receiued the crowne. For manie of the people abhorring the riotous manners and superfluous gormandizing brought in among them by the Englishmen, were willing enough to receiue this Donald for their king, trusting (because he had bene brought up in the Fles with the old customes and manners of their ancient nation, without task of the English likorous delicats) they should by his seuerer order in gouernement recouer againe the former temperance of their old progenitors.

As soon as Edgar Etheling brother to Quene Margaret was aduertised that Donald Bane had thus usurped the crowne of Scotland, he sent secretly for his three nephues, Edgar, Alexander, and Da-

uid, with two sisters which they had, to come vnto him into England, where he had not kept them ante long while, but that a knight whose name was Edgar, accused him of treason, alleging how he nourished his sisters sonnes and daughters within the realme, in hope to make them inheritors to the crowne: but the malice of this false surmise remained not unpunished, for one of Edgars friends, taking in hand to barraine battell with Edgar, in defense of Edgars innocencie, slue him within liks. After that Donald had receiued the crowne at the abbey of Scone, he perceived that some of the nobles grudged at his preferment, shewing by some tokens that they had more affection vnto king Malcolmes children, than vnto him: and therefore he cast out a word amongst his familiars, that yet it were long the nobles should repent their of their doing, if they applied not them selues the more to his opinion.

Which words being marked, and deeply imprinted in some of their hearts, turned afterwards to his great displeasure. For shortly after came Duncane the bastard sonne of king Malcolme out of England into Scotland, supported with an armie of men appointed by king William the Red, to place him in the kingdom, and to expell Donald out of the same by force of armes, if he attempted any resistance. Now when Donald approached with his puissance, in purpose to haue giuen battell, the most part of his people did forsake him, and drew vnto Duncane, side, so that Donald thus abandoned of them that should haue aided him, was constrained for his refuge to flee againe into the westerne Fles: and so Duncane then comming vnto Scone, receiued the crowne of Scotland. But for that he had bene trained the most part of his life in the warres both in England and France, he had small skill in ciuill gouernement, iudging that thing onelie to stand with iustice, which was decided with speare and shield. By reason whereof Scotland was shortly filled with new troubles and seditious diuisions.

Donald Bane being aduertised of all those things, that thereby happened in Scotland, solicited Hakpender erle of Bernes to take his part, and by some meanes to slea R. Duncane, which enterprize Hakpender taking in hand, at length (in September) accomplished the same in the night season, when he had espied such aduantage and opportunitie of time, that not so much as one man was found to pursue him. But to say the truth, Duncane was so farre out of the peoples fauor, that more reioiced than were sorry for his death. After he was thus dispatched, his vncle Donald was restored againe to the kingdom, chieflie by support of the forenamed Hakpender, after his nephew the foresaid Duncane had reigned one yere and an halfe, where Donald himselfe had reigned (before he was expelled by his said nephew) the space of six moneths, and now after he had recouered the kingdom, he continued in the regiment thereof thre yeres, not without great trouble and intestine commotions: for the most part of the lords maligning his aduancement, sought occasions daily to depose him.

In the meane time the Zlandmen made some stirre, neither did the warres with England cease, (though without any great exploit or enterprize worthie of remembrance) sauing a few light skirmishes betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. At length came Magnus king of Norwate with a great fleet, and sailing about the westerne Fles, garnished all the strengths within them in most defensible wise, with men, munition, and vittels, usurping the dominion as soueraigne lord of the same Fles: and at the same time ordeined those lawes and constitutions,

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situations which are used there amongst the inhabitants even unto these daies. The Scottishmen having great indignation, that the Isles being anciently parcell of the crowne, should be thus alienated from the same, sent orators vnto Edgar (who was, as ye haue heard, the fourth sonne of king Malcolm) desiring him most instantlie to come into Scotland, to recover his fathers heritage and crowne of Scotland out of the vsurpers hands.

Edgar taking deliberate aduise touching this request, first sent ambassadours vnto Donald, promising that if he would be contented to restore vnto him the crowne, being due to him by lawfull succession, he would gladly reward him with great lordships and revenues in Louthian: but Donald was so farre from minding to do him reason in this behalfe, that causing them which brought this message to be put in prison, he finallye sue them. Then Edgar by counsell of his vnckle Edgar Etheling, purchasing an aid of men at the hands of king William Rufus, set forward towards Scotland. At his coming to Durham, he was admonished by a vision in his sleepe, that if he took with him the banner of saint Cutbert, he should haue victorie. On the morrow after, he came into the abbey church, where first hearing diuine seruice, when the same was ended, he displayed the foresaid banner, and caused it to be borne before him in that iournie. Neuertheles king Donald met him with a mightie armie, and after long fight, was chased into the Isles, where he was taken and brought vnto Edgar. Some say that when the battells were readie to haue ioined, his men beholding the banner of saint Cutbert spied against them, immediatlie forsooke him, so that he being destitute of succour, fled, in purpose to haue saved himselfe in some one of the western Isles: but being apprehended by the inhabitants, was brought (as is said) vnto Edgar, by whom he was (howsoever the hap of his taking chanced) cast immediatlie into prison, wherein he shortly after died. The victorie thus atchieued, Edgar went vnto Edinburgh, and from thence vnto Dunfermeling to visit the sepulchres of his mother and brethren.

Afterwards comming to the abbete of Scone, and assembling the lords of the realme, he received the crowne, and shortly after was annointed by the archbishop of saint Andrews named Godrike, in the yere of our redemption 1101. For his mother queene Margaret purchased a little before hir death of Urbane the pope, that from henceforth all the kings of Scotland should be annointed. This priuiledge was confirmed afterwards by pope John the second of that name. The first king that was annointed according to that grant, was this Edgar, in the yere aforesaid. About two yeres before this Edgar recovered thus the crowne of Scotland, was that generall passage made into the holie land vnder Godfrie of Bullongne, and other christian princes.

Amongst them, as one of the chiefe, Robert duke of Bozmandie went, and should haue bene created king of Ierusalem, had he not at the same time heard how his brother William Rufus the king of England was slaine by chance, through glancing of an arrow shot at a dere in the new forest; and then hoping to succed him in the kingdom of England, he preferred that honor to the other, wherein he saw to be more trauell than gaine. But at his coming home, he found that his yongest brother Henrie surnamed Beauclerke, was placed in the kingdom of England, and so was duke Robert his hope frustrate of both the kingdomes, and that worthilie (as most men thought) for that he refused to receive a dignitie, wherein he might haue serued the com-

mon cause of the christian common-wealth. Vnto Henrie Beauclerke in the second yere of his reigne king Edgar married one of his sisters called Maule. The other named Marie he coupled with Eustace earle of Bullongne: in which marriage was borne a daughter that was the onelie heire of the same Eustace in the countie of Bullongne, the which when she came to womans state, was married vnto Stephan earle of March in England, and of Poiteigne in France, nephew to Henrie Beauclerke by his sister. The king of England Henrie, had issue by queene Maule, two sonnes and two daughters, William and Richard, Eustace and Maule.

But now to returne to king Edgar, to the some token of thanks towards saint Cutbert for his aid shewed, as was thought, in the battell against his vnckle Donald, he gaue vnto the monks of Durham the lands of Colbingham: and to the bishop of Durham called Cananph; he gaue the towne of Berwick. But for that the same bishop wrought afterwards treason against him, he lost that gift, and the king resumed that towne into his hands againe. I do not find that Edgar had any warres anye waie forth during all the time of his reigne, a prince rather reuerenced than feared amongst his subjects for his singular equitie and upright dealing. He departed out of this life at Dundee, in the 9 yere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Saviour 1107.

After the deceasse of this Edgar, succeeded his brother Alexander the fierce, so called for his rigorous valiancie in pursuing of theues and robbers. In the beginning of his reigne, the inhabitants of Murray land and Rosse, beholding him to be most an end in the church at his prayers, and diuine seruice, after the manner of his parents, supposed he would proue no great quickie sufficient in punishing offenders, and thereupon most presumptuously they began to rob and reave on ech side, not sparing to kill and slea all such as came in their hands, without respect to age or sex; insomuch that the yong infants smiling vpon the murderers, being about to execute their detestable crueltie, passed by the sword as well as the resisters: such rooted malice remained in their beaklie harts, which vpon renewing their old grudges they now accordingly shewed. King Alexander therefore aduertised hereof, came into those parts with a competent armie, and apprehending the chiefe authours and capteins, strooke off their heads. As he returned backe through Bernes, there came a woman vnto him weeping in most lamentable sort, who fell vpon his knees at his feet, beseeching him to pittie hir case, hauing lost both hir husband and sonne, by the tyrannous crueltie of the master of Bernes, who for that they had called him before a iudge in an action of debt, had slaine and murdered as well the one as the other. The king moued with this detestable kind of iniurie, lighted from his horse, and would not mount vp againe, till he had seene the author of that heinous trespass hanged vpon a gibbet. After his comming into Cotmarie, he took in hand to finish and make vp the castell of Baledgar, the foundation whereof his brother Edgar had begun, that it might be an aid to chastise a sort of theues and robbers which haunted the woods thereabout, to the great disquietnes of all the countrie. He gaue also to the maintenance of that house certeine lands, which the earle of Cotmarie had given him at the font stone, when he became his godfather.

Whilest he was thus buile about the furtherance of that worke, diuerse of those theues that were accustomed to liue by robberies in those parts, perceiving that this castell, which the king was about to build, should turne vnto their destruction, they conspired his death, and winning by rewards and promises

Maule kind  
Edgars sister.

Eustace earle  
of Bullongne.

The lands of  
Colbingham.  
Cananph bi-  
shop of Dur-  
ham.

Edgar rather  
reuerenced  
than feared.  
1107. 10. Ma.  
1109. H.B.

Alexander.

Theues of  
Murray land  
and Rosse.

The crueltie  
of theues.

Execution.

The earle of  
Bernes son.

A righteous  
iusticer.

The castell of  
Baledgar.

Treason of  
conspirators  
to haue slaine  
the king.

mises the helpe of the kings chamberlaine to the accomplishing of their traitorous and most diuelish practises, they entered one night through a priuite into his lodging, in purpose to haue slaine him as he slept in his bedchamber: but he by Gods prouidence hauing knowledge of their comming, started out of his bed, and caught a sword which hang nere at hand, wherewith he slue first his chamberlaine that had brought them in, and then dispatched six of the other traitors (which were already entered his chamber) with singular force and manhood: the other fearing least with the noise, his seruants that lodged within the house should haue bene raised, and so haue halsted to assaile them on the backs, fled in all haste possible. Neuertheless, such pursute was made after them, that manie of them were apprehended, & vpon their examination, being brought before the king, they declared plainlie how they were incouraged to doo the treason which they had gone about, by sundrie great barons and gentlemen of the countrie. Finally, the matter was so handled with them, that they disclosed the names of those that had thus procured them to the treason. Wherevpon the king gathering an armie, he marched forth to pursue them, but before he came vnto the water of Spais, the conspirators had gotten together their power, & were lodged on the further side of the same water, to stop him from passing ouer.

The king seeing them thus assembled to impeach his passage, sent his banner-man sir Alexander Carron with a chosen part of his armie to passe the water, and to fight with his enemies, where, by the hardie onset of the said sir Alexander, they were quickly put to flight, and manie of them that were taken in the chase suffered death, according as they had well deserved. The realme after this execution done on these offenders, continued manie yeeres after in good tranquillitie. This Alexander Carron also for that he was sene in the kings fight that day to fight most manfullie, in slaing diuerse of the rebels with a crooked sword which he had in his hand (of which sort manie were vied in those daies) he was highlie rewarded at the kings hands, & euer after named Skrimgeour, that is to say, An hardie fighter. He had also his armes increased with a rampant lion holding a crooked sword, as is to be sene in the armes of his posteritie vnto this day. & Other there be that say he got the surname of Skrimgeour, because he slue an Englishman in a singular combat. The principall of this surname in our time held the constablership of Dundee, bearing in his armes a crooked sword in fashion of an hoke.

After that king Alexander had appeased the intestine commotions thus within his realme, he set in hand to repare the abbey of Scone, wherein he placed regular canons, dedicating the church in the honor of the Trinitie, and saint Michaele. Not long after this also, he chanced to come into saint Colmes Inch, where he was constrained to abide three daies together through violent rage of weather and tempests: and because he found some reliefe of meate & drinke, by meanes of an heremit that dwelt within the same Inch, and kept a chappell there dedicated to saint Colme, he made of that chappell an abbey of regular canons, in the honor of saint Colme, endowing it with sundrie lands and rents for the maintenance of the abbat and conuent of that house. He also gaue to the church of saint Andrewes, the lands called the Boarrinke, so named, for that a great boze was slaine vpon the said ground, that had done much hurt in the countrie thereabout. The tusks of this boze doe hang in chaines vpon the skales of the quier in saint Andrewes church afore the high altar, and are 16 inches in length, & foure inches in thicke-

ness. Moreouer, the abbey of Dunfermling was finished by king Alexander, and endowed with kindie lands and possessions.

Whilest king Alexander was thus occupied in building and repairing of religious houses, his brother David liued in England with his sister queene Maule, & through fauour which the king his husband bare towards him, he obtained in marriage one Maule, daughter vnto Maudolins, or rather Maudolus earle of Huntington and Northumberland, begot of his wife the ladie Judith that was nere vnto king William the Conqueror. And for that the said Maudolins or Maudolus had no other issue to inherit his lands, David in right of his wife Maule inherited the same, and was made earle of Huntington and Northumberland, and had issue by his wife a son named Henrie, by whome the lands of Huntington, and some part of Northumberland were annexed vnto the crowne of Scotland, as after shall appeere. Maule the daughter of king Henrie Beaucherce, was married vnto Henrie the emperor, the fourth of that name. William, Richard, and Eufeme, the residue of the issue which the same Henrie Beaucherce had by his wife (surnamed for his singular bounty, oulnesse, the good queene Maule) in comming forth of France to repaile into England, perished in the sea by a tempest, to the great dolour of the king their father, and to all other his subiects of each estate and degree. Their mother the said Maule was before that time departed out of this life. It was not long after, but that Alexander deceased also, and was buried in Dunfermling besides his fathers sepulture, in the 17 yeere of his reigne complet, and from the incarnation of Christ 1125 yeeres.

In the daies of this king Alexander, the kindred of the Cummings had their beginning, by one John Cumming, a man of great prouesse and valiance, obtaining of the king in respect thereof, certaine small portions of lands in Scotland. The house of these Cummings rose in procelle of time thus from a small beginning to high honor and puissance, by reason of the great possessions & ample revenues which they afterwards attained. At length (as often hath bene) the importable height of this linage was the onelie cause of the decaye and finall ruine thereof, as in the sequele of this historie ye may at full perceine. Also in the daies of king Alexander, the order of knights of the Rhodes had their beginning, and likewise the order of White monks, the author whereof was one Rodobert. About the same time liued that holie man Richard de sancto Victore, a Scottishman bozne, but dwelled for the more part of his time at Paris in France, where he died, & was buried within the cloister of the abbey of saint Victor, being a brother of the same house.

But now to proceed with the historie. After the deceasse of Alexander the fierce and first of that name, his brother David came vnto Scone, and there received the crowne, as lawfull heire to his brother, for that he left no heire behind him. This David, according to the example of his noble parents, set his whole care about the due ministering of iustice, to the honor of almightie God, and the weale of his realme. He had no trouble by warres with anie forraigne enemies, so long as king Henrie Beaucherce liued. Wherefore hauing opportunitie of such a quiet time, he rode about all the parts of his realme, and vied to sit in hearing of iudgement himselfe, speciallie concerning poore mens causes and matters: but the controuersies of the lords and barons he referred to the hearing of other iudges. If he understood that anie man were indamaged by anie wrongfull iudgement, he recompensed the parties wronged, according to the value of his losse and hinder-

The abbey of Dunfermling

David was there to king Alexander

Maudolus earle of Huntington and Northumberland

The lands of Huntington and Northumberland were annexed to the crowne of Scotland

four bishops were created in Scotland

The death of king Alexander

1124. H. The beginning of the Cummings

Knights of the Rhodes

Richard de sancto Victore

David, the church, and the crowne were consecrated. The fauour of king James

Maule, 1000 pounds

superiorities of churches

The care of king David for the poore

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The kings  
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The water of  
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Sir Alexander  
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The rebels  
are vanquish-  
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Skrimgeour.

The abbey of  
Scone.

Saint Col-  
mes Inch.

The abbey of  
saint Colmes  
Inch builded.

Lands be-  
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Boze tusks.



King David  
inuaeth  
Northumber-  
land.  
King Ste-  
phan passeth  
vnto Rox-  
burgh.

much as this covenant was not performed on king Stephens side, king David invaded that part of the countrie which the Englishmen held, making great slaughter of all them that he found there about to resist him. King Stephan moved herewith leuied his people, and came in puissant araine vnto Roxburgh; but for that he had secret knowledge that some of the nobles in his armie sought his destruction, he was constrained to returne without atching of anie worthie enterprize.

The yeare next ensuing, a peace was talked by on, the archbishops of Canturburie and Poike appointed commissioners in the treatie thereof on the behalfe of king Stephan, and the bishops of Glascolw, Aberdeen, and saint Andrews on the part of king David. But Pauline quene of England, the daughter of Eustace earle of Bullongne, and nece to king David by his sister Marie, was the chiefeest dower in this matter, to bring them to agreement. The one of the kings, that is to say Stephan, late at Duresme with his nobles; and the other, that is to say David, lay at Newcastle, during all the time of this treatie, which at length sorted to the conclusion of a peace, on these conditions: that the countie of Northumberland and Huntington should remaine in the gouernement of Henrie prince of Scotland, as heire to the same by right of his mother; but Cumberland should be reputed as the inheritance and right of his father king David. And for these lands and feignories the forenamed prince Henrie & his successors, princes of Scotland, should do homage vnto king Stephan and his successors kings of England, for the time being.

A peace.

Covenants of  
agreement.

Homage.

King Stephan  
returneth.  
Carleill was  
repaired by  
William Rufus  
king of  
England, about  
the yeare  
of our Lord,  
1092.

The death of  
Henrie prince  
of Scotland.  
1152.

Prince Henrie  
his issue.

The lawes  
of nature.

Inozation.

The peace thus ratified betwixt the two kings and their subjects, King Stephan returned into Kent, and king David repaired into Cumberland, where he fortified the towne of Carleill with new walles and ditches. Thus passed the first three yeares of king Stephens reigne. In the fourth yeare came Pauline the emperesse into England to claime the crowne thereof (as in the English historie more plainlie may appeare.) But whilest England was sore troubled with warres by contrarie factions of the nobles for the quarrels of these two persons, no small sorow hapned to Scotland for the death of Henrie the prince of that land, and onelie sonne vnto king David, who died at Belfo, and was buried in the abbete church there, in the yeare of our redemption, 1152. His death was greatlie bemoaned of all of his father the king, as of all other the estates and degrees of the realme, for such singular vertue and noble conditions as appeared in him. But yet, for that he left issue behind him three sonnes and three daughters (as before is mentioned) the realme was not thought unprouided of heires.

The king also being mortified from the world, toke the death of his sonne verie patientlie, considering that all men are subiect vnto death by the law of nature, and are sure no longer to remaine here, than their day appointed by the eternall determination of him that giueth and taketh away life & breath when it pleaseth him, as by daily experience is most manifest. Therefore that king David weied the losse of his sonne in such balance, it may appeare by an oration which he made to his nobles, at what time (after his sonnes deceasse) they came to comfort him. For he perceiuing them to be right heartie and sorowfull for the losse which he and they had sustained by the death of so towardlie a prince, that was to haue succeeded him, if God had lent him life thereto; in the end of a roiall feast, the which he made vnto those nobles that came thus to visit him, he began in this wise.

How great your adelltie and care is, which you

beare towards me, although oftentimes heretofore I haue proued it, yet this present day I haue receiued most ample fruit thereof: for now do I plainlie see, that you lament no lesse for the losse of my late deceased sonne, than if you had buried some one of your owne sonnes, and are therefore come to your great trauell and paine to comfort me, whome you esteeme to be sore afflicted for the ouer-timelie death of my said most obedient sonne. But to let passe for

10 this time due paying of thanks to you for the same, till occasion and leasure may better serue thereto; this now may suffice, that I acknowledge my selfe to be so much beholden to you, that whatsoeuer thing I haue in the world, the same is ready to do you pleasure. But concerning the cause of your coming hither, in shewing your courtesies therein, you shall vnderstand, that my parents, whom I trust to be in heauen, and (as saints) inioy the fruits of their vertuous trauels here taken on earth, did so instruct me from my tender yowth, that I should worship with all reuerence the most wise creator and prudent gouernoer of all things; and to thinke that nothing was done by him in vaine, but that the same is prouided and ordeined to some good vse by his high and vnsearchable counsell. And therefore whilest day and night I haue and do reuolue and call to remembrance the precepts and instructions of my parents, whatsoeuer hath chanced either touching aduersitie or prosperitie, good hap or bad, the same hath seemed to me (at the first) receiuing all things with equall and thankfull mind, and interpreting them to the best,

30 farre more light than they commonlie seeme to others; and lesse they did disquiet me: so as with vse I haue learned at length, not onelie patientlie to beare all aduersities that may happen, but also to reuelie the same as things pleasant and euen to be desired. And verelie my hap hath bene to be greatlie exercised in this behalfe, for I haue first sene my father, more deere to me than anie earthlie treasure; and no lesse profitablie than greatlie desired of all the people: and yet neither the lone of the people, nor of his kinsmen and friends might warrant him from this fatall necessitie of death. I haue known my mother right famous in the world for hir singular vertue to passe hence in like manner. My brethren that were following, and againe so greatlie beloued of me; also my wife whome I esteemed about all other creatures, are they not gone the same way, and compelled to beare deaths hard ordinance? So be

50 relie standeth the case, that no man might yet at a nie time avoid the violence of his force when he cometh, for we all alike owe this life vnto him, as a due debt that must needs be paid. But this is to be receiued with a thankfull mind, in that the bountifull benenolence of our God hath granted that we shall be all immortal, if we our selues through vice, & as it were spotted with filthie diseases of the mind, do not fall into the danger of eternall death. Wherefore of right (me thinke) I haue cause to reioice, that God by his singular fauour hath granted to me such a sonne, which in all mens iudgements was worthy to be beloued whilest he was here amongst vs, and to be wished for now, after he is departed from hence. But ought we to take it heauilie, that he to whome he beloued, and who had lent him vnto vs, should call for him againe, and take him that was his owne? For what iniurie is it, if (when I see occasion) I shall aske that againe, which you haue possessed through my benefit as lent to you for a time? Neither do I trust to want him long, if God shall be so mercifull vnto me, as I wish him to be: for I hope shortly to be called hence by commandement of that most high king, and to be caried by to rest among that fellowship of beauenlie spirits, where I shall

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Earle of Northumberland.

Henrie the  
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some recei-  
ued the order  
of knighthood.

Death came  
by dispend  
sailly.

The exhorta-  
tion of king  
David to his  
nobles.

King David  
departeth out  
of this life.

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shall find my father and mother, my brethren, wife, and sonne in far better estate than here I like them. Therefore that I may repeat it once againe, I reioice (I say) to haue obtained in my familie by the grace of the supernall God, that I am assured by faith, he is already in that place to the which all we doe earnestlie wish that we may attaine; and doe endeavour by all means, that when the time cometh in which our soules are to be loosed forth of these fraile bodies of ours, as out of prisons, they may be found worthy of that companie, in which our confidence is that he now most blissefullie is remaining. Except anie man may thinke that we are so envious, that therefore we do lament, because as yet we sticke fast overwhelmed and drowned in such filthy miers, and cumbered in such thorne thickets and bushes, out of the which he (being now delivered of all cares) hath escaped. But let vs rather by following the footsteps of him and other vertuous persons that are gone afore vs, labor both day and night, that at length (through heauenlie fauour) we may come to the place where we do reckon that by diuine power he is already arrived.

After that the king had made an end of his oration, and thanks giuen to God for his bountifull magnificence, they rose from the table, and departed to their lodgings, they all greatly maruelling at the kings high prudence and godlie wisdom. Then was Malcolme, the eldest sonne of the before mentioned prince Henrie, proclaimed in his place prince of Scotland, and conueied through the most parts of the realme by Duncane earle of Fife, and other of the nobles appointed to attend vpon and to receive the othes of all the barons for their allegiance in his name. William the second sonne of prince Henrie was conueied into Northumberland by the foresaid nobles, and there proclaimed and created earle of that countrie. Then went king David himselfe vnto Carleill, where he met with Henrie the sonne of the emperesse, who receiued the order of knightthod there at his hands. This was a little before that the same Henrie came to an agreement with king Stephan, whereby he was admitted to the possession of halfe the realme of England, and promised by oth of assurance (as the Scottish writers say) that he should neuer go about to take the countries of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntingdon from the crowne of Scotland.

Shortly after was king David taken with a sore disease and maladie, which continued with him to the end of his life. And so when he perceived himselfe to war faint and feeble, he required to be bozne in to the church, where he receiued the sacrament of the Lords bodie and bloud, with most solemn reuerence: and then being brought againe to his chamber, he called together his nobles, and commending to them his young nephues, the sons of his son the forenamed prince Henrie, he kissed ech one of them after another, most instantlie desiring them in the honor of almighty God, to seeke the preservation of common quiet, to the advancement of the publike weale. This done, he departed out of this life in the 29 yeare of his reigne, or rather in the 30 yeare, if he reigned 29 and two moneths, as Iohn Maior saith. His bodie was buried in Dunfermling, after the incarnation of Christ our Saviour 1153 yeares.

How farre this prince king David excelled in noble vertues and sober conuersation of life, I haue thought it better to passe ouer with silence, than to go about in few words to comprehend that, wherein if I should spend much time, I were not able in anie wise worthilie to performe. For where in such cases few things are slenderlie shewed, the residue may seeme to be omitted through fault of the writer.

But yet this is not to be forgotten, that where his singular pitifull regaer, which he had toward the residue of the poore, pained all other his notable vertues, he purged his court also in such wise of all vicious rule and misordered customs, that his whole familie was giuen onlie to the exercise of vertue. No riotous banquet, nor surfeiting there was: hee amongst them, no lasciuious words heard come forth of anie mans mouth, nor yet anie wastfull signes shewed to prouoke sensuall lust or carnall concupiscence. All the words, works, and whole demeanour of his seruants tended to some conclusion: nothing moued to stire strife or sedition, but all things ordered in such friendlie and peaceable sort, that the chaine of brotherly love seemed to haue linked them all in one mind and will. Such a rule was their master king David vnto them and all other, to direct and frame a perfect and godlie life after.

King David being dead & buried (as is before said) Malcolme nephew to him by his first Henrie succeeded in the estate. He was but 13 yeeres of age, when he began his reigne; but yet his modestie and pertuous conditions were such, that all men conceived a good hope that he would proue a right noble and worthy prince. He was nourished and brought vp in such vertue, euen from his infancie, that delighting in chaste conuersation and cleannesse of bodie and mind, he liued single all the daies of his life, and without marriage: therefore he was surnamed Malcolme the maid. About the time of his entering into the possession of the crowne, there was a great dearth through all the bounds of Scotland. And some after followed a sore death both amongst men and beasts, though it was not perceived that the disease wherof they died was anie thing contagious.

Hereof did one Somerleith the thane of Argyle take occasion to attempt an higher enterprize than stood with the baseness of his linage and estate: for considering that the one halfe of the realme was consumed by mortalitie, and the other halfe nere hand famished through lacke of food, he thought it an easie matter for him, now whilst the king was vnder yeeres of ripe discretion, to blurpe the gouernance of the realme into his owne hands, and so assembling together an huge compaignie of such as in hope of preie lightlie consented to his opinion, he came forwards, to make as it were a full conquest, stealing and spoiling all such in his way as went about to resist him. But his presumptuous enterprize was shortly repressed: for Gilchrist earle of Angus lieutenant of the kings armie, raised to resist Somerleiths attempts, incountred with him in battell, & slue 2000 of his men. Somerleith hauing receiued this ouerthrow, and escaping from the field, fled into Ireland, and so saued his life.

Henrie the second of that name king of England, hearing that Malcolme had thus subdued his domesticall enemies, feared least he being imboldened therewith, should now attempt somewhat against the Englishmen; and therefore by counsell of his nobles, he sent an herald vnto king Malcolme, commanding him to come vp to London, there to do his homage vnto him, for the lands of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntingdon, in manner and forme as his grandfather king David had before done vnto his predecesdor Henrie the first, with certificat, that if he failed, he would take from him all the said lands. King Malcolme obeyed this commandement of king Henrie: but yet vnder condition (as the Scottish writers affirme) that it should in no manner wise preiudice the franchises and liberties of the Scottish kingdome. At the same time king Henrie had warres against Lewes the first, king of France,

This singular pietie toward the poore.

King Davids court.

King Davids seruants.

King Davids example, a rule of godlike life.

Malcolme

The education of king Malcolme.

A dearth.

A death not contagious.

Somerleith thane of Argyle goeth about to make himselfe king.

Somerleiths crueltie.

Gilchrist sent with an armie against Somerleith.

Malcolme summoned to do homage.

Malcolme goeth with king Henrie into France.

France, and so passing ouer into that realme, com-  
stained king Malcolme to go with him in that for-  
nie against his will, notwithstanding that he had a  
safe conduct fraile to come and go. In this volage  
king Henrie did much hurt to the Frenchmen, and  
at length besieged the citie of Tholouse.

Tholouse be-  
sieged.  
King Henries  
meaning.

In all which enterprises he had Malcolme present  
with him, to the end that Malcolme might incurre  
such hatred and displeasure of the Frenchmen, that  
therby the bond betwixt them and the Scots might  
finallie be dissolved. But in the end king Henrie ha-  
uving lost diuers of his noble men by sicknesse, re-  
turned into England, and then licenced king Mal-  
colme to returne home into Scotland; who at his  
comming home, sent the bishop of Durey, and one  
of his secretaries vnto the see of Rome, as ambassa-  
dors vnto the pope, which as then hight Eugenius  
the third of that name, to recognise the obedience  
which he ought to the Romane see. Shortly after al-  
so, there was a parlement holden at Scone, where  
king Malcolme was soze rebuked by his lords, in  
that he had borne through his owne follie, armes a-  
gainst the Frenchmen their old confederate friends  
and ancient allies: but king Malcolme excused the  
matter with humble words, saying he came un-  
warlike into king Henries hands, and therefore  
might not chose but accomplish his will and plea-  
sure at that time; so that he supposed verelie the  
French king would take no great displeasure with  
his doings, when he once vnderstood the truth of the  
matter.

Ambassadors  
sent to Rome.

Parlement  
at Scone.  
King Malcolme  
reprimed by  
his nobles.  
King Malcolme  
excuse.

King Henrie hauing perfect vnderstanding of  
this grudge betwixt the Scottish lords and their king,  
thought to renew the same with more displeasure,  
and thereupon sent for king Malcolme to come vnto  
York, to a parlement which he held there, where  
at his comming he was burdened with a right grie-  
uous complaint surmized against him by king Hen-  
rie, for that he should reueale vnto the Frenchmen  
all the secrets of the English armie, when he was  
with him in France, at the aboue remembred iour-  
nie, alleging the same to be sufficient matter, for  
the which he ought to forfeit all the lands which he  
held of the crowne of England, as Cumberland,  
Northumberland, and Huntingdon. And though  
king Malcolme by manie substantiall reasons de-  
clared those allegations to be untrue and vnjustlie  
forged, yet by king Henries earnest enforcing of the  
matter, sentence was giuen against him, by the ge-  
nerall consent of all the estates for: the parlement  
assembled. And moreover, to bring king Mal-  
colme in further displeasure with the nobles, king  
Henrie gaue notice vnto them, before king Mal-  
colme returned backe into his countrie, how he had  
of his owne accord renounced all his claime, right,  
title, and interest, which he had to the foresaid lands,  
supposing by this means to make king Malcolme  
farre more odious to all his lieges and subiects, than  
euer he was before.

King Malcolme  
goeth to York

Fond dealing  
and not likelie  
to be true.

Sentence gi-  
uen against King  
Malcolme  
at York.

King Malcolme  
is besieged.

Malcolme therefore, vpon his returne into his  
countrie, not vnderstanding anie thing of that sub-  
till contriued policie and slanderous report, was  
besieged within the castell of Bertha by the thane of  
Ernedale, and diuerse others. But after it was  
knowne vnto king Malcolme had bene bled,  
and most vntrulie slandered, they desired pardon of  
their offense, as induced thereto by untrue reports,  
which once being granted, they brake by their siege,  
and euer after continued in faithfull allegiance like  
true and most obedient subiects. But king Mal-  
colme soze moued for that he was thus insuriously  
handed by king Henrie, first desiring restitution to  
be made of all such things as had bene wrongfullie  
taken from him, and so detained by the Englishmen,

Open warres  
proclaimed  
against the  
Englishmen.

proclaimed open warres against them. At length, af-  
ter sundrie harmes done, as well on the one part as  
the other, they came to a communication in a cer-  
taine appointed place, not far from Carleill, where  
(to be brieue) it was finallie concluded, that King Mal-  
colme should receiue againe Cumberland and Hun-  
tington; but for Northumberland, he should make a  
plaine release thereof vnto king Henrie, and to his  
successors for euer.

A conclusion  
of agreement

For the which agreement he ran so farre into the  
battered of his people, that he might neuer after find  
means to win their fauor againe; but doubting least  
if they should stirre anie rebellion against him, they  
might become an easie prey vnto the Englishmen,  
they remained quiet for a time. Whobest shortly af-  
ter, there arose another pece of trouble, though lesse  
in outward apperance, by reason of the small power  
remaining in the author, yet dangerous enough,  
considering it was within the realme it selfe. One  
Angus as then the thane of Galloway, perceiving  
he might not by secret practise attaine his purposed  
intent (what soeuer the same was) determined by a  
open force to assaile what luckie successe fortune would  
send him; hoping that those which through feare late  
as yet still, would assist him in all his attempts, so  
long as they saw anie commotion raised by him to  
occasion them thereto. Whereupon he assembled to-  
gether a great companie: but before he could worke  
anite notable feat, to make anite account of, Gilcriff  
earle of Angus (whose faithfull valiance was before  
manifestlie approued in the suppression of Somers-  
leids rebellion) discomfited his power, in these sun-  
drie bickerings, chased Angus himselfe into Whit-  
terne, where is a place of sanctuarie privileged for  
the safegard of all offenders that flee thereto for suc-  
cor in the honor of saint Martin.

King Malcolme  
hates of his  
people.

Fear of war-  
ward crimes  
causeth quiet-  
nesse at home.

Angus the  
thane of Galloway  
raised a commotion  
vpon which earle  
Gilcriff made not  
mention.

Angus be-  
comfited by  
Gilcriff.

Whiterne a  
place of sanctuarie.

Angus be-  
sieged in Whit-  
terne.

Angus pre-  
sented himselfe  
to the king.

Angus be-  
came a ca-  
non.

A rebellion  
moued by the  
Englishmen.

Gildas captain  
of the rebels.

The crueltie  
of the rebels.

Angus be-  
comfited by  
the Englishmen.

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Shomerleid  
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the like, he commanded that none of those of Murray land should be saved (women, children, and aged persons onelie excepted) but that all the residue of that generation should passe by the edge of the sword. Thus the Murray land men being destroyed according to his commandement thorough all parts of the realme, he appointed other people to inhabit their romes, that the countrie should not lie wast without habitation.

In this meane time, Somerleith the thane of Ar-gile, who (as ye haue heard) was fled ouer into Ire-land, vpon trust of the hatred into the which Mal-colme was run, with the most part of all his nobles and commons, through this slaughter of his people, and namelie of them of Murray land, he thought to assaie fortunes chance once againe, and so therevpon returned with certeine Bernes and naked men into Scotland. But this last enterprise of his came to a more vnluckie end than the first, for being vanquished in battell at Kenfrow, he lost the most part of all his men, and was taken prisoner himselfe, and after hanged on a gibbet, by commandement of the king, according to that he had inklie merited. Mal-colme hauing thus subdued his aduerfaries, and being now in rest and quiet, he set his mind wholie to gouerne his realme in vpright iustice, and hauing two sisters marriable, he coupled the elder named Margaret with Conon duke of Britaine, and the younger called Adhama he married with Florens earle of Holland.

After this, there was a councell holden at Scone of all the Scottish nobilitie, where when they were assembled togither in the councell-chamber, Arnold archbishop of saint Andrewes stood vp, and by a verie pithie oration, toke vpon him to aduise the king to change his purpose touching his vow, which (as appeared) he had made to lue chast. He declared vnto him by manie weightie reasons, that it was not onlie necessarie for him and his realme, that he should take a wife (by whome he might raise vp seed to succeed him in the possession of the crowne) but also that he might not chose a more perfect state of life (considering the office wherein he was placed) than matrimonie, being instituted, not by this law-maker or that, but by God himselfe, who in no one of all his ordinances might erre or be deceived. Againe for pleasure, he affirmed how nothing could be more desirable to him, than to haue a womanly ladie to his bedfellow, with whome he might conferre all the conceits of his hart, both of grieve and gladnesse, the being a comfort vnto him as well in weale as in woo, an helpe both in sicknesse & health, redie to assuage anger, and to aduance mirth, also to refresh the spirits being wearied or in anie wise faint through studious tranell and care of mind.

When thewed he that an aid children were vnto their parents, namelie to kings, how in peace they might gouerne vnder them, to the great commoditie of the common-wealth, and in warre supplie their romes as lieutenants in defense of their countries, to the no small terror of the enemies. Wherefore sith men are not borne onelie for their owne weale, but also for the profit of their friends, and commoditie of their countrie; it could not be chosen, but that he ought to persuade with himselfe to alter his purposed intention, concerning the obseruance of chastitie, and to take a wife to the great ioy and comfort of his subjects, sith it was commendable both before God and man, and so necessarie withall and profitable, as nothing might be more. But these and manie other most weightie reasons could nothing moue his constant mind, hauing even from his tender yeeres affianced his virginie vnto Christ, trusting that God would so prouide, that the realme should not be destitute of conuenient heires, when the time came that it should please his diuine maiestie to take him hence to his mercie from amongst his subjects. Thus brake vp that councell without anie effect of the purpose for the which it was called.

Shortlie after it chanced that king Malcolme fell sick, continuing so a long time, by reason whereof he sought meanes to conclude a peace with Henrie king of England; which being brought to passe, he set workemen in hand to laie the foundation of saint Andrewes abbey, which afterwards bare the name of saint Andrewes. When he had finished this house, being a goodlie peece of worke, and verie coslie, as may appere at this day by the view thereof, he assigned forth certeine rents for the sustentation of the canons, whome he placed there of the order of saint Augustine, not so largelie as serued for the maintenance of superfluous chere, but yet sufficient for their necessarie finding: by reason whereof, the canons of that abbey liued in those daies in most feruent deuotion, hauing no prouocations at all to inordinate lusts and sensuall pleasures; but onelie giuen to diuine contemplation, without respect to auarice, or enlarging the possessions and reuenues of their house. He founded also the abbey of Couper of the Cisterciens order, and indowed it with manie faire lands and wealthie possessions. Finallie, being veyed with long infirmite, he departed out of this life at Jedburgh the 12 yeere of his reigne. A certeine comet or blasing starre appeared 14 daies togither before his death, with long beames verie terrible to behold. His bodie was buried at Dunfermling, after the incarnation 1185 yeeres. In the daies of this Malcolme, Roger archbishop of York, constituted the popes legat, could not be suffered to enter into Scotland, because he was a man highlie defamed for his couetous practising to enrich himselfe by vnlawfull meanes.

After Malcolme succeeded his brother William, surnamed for his singular iustice, the Lion. Shortlie after his coronation, he sent ambassadores vnto Henrie king of England, requiring him, that according to iustice, he would restore vnto him the earldome of Northumberland, sith it appertained by god and lawfull interest vnto his inheritance. King Henrie answered the messengers, that if king William would come vnto London, and there do his homage for Cumberland and Huntingdon, he should be assured to haue all things so ordered, as he reasonable could wish or demand. Herevpon king William went into England, and so came to London, and after he had done his homage for Cumberland and Huntingdon, he requited the restitution of Northumberland. But king Henrie made answer as then, that forsomuch as the same was annexed to the crowne, he might not without the assent of all the estates of his realme make restitution thereof. Notwithstanding, in the next parlement, he promised to cause the matter to be proponed: and if it came to passe that his demand were found to stand with reason, he would do therein according to conscience, when time expedient should serue thereto.

About the same season, king Henrie passed ouer into Normandie with an armie, and caused king William, with manie other nobles of Scotland, to go with him in that iourne. For as William would not disobey his commandement at that present, in hope to attaine in quiet and peaceable manner his sute touching the restitution of Northumberland (as the Scottish writers do affirme) but in the end, after he had continued a long time with king Henrie, and perceived no comfort to recover his lands, he got licence with much adoe to returne home: and so coming backe into England, passed through the realme with

A peace concluded with England. The Abbeie of saint Andrewes builded.

Superfluous rents of abbies, prouocations to inordinate lusts.

The abbey of Couper founded. The death of king Malcolme. A comet.

1185. Roger archbishop of York the popes legat.

William surnamed the Lion. Ambassadores sent to the king of England.

King William is required to do homage.

William request for the restitution of Northumberland. The answer of king Henrie.

King Henrie saileth into Normandie. King William with manie nobles of Scotland went with king Henrie ouer into France.

*Is. Williams  
scale of justice.*

*Scotland  
more indama-  
ged by dome-  
sticall theues  
than by fo-  
reigne enemies.*

*Ambassadors  
sent to king  
Henrie.*

*See more  
thereof in  
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*A portion of  
Northumber-  
land restored  
to the Scots.  
King William  
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King Henrie  
repenting him  
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the Scots  
seeketh new  
occasions of  
warre.  
warres with  
England.*

*King William  
inuaeth  
Cumberland.*

with his nobles into Scotland, where he applied his whole indour to vnderstand the state of the common-wealth of his subjects, and speciallie he toke order in most diligent wise, to punish cruelties done by theues and robbers, which vndoubtedly was one of the most profitable acts that he could deuise to accomplish at that present, considering the state of his realme, as it then stood. For if the damages & skathes committed by theues and robbers were equallie pondered with the hurts and hinderances which daily grow by open warre against anie foren nation, it may well appere, that more harme ariseth, & more heinous cruelties are exercised against the poore and miserable commons and innocent people, by such as liue by rapine & spoiling at home, than by anie outward enemies, be they neuer so fierce and strong in the field. And therefore the prudent consideration of this pynne was no lesse to be commended, in that he sought to reppesse the licentious outrage of such arrand theues and priuite murderers, than if he had slaine manie thousands of foren enemies.

When he had once censed the realme of those misgouerned persons, he sent ekesomes his ambassadors to king Henrie, requiting (as before) to haue Northumberland restored vnto him, with notice giuen, that if he might not haue it with fauour, he would at last to recouer it by force. King Henrie perceiuing that he must either satisfie king Williams request, either else haue open warres with the Scots, by aduise of his nobles, restored to king William so much of Northumberland as his grandfather Is. Malcolm had in possession. King William accepted the offer, but so, as he protested that he receiued not that part in full recompense of the whole which was due vnto him (so saie the Scottish writers) but so as his entier right might alwaies be saued as well to the residue as to that which was then restored. Within few yeeres after, king Henrie feeling what hinderance it was for him to forebeare the commodities of those lands, which were thus deliuered vp to the Scottish kings, repented him of that bargain: and therefore to find some occasion to recouer the same again, he procured his subjects that dwelled vpon the borders, to make forreies into the lands pertaining to the Scots, so to prouoke them to battell.

Complaint of these iniuries being brought vnto the warden of the Scottish borders, by such Scots as had lost such goods as were taken auaie by the Englishmen, he sent to demand restitution; but for so much as he could haue no towardlie answer, he got together a great number of men, the which entering into the English ground, did much hurt on each side where they came. At the same time was king Henrie in France, and therefore the Englishmen thought it sufficient to defend themselves as well as they might without attempting anie notable enterprise in reuenge of the displeasures done by the Scots. Haruest was also at hand, and thereupon they ceased on either part from further inuasions, till the winter season, which passed also without anie exploit achieved, worthie to be remembred; sauing certeine small rodes made by the Scots into the English borders, as they saw occasion to serue thereto.

But in the summer next following, king William raised a mightie armie, and came with the same into Cumberland, the right wing of the which armie was led by Gilschrist, whose approued valiantie often shewed in the time of king Malcolm, had advanced him to marie with the kings sister. The left wing was assigned vnto the conduct of one Rowland the kings cosen, who was also lieutenant of the horsemen. The middle ward of battell the king himselfe led. The Englishmen, to the intent they might haue time and leasure to assemble their power, sent vnto

king William, offering vnto him, not onlie large summes of monie, if he would returne backe with his armie without further inuasion, but also redress of all manner of iniuries and wrongs, if anie such on their behalfe were to be proued. But king William for answer hereunto declared, that he had not begun the warre for anie desire he had to monie; neither had he giuen the occasion, as one that was euer willing to liue vpon his owne: so that if they could be contented to restore Northumberland being his rightfull heritage, he was not so desirous of blood, but that he would glablie cease from all further attempts.

The Englishmen hauing receiued this answer, to the end they might protract the time in sending still to and fro, till they might espie some occasion to worke such feates as they had imagined, aduised forth other ambassadors vnto king William, with diuerse faire offers and golden promises. In the meane time, to take the Scottishmen at some aduantage, they conueie their whole power in the night season nere vnto the place where the same Scottishmen late in campe, & diuiding themselves into two parts, the one was appointed to abide in the fields, till the sunne were vp, and then to shew themselves to the enemies, to traine them forth to battell: the other companie was laid closelie in a ballie not farre off, to take the aduantage as they saw their time. In the morning about the rising of the sunne, those that were appointed to procure the skirmish, approached so nere to the enemies campe, till they came even with in sight of them. The Scots amazed with the strangenesse of the thing, for that they had not heard before of anie assemblie of the Englishmen, at the first were somewhat afraid: but anon encouraging one another, they bolliely issued forth vpon their enemies, who of purpose (at the first) made but weake resistance, and at length fled amaine, to the intent to cause the Scottishmen to breake their arraie of battell in pursuing them, which they did so egerlie, that they left their king but slenderlie garded with a small companie about him. Then the ambushment lieng in the ballie, brake forth vpon him, according to the order before appointed, and in the meane time, the other that fled cast themselves about, and manlie abode their enemies, so earnestlie laing it to their charge, that in fine they droue them backe, and constrained them to doe in good earnest, which they themselves had but onlie counterfeited to doe before.

King William perceiuing his people thus discomfited, and himselfe inclosed on each side amongst his enemies, after he had assaied to breake forth on some side from amongst them, when he saw his indour could by no meanes preuaile, and that the enemies made onlie at him, he yielded himselfe. There was not much blood spilled on either side at this bickering, for the one part in the beginning of the fraie (as ye haue heard) fleeing of set purpose to the place where their ambush late, escaped without much hurt; and the other, scared by the breaking forth of the ambush, abode the hunt but a small while, returning immediatlie towards the king; and then perceiuing they could do no good, they made the best shift they could each man for himselfe, to escape the enemies hands. The king being thus taken of his enemies, was conueied to king Henrie ouer into Normandy, where he was as then remaining. The yeere that king William was thus taken, was after the birth of our Saviour Christ 1174, and the ninth of king Williams reigne.

Other writers report the maner of his taking, not altogether agreable with that which we haue here aboue remembred, who declare how Is. William, after he had wasted all Cumberland, came into Northumber-

*The offers of  
the English-  
men.*

*The answer  
of king Wil-  
liam.*

*The English-  
men take by  
policy the  
Scotts.*

*The English-  
men reuind  
purpose.*

*The king  
but slenderly  
garded.*

*The Scots  
conferre  
the king.*

*King William  
yieldeth him-  
selfe prisoner.*

*King William  
conueied into  
Normandy.*

*1174*

*Discomfited  
Scotts.*

*For  
with  
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*Wilhelmus  
Parvus.*

*Captains of  
the English-  
men.*

*W. Parvus.*

*Gilschrist and  
Rowland re-  
sist the Eng-  
lishmen.*

*Northumber-  
land under the  
Englishmen.*

*Dead carle of  
Huntington.*

*The king of  
Scotland  
batter to the  
king of Eng-  
land for Scot-  
land.*

*Rog. Houed.  
Murb. West.*

The answer  
of king Wil-  
liam.

The English  
men like by  
policie to ban  
quish the  
Scots.

The English  
men retire of  
purpose.

The single  
but weakly  
garden.

The Scots  
constrained to  
fly.

King William  
prēdeth him-  
self prisoner.

King William  
converted into  
Norman.

1174

**Discord of  
Writers.**

Wilhelmus  
Parvus.

Captains of  
the English-  
men

W. PARILLAS.

Gidrist and  
Rowland re-  
sit the Eng-  
lishmen.

Northumber  
land under the  
Englishmen.

David Earle of  
Huntington.

The king of  
Scots death  
hathie to the  
king of Eng-  
land for; Scot  
land.  
Roy. Houed.  
Munh. West.

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The prelates  
of Scotland  
do fealtie to  
the king of  
England.  
The earles  
and lordes do  
homage vnto  
him.

King William  
ransomed.

Four castels  
delivered to  
the English-  
men in pledge.

1175.  
Gilbert of  
Galloway re-  
belleth.

he Gilbert of  
ed Galloway  
de banquished by  
se Gilchrist.

er Wilhelmus  
Parvus.

car' Hugh card-  
into nail of saint  
lish Angelo the  
sit ; pope's legat.



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The  
raile of  
Acon,  
Emengard,  
1186.

The  
peace  
confirmed  
with Eng-  
land.

The mis-  
er-  
able state of  
Gilest.

The castell  
of  
Edenburgh  
restored.

Shalabine the  
Soulbane.

The king  
ta-  
king Henrie  
purpose to  
go into the  
holie land  
against  
the Saracens  
hindered by  
rebellion of  
his sonne.

Shalabine  
and Spak-  
bein captiue  
of pirates.

Will-  
gilt  
the house  
of Dun-  
dren-

Death on the  
whele.

Whirrhobob  
is builded.

Will-  
denied  
being wit-  
ness against  
him.

Will-  
del-  
uing cloas.

Will-  
affert  
pardon of the  
king in un-  
knowne ha-  
bit.

them committed.

At the last, when king William had inquired of him what he was, and how it chanced he fell into such kind of miserie, the teares came so fast trickling from his eyes, that of a long time he was not able to declare his owne name. At length being come to himselfe, he said: I am Gilest (noble prince) the most sorrowfull creature on earth, which (alas) put my hands in thy blood, and was therefore dishonoured of all my lands, and banished with these my two sonnes out of thy realme, whereupon we remained in England for a while, till through proclamation made against outlawes, I was constrained to come hither againe with my said sonnes, where we have lived by roots all the summer season, and now in the winter are glad to get our living with travaill of hand thus in digging and delving of clods. Therefore if anie ruth or pittie have place in thy heart, or that thine indignation be qualified, have mercie on our sorrowfull estate, and remit the offense, whereby thou maiest not onelie purchase great honor, and fame by example of pittie, being highly renowned for that vertue amongst all nations, but also win great merit afore God, for shewing thy selfe the follower of Christ, the giver of all mercie, grace, and peace.

The king moved by these words, and remembering the good service which Gilest had imploied so oftentimes afore in defense of the realme; and againe pitying his case, to consider from what degree of honor he was fallen into the deepest bottom of extreme miserie, he took him wholly to his favour, and not onelie forgave him his former offenses, but also restored unto him, and to his sonnes, all such lands as sometimes appertained unto them, except so much as the king had alreadye given unto the abbey of Abirbrothoke. Gilest ever persevered in due obedience to his prince. And for so much as his eldest sonne deceased before him without heires, that his younger sonne, by reason of some impediment which he had, was unfit for marriage, he gave the most part of his lands after his owne deceasse unto the said house of Abirbrothoke. His younger sonne also, no lesse well affectionated towards the same house, gave the residue of his lands thereunto. The father and both his sonnes are buried before the altar of S. Batharine within the church of this abbey, as the superscription of their tombes sheweth.

Though king William was earnestlie occupied in the advancing forwarde of the building of Abirbrothoke, yet did he not forget his dutie in the administration of his lawes; but diligentlie caused justice to be executed, to the punishing of the wicked, and the rewarding of them that well deserved. He made also sundrie new lawes for the restraining of thieves and oppressors of the people, so rigorous, that they might be in feare to heare him named. Furthermore, where as the church of Scotland was subiect to the church of Rome, he obtained of pope Clement the third of that name, letters of exemption for his clergie, whereby the church of Scotland (within the which were contained the bishops sees of saint Andrews, Glasco, Dunkeld, Dunblane, Brechin, Aberdeen, Murray, Ross, and Cathness) was declared exempt from all other forrein jurisdictions, except onelie from that of the see of Rome, so as it might not be lawfull from thenceforth for any that was not of the realme of Scotland, to pronounce sentence of interdiction or excommunication, or otherwise to deale in iudgement of ecclesiasticall causes, except such one as the apostolicke see of Rome should specially appoint, and send thither with legantine power. The date of the said bull or letters of exemption thus obtained was at the popes palace of Laterane, the

third Ides of March, and first parte of the said pope Clements government. Shortlye after, to wit in the parte 1198, died Henrie king of England; after whom succeeded his second sonne Richard: for Henrie his eldest sonne deceased before his father.

King Richard, after his coronation, prepared him selfe to passe with an armie into the holie land, and therefore made peace with all his neighbors, that no trouble should follow to his realme by reason of his absence: and hereupon to keepe the Scots in friendship, rather by benevolence than by feare, he reigned into their hands the castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, and Sterling: and moreover that part of Northumberland which his father had taken from king William when he took him prisoner. He also delivered the earledomes of Huntington and Cumberland; but under condition, that all the castles and holdes within them, should be in the keeping of his capitaine and souldiers, such as he should appoint. He released to king William also the residue of such summes of monie as were due for the foure castles laid to gage, ten thousand pounds onelie excepted, which he received in hand at that present towards the charges of his tourne. When king William had thus received his lands and castles by surrender, he made his brother Dauid earle of Huntington, who thereupon doing his homage unto king Richard, according to the old ordinance devised by king Malcolm the first, went with him also in that voiage with five hundred Scottishmen, or rather five thousand (as the translator of Hector Boetius saith) if no fault be in the printer.

As the christian armie late at siege before the citie of Acres, otherwise called Acon, it chanced that one Oliver a Scottishman borne, was within the towne retained in service among the Saracens; for being convict of felonie in his native countrie he was banished out of the same, and fled to the Saracens, remaining so long amongst them, that he had learned their tongue verie perfectlie, so that as then few knew what countreman he was. It fortuned that this Oliver had one of the gates in keeping, on that side the towne where was but a single wall, without trenches, or anie other fortification. He happened by some good adventure to espie amongst the watch of those that were of the retinue of Dauid earle of Huntington, one of his owne kinsmen named John Durward, with whom of long time before he had bene most familiarlie acquainted; and incontinently he called to the same Durward, desiring under assurance to talke with him. After certeine communication, for that this Oliver had not as yet bitterlie in his heart renounced the christian faith, he appointed with Durward to give entrie at certeine houre unto earle Dauid, and to all the christian armie, upon condition that earle Dauid should see him restored againe unto his land and heritage in Scotland. The houre set, earle Dauid came with a great power of men to the gate before rehersed, where he was suffered to enter according to appointment, and incontinently with great noise and clamour broke into the midst of the citie.

In the morning betimes, king Richard perceiving the citie thus wonne, entred the same, and shortly after wane a tower, which the Saracens for a while manfully defended. Thus was the citie of Acres wonne from the Saracens, chiefly by means of the Scottishmen. But now touching their returne from this voiage (for sith in other places more large mention is made of such exploits as were achieved therein, I passe over to make anie longer discourse thereof in this place) ye shall understand, that in that terrible tempest, in the which king Richards naue was dispersed in his coming homewards (as in the

The death of  
Henrie king  
of England.

R. Richard.

The castles of  
Roxburgh,  
Berwick, and  
Sterling re-  
turned to king  
William.

Earle of Hun-  
tington,  
Scots with  
king Richard  
in the holie  
land.

The siege of  
Acres.  
Oliver a Scot-  
tishman.

John Dur-  
ward.

Earle Dauid  
entered the  
citie Acon.

Earle David  
taken prisoner  
he is re-  
damed.

He went to  
Scotland.

Arrived at  
Dundee.

The name of  
Dundee.

Procession  
was holden.

A church  
built.

Privileges  
granted to the  
towne of  
Dundee.

The abbey of  
Lundoris.

Advers with  
out hurt.

R. Richards  
returne into  
England.

The gift of  
king William  
to king Ri-  
chard.

A byte raised  
that the king  
was dead.

the historie of Eng'and is moze at large exprest) the ship also that earle David was in, chanced to be thowne on land on the coasts of Aegypt, where being taken prisoner, and led into Alexandria, at length he was redeemed by certeine merchants of Venice, and first conueied vnto Constantinople, and after vnto Venice, where he was bought out & redeemed by the English merchants, and in the end suffered to depart home. At his comming into Flanders, he hired a vessell at Sluis, therewith to returne into Scotland; but being losed a little off from the shore, such a vehement tempest suddenlie arose, that droue him, not without great danger of life, nere to the coasts of Pojwaie and Scotland.

Here in the midst of this extreame ieopardie (as hath bene reported) after he had made a vow to build a church in the honoz of the virgin Marie, if he might escape that danger of seas, he arrived at length in Taie water beside Dundee, not far from saint Nicholas chapell, without either rudder or tackle. The place where he arrived before that time hight Alatum, but he as then changed the name, and called it Dundee, which signifieth as though ye should say, The gift of God. When his brother the king heard that he was returned, supposing long time before, that he had bene dead, he came speedilie vnto Dundee to welcome him home, shewing himselfe most glad of his returne, inasomuch that he caused publike processions to be celebrate through the realme, to giue God thanks that had thus restored his brother home into his countrie. Earle David, according as he had vowed, builded a church in the field commonlie called the wheat field, and dedicating it in honoz of the virgin Marie, made it a parish church. At a parlement also holden after this at Dundee, licence was granted vnto him to build an abbey in that place if shuld please him within Scotland, and to indow it with lands and rents as he should thinke good. There were also manie priuileges granted the same time vnto Dundee, which indure to this day.

Earle David not refusing the grant and beneuolence of the king his brother, builded an abbey called Lundoris, for monks of the order of saint Benet. One thing there is much to be wondered at, as a strange singularitie. For whereas that house standeth in a vallie, inclosed on each side with wood and water, by reason whereof there is great abundance of adbers; yet doth no man catch hurt by anie of them, inasomuch that ye shall see yong children play and run vp and downe amongst a great number of them, without anie skath or hurt following vnto them thereof. In this meane while, Richard king of England (who also in his returne out of the holie land was taken prisoner by the emperour of Almanie) was deliuered for a great summe of monie, and so returned into his countrie. King William hearing of king Richards returne into England, to congratulate the same, toke his brother earle David with him, and came vnto London, where, in token of ioy, that he had unfeinedlie conceiued for his safe comming home, after all troubles and dangers which he had passed, he gaue vnto him two thousand markes sterling, for that he knew at that great charges he had bene, aswell for furnishing of his boiage, as also for redeeming of his libertie.

By these friendlie points of humanitie shewed, there followed great amitie and loue betwixt these two kings. But king William fell sicke in England, and as it often happeneth, such as were vnquiet persons, desirous to be deliuered of all feare of lawes, were straight way put in an vntrue beliefe, that he was dead: and causing it to be bnted abroad, began to exercise all kind of misdemeanors by inuad-

ding the poore and simple people, with spellings and slaughters in all parts. But after it was certeinlie knowne, that the king was not onelie alive, but also recovered of his infirmities, and comming homewards, those raskals and wicked rebels withdrew vnder the conduct of one Herald the thane of Cathnes, and erle of Dykene, vnto the vttermost bounds of Scotland. Howbeit the king pursued them in such diligent and earnest maner, that he apprehended the most part of them in Cathnes, and commanded iustice to be done on them, in such wise, that merrie was not yet wanting: for such as were thought to be after a sort gillisse, were pardoned, and the other punished, euerie one according to the measure of his offences.

But the principall leader of them, that is to say, the forenamed Herald, for that time escaped into the westerne Isles, but shortly after, returning to Cathnes, he was taken and brought to the king, who caused his eyes first to be put out, then gelded, and lastlie to be hanged on a paire of gallowes. Also all those of his linage that were men, were likewise gelded, that no succession should follow of so wicked a seed. In the yere next ensuing was moze death felt in Scotland, than euer was heard of before: for a measure of barlie, in Scottish called a boll, was sold for five crownes; and yet in the yere next following, accounting from the natiuitie of our Saviour 1199, was moze plentiful abundance than euer had bene seene afore. The same yere king Williams wife Ermengard was deliuered of a yong sonne named Alexander. The same yere also died Richard king of England, & his brother John succeeded in his place. About these yeres after this, was the foresaid Alexander the kings sonne created prince of Scotland. And the same yere came a legat from the pope sent to R. William, presenting vnto him a sword, with a sheath & hilts of gold set full of rich pretious stones. He presented vnto him also a hat or bonet, made in manner of a diademe of purple hue, in token (as it should meane) that he was defender of the church. Manie indulgences and priuileges were granted at the same time by the pope, for the libertie of the church of Scotland. It was ordeined also the same time, that saturday should be kept as holidaie from none forward, and great punishment appointed for them that transgressed this ordinance, in doing a nie bodilie worke from saturday at none, untill mondaie in the morning.

After this, king William returned againe into England to do his homage vnto king John, for the lands of Cumberland, Huntington, and Poxtunberland. Immediatlie thereupon king John willed him to passe with him into France, to make warres against the Frenchmen. And because he refused so to do, king John made claime to all the foresaid lands as forfeited to the crowne of England, and caused a great botie of gods to be fetched out of the same: so that open warres had immediatlie followed, if the English lords had not compelled R. John to make restitution of all the gods so taken; because they thought it not expedient in anie wise to haue wars with the Scots at the same time, being already in trouble with the Frenchmen. In the winter following, the frost was so vehement, & continued so long, that till mid March, no plough might be put into the ground. Ale was frozen in such wise within houses, and cellars, that it was sold by weight. Such a great snow fell also therewith, that beasts died in manie places in great numbers. Moreover, from the Twelfth tide till februarye, there was euerie day verie terrible earthquakes.

After the end of winter, king John having made an end of his warres with France, began to build a castell

Herald then  
at Cathnes  
conduct of  
rebels.

The thane of  
Cathnes  
taken.  
Somerse-  
mismant.

Great death

1199

Ermen-  
gard  
prince of  
Scotland.

A legat  
from the pope

A hat.

Defender  
of the church.

Saturday  
from none  
kept holie.

King William  
did homage  
king John  
England.

Child healed  
R. William.

Archbishop  
by king  
William.

Errection  
the ice of  
the sea.

The towne of  
Poxtun-  
berland.

The king in  
the morning.

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acastell in Northumberland ouer against Berwik.  
upon purpose to haue some quarell to fall out with  
the Scots. King William being aduertised thereof,  
sent his ambassadoys vnto king John, requiring  
him to desist from such attempts, and not to take a  
nye occasion of new trouble: but so much as he re-  
ceiued no towardlie answer againe from him. John,  
he assembled a power, & comming to the castell which  
king John had caused to be builded, he ouerthrew  
the same, and rased it to the earth. King John soze  
offended herewith, raised a mightie armie, and came  
towards Scotland, but at his comming to the bor-  
ders, he found his aduersarie king William readye  
to receiue him by battell, if he had come forward;  
howbeit through mediation of prudent men, the  
matter was taken vp betwixt them: so that on ei-  
ther side the armies were dissolued, & both the kings  
reparing to Forke, established a peace there, with  
these conditions, that Margaret and Isabell daugh-  
ters to king William, after the tearme of 9 yeres  
then next insuing were once expired, should be cou-  
pled in marriage with Henrie and Richard the sons  
of king John, vpon this pacton and covenant, that  
if the one died, the other should succeed to the crowne.  
For the which it was couenanted, that king Will-  
iam should giue a right large dowre. Also the castell  
which king John had builded, and king William  
rased, it was agreed that it should remaine so defa-  
ced, and neuer after againe to be repaired. For the  
sure performance of these articles thus betwixt the  
two kings concluded, nine noble men of Scotland  
were appointed to be deliuered as hostages vnto  
king John. In that assemblee there at Forke,  
king William also surrendered into the hands  
of king John, the lands of Cumberland, Hunting-  
ton, and Northumberland; to the intent he should as-  
signe those lands againe vnto his sonne prince Ale-  
xander, and he to do homage for the same, according  
to the maner and custome in that case provided, for a  
knowledge and recognition that those lands were  
holden of the kings of England, as superior lords of  
the same. During the abode of these two kings at  
Forke, there was brought vnto them a child of sin-  
gular beautie, sonne and heire to a gentleman of  
great possessions in those parties, being soze bered  
with diuerse and sundrie diseases; for one of his eies  
was consumed & lost through an issue which it had of  
corrupt and filthie humors, the one of his hands  
was doted vp; the one of his feet was so taken, that  
he had no vse thereof; and his tong likewise that he  
could not speake. The physicians that saw him thus  
troubled with such contrarie infirmities, iudged him  
incurable. Heuerthelesse, king William making a  
crosse on him, restored him immediatlie to health.  
By reason whereof, manie beleued that this was  
done by miracle, through the power of almightie  
God, that the vertue of so goodlie a prince might bee  
notified to the world.

After his returne from Forke into Scotland, he  
indolued the churches of Newbottell, Melros, Holie  
rood house, Dunfirmling, and Aberdeen, with manie  
fatre possessions, as the letters patents made therof  
by him beare manifest testimonie. He also erected  
one new bishopps see called Argile, giuing therto suf-  
ficient lands towards the maintenance and susten-  
tation thereof. After this, comming vnto the towne  
of Bertha, he had not remained there manie daies,  
but there chanced such a flood, by reason of the rising  
and inundation of the two riuers, Taie & Almond,  
that through violence of the streame the towne wals  
were borne downe, and much people in the towne  
drownd, yer they could make anie thist to saue  
themselves, insomuch that though the king with his  
wife, and the most part of his familie escaped out of

that great danger and leopordie, his yongest sonne  
yet named John, with his nurse and twelue other  
women perished, and twentie other of his seruants  
beside. There was heard such clamor, noise, & lamenta-  
table cries, with bitter rozings and dreadfull thri-  
lings, as is vsed in time when anie towne is sud-  
denlie taken and surprised by the enemies: for as  
the comon proverbe witnesseth; Fier & water haue  
no mercie: and yet of these two, water is more ter-  
rible and dangerous: for there is no force or wlt of  
man able to resist the violence of inundations, where  
they suddenlie breake in.

King William, after that the towne of Bertha  
was thus destroyed and ouerflowed with water; be-  
gan the foundation of an other towne, which was af-  
ter called Berth, by a man of that name that ougth  
the ground where the same towne was builded. Fur-  
thermore, to aduance the dignitie and augmenta-  
tion of this towne, the king granted sundrie benefitts  
privileges and freedoms thereto, that it might the so-  
ner rise in riches and wealth. The first foundation  
thereof was laid after the incarnation of our Saut  
our 1210 yeres, but the name was changed after-  
wards, and called saint Johns towne, which name it  
beareth euen vnto this day. About the same time  
there rose eilswyes new trouble in Cathnes, for one  
Gothzed the sonne of Makulzen (of whose rebellion  
ye haue heard before) spoiled with often incurfions  
and robes the countrie of Rosse, and other bounds  
thereabouts. His companie increased daile more  
and more, by repaire of such number of rebels as  
came vnto him out of Lochgubaber, & the westerne  
fles. King William, to repesse these attempts, sent  
forth the carles of Fife and Atholl, with the thane of  
Buchquhane, hauing fir thousand in their companie;  
the which incountring with the enemies in set bat-  
tell, gaue them the ouerthrow, and taking Gothzed  
their chiefe captaine prisoner, brought him vnto the  
king, who caused both him and diuerse other which  
were likewise taken prisoners, to lose their heads:  
Gothzed himselfe was soze wounded, before he was  
taken; so that if his takers had not made the more  
speed in the conueting of him to the king, he had died  
of his hurts before execution had thus bene done on  
him accordinglie as was appointed.

About this time arose the dissention and variance  
betwixt John king of England, and pope Innocent  
the third, for that the English cleargie refused to aid  
the said John with such summes of monie as he de-  
manded of them. Shortly after, William king of  
Scotland, wome with long age, departed out of this  
world at Striueling, in the 74 yere of his age, and  
in the 49 yere of his reigne, and after the incarnati-  
on of Christ 1214 yeres. He was buried in Aber-  
brothoke, before the high altar within the quier. The  
yere afore his death, two comets or blasing starres  
appeared in the moneth of March, verie terrible to be-  
hold; the one did shine before the rising of the sunne,  
and the other before the going downe thereof. The  
yere next following, there was a colt in Northum-  
berland that calued a verie monstrous calfe; for the  
head and necke resembled a verie calfe in deed, but  
the residue of the bodie was like vnto a colt. In the  
winter after, there were seene also two monies in the  
firmament, the one being seuered from the other, and  
in shape naturalie horned, as ye see the monie in his  
increasing or wanting. King William in his life  
time founded the abbete of Balmernoch, but his  
wife quene Ermengard indolued it with lands and  
possessions after his deceasse. In the 46 yere of this  
king Williams reigne, two monks of the Trinitie  
order were sent into Scotland by pope Innocent, to  
whome king William gaue his palace roial in A-  
berden, to conuert the same into an abbete for them  
A. J. to

John & kings  
son drownd.

The towne of  
Berth builded

Freedom  
granted to the  
towne of  
Berth.

Saint Johns  
towne.  
Gothzed ma-  
ued a rebellion  
in Cathnes.

His companie  
increaseth.

The carles of  
Fife and Atholl  
sent against him.  
The rebels ou-  
erthrowne.  
Gothzed ta-  
ken and be-  
headed.

The dissenti-  
on betwixt the  
pope and king  
John.  
The cause.

The death of  
king William.

1214.

Two blazing  
starres.

A monstrous  
calfe.

Two monies.

The abbete of  
Balmernoch  
founded.

Herald that  
of Cathnes  
succours the  
rebels.

Justice not  
destitute of  
mercie.

The thane  
of Cathnes  
taken.  
Sovereign  
inshment.

Great death

1190

Alexander  
prince of  
Scotland.

A legat sent  
from the pope

A hat.

Defender of  
the church.

Saturday  
ter name to be  
kept helle.

King William  
did homage to  
king John of  
England.

He sold by  
weight.

Earthquake

to inhabit: and was in mind to haue giuen them manie other bountifull gifts, if he had liued anie longer time.

*Alexander.*

Alexander the second is crowned at Scone. A time of mourning.

A parliament at Edinburgh

Confirmation of officers.

The office of the constable.

The lands of Forfar given to the old quene. A princelie appointment.

Dissention betwixt king John and his nobles.

King Alexander passeth to London.

The league betwixt France and Scotland renewed.

The best approved writers affirme that Lewes went not ouer into France, till after the death of king John. Lewes and king Alexander accursed. A counsell at Rome.

After the deceasse of king William, his sonne Alexander the second of that name succeeded, and was crowned at Scone with all due solemnitie; which being finished, he went vnto Abirzothoke, where he remained 14 daies, in attending the fune-  
rall obsequies of his father, and commanded that no publike plaies nor great feasts should be vsed or kept in all that pære; to the intent the death of his father might be lamented through the whole realme. The king himselfe, and all his seruants also, were clothed in mourning weed, during the space of one whole pære. The first parlement which he called, was holden at Edinburgh, in the which he confirmed all the acts and ordinances deuised by his father: and further appointed that all such as had bozne offices vnder him, should still inioy the same. Iamelle he commanded that William Wood bishop of Dunblaine should still continue lord chancellor, and Alane of Calloway high constable, which is an office of most honor & reputation next to the king, as he that hath power of life and death, if anie man draw bloud of an other by violence within two miles of the court.

When this parlement was ended, because the old quene his mother determined to remaine, during the residue of hir life, in the place where that holie woman quene Margaret sometime led hir life, he gaue vnto hir towards the maintenance of hir estate, the castles & townes of Forfar, with the lands and possessions to the same belonging. He also appointed certeine sage and most graue personages, to be chosen forth as iudges, which should be resident in euerie citie and god to lone of his realme, for the hearing and due determining of all quarrels and matters in controuersie betwixt partie and partie. In this meane time great dissention rose betwixt John king of England, and his barons, by reason whereof great warres ensued, as in the English historie dooth appere. The barons made sute both to the French king, & to the king of Scots for aid, so that at length Lewes the French kings sonne came ouer to support them, whereof when king Alexander was aduertised, he likewise came with an armie through England vnto London, causing his souldiers by the waie to abstaine from doing anie kind of damage to the people. By his comming things were partlie quieted for a time, and shortly after that he had communed with Lewes touching sundrie affaires pertaining to both the realmes, they passed the seas with ten vessels ouer into France, leaving their powers behind them to assist the English lords.

The French king aduertised thereof, came doونه to Bullongne, where finding his son and king Alexander, he renewed the ancient bond of amitie betwixt France and Scotland, with the same Alexander, according to the covenants of the old league, with this addition; that neither prince should receiue the enemies of the others realme, nor to marrie with anie stranger, the one not making the other priue thereto. These things being ratified, king Alexander and Lewes returned into England: shortly whereupon, king John died, more through anguish of mind and melancholie, than by force of anie other naturall disease. His son Henrie, the third of that name, succeeded him. And in the meane time had the pope accursed both Lewes, and king Alexander, with all those that fauoured their cause against king John, which curse was pronounced in a generall counsell, which was holden at Rome by pope Innocent, there being present foure hundred and twelue bishops, and eight hundred abbats. King Alexander after the deceasse of king John, returning homewards with his

armie, thought he might haue passed quietlie without anie annoyance by the waie, through meanes whereof he lost a certeine number of his men, being suddenly inuaded by such Englishmen, as watched their time to take the Scots at some advantage, in strating abroad out of order: with which iniurie king Alexander was so moued, that he spoiled and harried all the countries by the which he passed, till he was entered within the confines of his owne dominion.

Shortly after, Cardinall Gualo came into England furnished with the popes authoritie, to denounce the excommunication aboute remembered, against Lewes and Alexander, with all their fautors, whereupon he accursed not onelie the foresaid persons, but also interdicted all the places where they came, inasmuch that in the end Lewes was constrained to buy an absolution with no small summes of monie, of that anaricious cardinall Gualo: and after vpon agreement also made with king Henrie, he returned into France. Not long after came king Henrie with an armie into Scotland; soe indamaging the countrie: but so soone as he was aduertised that king Alexander had assembled all the power of his realme to giue him battell, he retired with all speed into England. The king of England had in his armie at the same time 1200 men of armes, verie perfectly appointed and furnished with armor and weapon as was requisite, and the king of Scots but onelie five hundred. But of footmen there were in the Scottish armie 60000 able personages well appointed, with ares, speares, and bowes, readie to die and liue with their prince, constantlie beleuing, that to lose this present life here in his defense, was an assured waie to be saved in an other world.

After that king Henrie was gone backe into England, king Alexander followed after him into Northumberland, where he ouerthrew & beat doونه manie castles and strengths, which the Englishmen held. When marching through the countrie vnto Carleill, he wan that citie, and garnished it with his people. After this, laiens siege vnto Northham castell, when he had continued at the same a certeine time, and perceiued how he lost but his trauell, he left it, and returned home with great honor and triumph for his other achieved enterprizes in that iourne. King Henrie being once aduertised that king Alexander had broken vp his campe, incontinentlie got effions his people together, and comming to Berwik, wan both the towne and castell. After entring into Scotland, he burned and spoiled the countrie alongst by the sea coasts, till he came as farre as Haddington, putting all such to the sword as were found in the waie; women, priests, and children onelie excepted. He assaied to haue wone the castell of Dunbar, but missing his purpose there, he returned into England.

In the meane time, the anaricious prelat Gualo, vpon trust to purchase some large portion of monie in Scotland, put the same vnder proceesse of interdicting, & namelie he accursed king Alexander most terrible, for that he had inuaded England, and (as he alleged) spoiled churches as well as prophane places. These curses so inflamed the hearts of the Scottishmen with hatred against the Englishmen, that the same was not like to haue ended without the vtter destruction and ruine of both their realms. Neuertheless at length, by the diligent trauell of the bishops of Forke and Salisburie, which came vnto king Alexander to treat an agreement, a small peace was concluded, vnder these conditions. First it was agreed, that king Alexander should render the citie of Carleill into the Englishmens hands, and king Henrie the towne of Berwik vnto the Scots. The whole dominion of Cumberland to remaine vnto king Alexander, with the one halfe

Cardinall Gualo.

A crowne sent into France. King Henrie inuadeth Scotland.

Ex codice quo S. Alb. ni. written Mat. Paris. 3 tab. ii.

The warres of Cardinall Gualo.

King Alexander in Northumberland.

Cardinall Gualo commanded in a summe of monie.

The Scottish bishops absolved. And earlie of Huntingdon deceased. 1219.

Berwik won by king Henrie.

Haddington.

An interview betwixt the kings of England and Scotland.

Springes concluded.

Scotland terminated.

A legat sent from pope Innocentius for a collection.

Bishops of Forke and Salisburie.

A peace concluded.

The conditions.

Another legat.

lie with. King Alexander  
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Cardinal  
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King Hen-  
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Scotland.

Ex codice an-  
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ent. Paris  
Mar. Paris  
A. 1611.

King Alex-  
ander in Nor-  
thumberland

Cardinal  
Gualo.

Henricus  
Sixtus

Hadington

Scotland  
terribis.

Bishops of  
York and  
Salisbury

A peace con-  
cluded.

The com-  
missions.

the one  
halfe

halfe of Northumberland, to the Herroffe. And fur-  
ther, that king Alexander should be absolved of the  
censures of the church, which Gualo the cardinal  
had denounced against him.

Thus the two kings being accorded, the two for-  
said bishops comming unto Bertouke, absolved king  
Alexander, and deliuered his realme of interdiction,  
by such authoritie as they had procured of the card-  
nall Gualo. But yet the same cardinal, not min-  
ding to depart with empty hands, summoned all  
the prelates of Scotland to appeare before him at  
Antuoke, there to receive their full absolution, to  
the intent by such means to trouble them, till they  
had disbursed to his vse some large portion of mo-  
nie. Sundrie of them which loued quietnesse more  
than contention, satisfied his mind; but others refu-  
sed vterlie so to doo, taking great indignation that  
spirituall causes were thus dispatched for monie,  
and ecclesiasticall preferments bought and sold, no  
other wise than secular possessions and prophane dig-  
nities. Incontinentlie thereupon Gualo cited them  
to Rome, supposing that rather than to take vpon  
them so long a iourne, they would haue compoun-  
ded with him at his pleasure. Forwithstanding  
they being nothing in doubt thereof, went into  
Rome, and at their comming thither, made vnto  
the pope their complaint in most greuous manner,  
of the insufferable iniuries attempted in England  
and Scotland, by his most couetous legat the for-  
said Gualo: by reason of which complaint, and of  
sundrie such letters & informations as daile came  
out of England and Scotland, from other bishops &  
abbats, containing right greuous accusations, con-  
cerning the insatiable auarice of Gualo, the pope re-  
turned him home to Rome, to make answer in his  
presence vnto such matters as were laid to his  
charge.

At his returne thither, for so much as he was not  
able to discharge himselfe of such manifest crimes  
wherewith he was burdened, the pope condemned  
him in a great summe of monie, to be paid as a fine  
for his trespasses and transgressions. And those Sco-  
tish bishops, which were come for their absolution,  
were absolved by the pope, and suffered to depart in  
peace. In this meane time, David earle of Hun-  
tington, brother to William late king of Scots,  
(of whome ye haue heard before how he went in the  
iourne made by the christian princes into the holic  
land) deceased, and was buried within an abbete  
in England. Henric king of England, after he came  
to yeares of perfect discretion, betooke himselfe to be  
more desirous of peace than of warres. Where-  
upon at Berke there was a meeting appointed be-  
tween him and king Alexander, where mutuall ali-  
ance was accorded betwixt them on this wise. Jane  
the sister of king Henric was promised to be given  
in marriage to king Alexander, and two sisters of  
king Alexanders were despoised vnto two great  
princes of the English nobilitie. These marriages  
were thus concluded in the yeare of our Lord, 1220.

In the yeare next following, came a legat into  
Scotland from pope Honorius, with bids to gather  
a summe of monie towards the furnishing forth of  
an armie against the Turks or rather Saracens.  
This legat was a cardinal, and named Egidius,  
who hauing purchased no small quantitie of coine  
both of the cleergie and laitie of Scotland, spent the  
same in riot and outrageous insolencie, making his  
cruelty at his returne to Rome, how it was taken  
from him by certeine Brigants and robbers. Whil-  
st in that while after, was an other legat with sen-  
sible commission sent into Scotland from the for-  
said pope. But king Alexander, being aduertised  
of his coming, called a counsell, in the which he

of the bishops (as should seme) took great indigna-  
tion, to see how couetousnesse reigned in most shame-  
full wise amongst the Romish legats, and spake in  
manner as followeth.

Albeit sundrie considerations there are which might stay me from vitering such things as be most preiudiciall to the common wealth, yet (most noble prince) when I consider thine humanitie, faith, and constancie, giuen to nothing more than to the de-  
fence and weale of thy true liege people, I cannot but (for the zeale I beare to common libertie) declare the truth. For sith all manner of tyrannie is intollerable, yea euen that which is exercised by kings or princes descended by lineall succession to their rightfull heritage: much more is that tyrannie to be detested, which is exercised by men of vile and base linage. Therefore, if the sundrie and manifest wrongs done to vs these manie yeares now passed, had come by the popes themselves, the same might somewhat more sufferable haue bene borne: but sith naughtie & vile persons, of base birth and obscure linage, promoted to benefices and ecclesiasticall dignities onelie for their wicked and horrible vices, haue not onelie interdicted our realme, with our lawfull commission; but haue also consumed in maintenance of their wanton and insolent vices, that monie which they gathered in our countrie by the popes authoritie, vnder colour of raising an armie to go against the Turks and Infidels; I am of this opinion, that their cursed auarice ought to haue no further place amongst faithfull people, speciallie amongst vs, whose simplicitie and humblenesse they haue in contempt. In the yeares passed, ye complained of the iniuries done by Gualo, when he had put your realme vnder the censure of interdicting, and the most part of your prelates vnder the curse; because they would not answer him with monie, according to his couetous demands, wherewith he might mainteine his outrageous lusts. Which Gualo also (as should appeare) by most certeine coniectures, was of such a diuells nature, that though he were sent to treat a concord betwixt the Englishmen and Scots; yet to satissie his auaritious desire, he ministred such occasion of warre betwixt them, that both the realmes (had not the matter bene the wayer taken by) were at a point to haue entered so far into malitious hatred the one against the other, that it was not like that any peace should haue taken place, till the one or both had bene vterlie destroyed. But since these heinous and terrible deeds are manifest through; to what end should I here remem-  
ber them, sith the same cannot be done without your great grieue and displeasure? Forouer, after we were deliuered of this Gualo, shortly after com-  
meth another, one thewing himselfe to come forth of the same shop; for in conuersation of life he was to be iudged no whit better, but rather worse: for after that he had got by amongst vs of this realme large summes of monie, vnder pretense of redeming the christian prisoners out of the Saracens hands, and making of new armies against them; he wasted the same monie in riotous lust and insolencie, scolding, when it was gone, that it was bereft him by Brigants. Therefore sith we haue had experience, and are already sufficientlie taught by the doings of the two fore-remembered legats, to our heauie griefs and no small damages; we may be wisely like re-  
pented vnto and berie saies in deed, if we now admit the third. For it is not to be thought, that this new legat shall vse the matter in any better sort, than his fellows haue done before him. And vterlie, if any man should demand of me, what I thinke ought to be done in this matter, I do for my part protest, that neither this legat, nor any other in times to come,

R. y.

come,

come, ought to be receiued within this realme, considering how the same hath bene wasted & robbed by their continual exactions. If there be anie amongst you that hath more monie than he knoweth which way well to spend, he may (in the name of God) bestow it upon the poore, rather than to the vse of such vicious legats, as order it in such sort, that all men haue cause to thinke whatsoener cometh into their hands, is but cast away and clearelie lost.

Legats cannot be received.

These words of this bishop (whatsoener he was) were liked so well of all the counsell, that the legat could not be receiued into the realme. After the breaking up of this counsell, the marriage was consummat betwixt king Alexander and Jone, sister to Henrie king of England; also betwixt Hubert de Burgh high iustice of England, and Margarete sister to king Alexander, by reason of which marriages, the peace was confirmed with the Englishmen, and as it had bene sealed by for a more full and certeine assurance. Shortly after followed ciuill warres in Scotland, by the motion of one Gilespie Rosse, who hauing liued most licentious in riotous outrage, at length arreared open warre against the king, and first sleaing diuerse such of his companions as had kept him companie aforetime in his lewd misdemeanors, for that they refused now to sticke to him in this rebellious enterprise, he went with the residue that offered to take his part vnto the towne of Cnuernes, which he toke and burned, with diuerse other places being of the kings possessions, till at length John Cumin earle of Buchquhane coming against him with an armie deliuered to him by the king, pursued the said Gilespie in such earnest wise, that finally he toke him with two of his sons, and striking off all their three heads, sent the same to the king as a witness how he had sped.

Peace confirmed with the Englishmen. Gilespie Rosse a rebel.

Cnuernes burned by Gilespie Rosse. John Cumin earle of Buchquhane. Gilespie Rosse beheaded.

New trouble.

This businesse being thus quieted, an other ensued after this manner: The men of Cathnes were offended with their bishop named Adam, for that vpon refusal to pay their tithes he had accursed them, fell vpon him within his owne house, and first scourging him with rods, at length set fire vpon him and burnt him within his owne kitchen. Which act being reported to the king, as then sojourning at Edinburgh, he hasted forth with all speed to punish the offenders, not ceassing till he had taken foure hundred of them, all the which number he caused to be hanged; and for that he would haue no succession to come of such wicked seed, he appointed all their sons to lose their stones. The place where they were to gelded, is called euen to this day the stonie hill. The earle of Cathnes, for that he neither succoured the bishop in time of need, nor yet sought to punish the offenders that did this cruell deed, was deposed of his earldome, and the lands belonging to the same. The pope highlie commended king Alexander for this punishment taken of them, that had so cruellie murdered their bishop.

Streight execution.

The stonie hill. The earle of Cathnes loseth his lands.

King Alexander commended of the pope.

The privileges of Aberdeen.

The archdeacon of Aberdeen.

After this king Alexander coming vnto Aberdeen, gave manie large gifts and priuileges thereunto, although the same before this time inioied sundry notable commodities and endowments giuen and confirmed by other kings his predecessors. The which were granted by sundrie popes concerning the liberties of the churches in Scotland, were committed by the king to the custodie of one Gilbert archdeacon of Aberdeen, who succeeded next after the most famous Adam, the last of Cathnes. In the third yeare after, as king Alexander with his mother Crispine were sitting at their banquet on the twelfth day of Christmas, otherhollo called Pridie, the earle of Cathnes, hauing good opportunity thereto, presented himselfe before the king, and besought him of grace and pardon for his passed offense. King

Alexander taking ruth & pittie of him, restored him (vpon his fine to be paid in maner as was agreed betwixt them) vnto all his former honors, lands and possessions. Neuertheless the offense that was pardoned by man, was afterward punished by the iudgement (as some thought) of almighty God: for he was slaine as he lay in bed one night by his own meniall seruants, whome he had roughlie intreated, as the same went. The house also wherein he was thus slaine, was likewise set on fire and burnt ouer him, that no man should haue suspicion of his slaughter, but that it might seeme as though it had come by some sudden aduenture.

About this time, or somewhat before, there came into Scotland (sent by saint Dominicke) certeine blacke friers, of which order the same Dominicke was the first autho. These men that were first sent by him, liued according to his institution, more perfectly than such as followed: for as it often happeneth, althys commonlie from a god beginning fall into worse estate, so that the successors of those men declined from all god religion, into most insolent abuses and misorders, and so continuing in vicious living the space of three hundred yeares, at length were perfectly reformed into a better rule, by a frier named John Adamson, that proceeded doctor in the profession of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Aberdeen, at the same time that Hector Boetius the Scottish chronographer proceeded there in the same facultie. In the same maner, about the selfe same time, were sent into Scotland, as well as into all other parts of the christian world, friers minors, of saint Francis his order. Some of them also after his decesse fell to dissolute living, keeping no such strict rules, as both he prescribed, and also obserued.

But now to returne to the residue of the historie. The Scottish people inioied peace a long time after the appeasing of the trouble in Cathnes, till time that Alane lord of Galloway and constable of Scotland departed out of this life; and for that he had diuided his lands before his death amongst his three daughters, his bastard sonne gathered an armie of 10000 men, in hope to attaine the possession of Galloway by force of armes; but at length after he had wrought much scath in the countrie by his violent inuasion, he was slaine with five thousand of those that toke his part, by the earle of March, and Walter Stewart of Dunwald, which was sent against him with a power. The eldest daughter of the aboue mentioned Alane of Galloway, was giuen in marriage vnto Roger Quincie earle of Winchester, who after his father in lawes decesse, was made constable of Scotland, which office continued in the hands of his succession, till king Robert the second his daies; in whose time this Roger of Quincies posteritie was disherited and extinguished, for certeine offenses committed against the kings maiestie, and then afterwards the office of the constable was giuen to the Haies of Arroll. The second daughter of the foresaid Alane was married vnto John Ballioll; the third to the earle of Albemarle. Thus was the lordship of Galloway diuided into three, by reason whereof the inhabitants of that countrie, taking displeasure therewith, cleaued vnto the aboue mentioned bastard, till he was vanquished and slaine, as before ye haue heard. This trouble being appeased thus within the realme, in Alexander being advertised of great diuision rising betwixt king Henrie of England and his nobles, and therefore to helpe forwards an agreement betwixt them, he went to London with his wife queene Jone, and Jabbell his sister. Although his earnest diligence, all the debates and quarels were remoued, and the parties thought accorde. Which being done, he married

The earle of Cathnes is pardoned and restored to his lands.

The earle of Cathnes is murdered by his seruants.

The first coming of blacke friers into Scotland.

John Adamson.

The first coming of friers minors.

The death of Alane lord of Galloway.

His bastard sonne gathered an armie.

The earle of March.

Roger Quincie earle of Winchester constable of Scotland.

The diuision of the lands of Galloway.

John Ballioll.

Albemarle.

Jabbell the sister of king Alexander married to the earle of Norfolk. Jone queene of Scotland deceased. 1339. King Alexander married the daughter of the lord of Couche. John Cumin earle of Angus departed this life.

Patrick earle of Arroll murdered.

John Ballart suspended.

A communication of the cleargie at saint Johns town.

Homelesd thene of Argyle rebellie.

Homelesd humble submission.

Castle begun to be built by king Henrie against Berwick.

March Paris disagreeeth fro the Scottish bishops touching the occasion of this warre, as in the English chronicles ye may read.

Embassadors sent to France.

Scottishmen that went with Jabbell king of France into Egypt.

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The earle  
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1239.  
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married Isabel his sister unto the earle of Norfolk, and in the meane time his wife quene Jane deceas-  
sed, without leauing anie issue behind hir, which  
chance caused the king hir husband to returne with  
great griefe and lamentation into Scotland. In  
the yere next following, which was after the incar-  
nation 1239, king Alexander (because he had no  
succession begot of his bodie) married at Rocksburgh  
the daughter of Ingelram lord of Couche, a virginie  
of excellent beautie named Marie, on whome he got  
a sonne named Alexander, which succeeded after his  
deceasse in the gouernement of the realme.

About the same time, John Cumin earle of An-  
gus, being sent in ambassage to Lewis the French  
king, died by the way. Also at Haddington was hold-  
den a roiall toynament, where knights and esquires  
advanced themselves by valiant prowesse to win ho-  
nor: neuertheless the end of all that pleasure and  
pastime ended in sorrow. For Patrike Cumin earle  
of Atholl was slaine within his lodging in the night,  
and the house set on fire and burned ouer him, to the  
intent no suspition should rise, but that it happened  
by some euill misfortune, and negligence of fire. But  
yet was John Bissart, with Walter Bissart his  
uncle thewldie suspected for the matter, in somuch  
that though no euidnt profe could be had against  
him, yet were they banished the realme, and lost all  
their goods by confiscation to the kings vse. After  
these things were thus passed, a conuocation was  
called of the cleargie at saint Johns towne. In the  
which were diuerse prouinciall ordinances and sta-  
tutes, made by consent of the king and nobles of  
the realme, which were obserued in the church of  
Scotland vnto these late daies. About the same time  
also, one Somerleid thane of Argile, the sonne of  
that Somerleid of whome ye haue heard before,  
following his fathers steps, rebelled against the  
king, soze inuading by rodes & forages the parts  
bordering vpon the confines of his countrie of Ar-  
gile, till at length the earle of March brought him to  
the brinke of such extreme necessitie, that he was  
faine to yeld himselfe, with a cord about his necke  
in token of submission; and being so brought before  
the king, obtained pardon of his heinous offense.

In the same season, Henrie king of England,  
prouoked by the setting on of such seditious per-  
sons remaining in his court, as trusted by wars to  
advance their priuat gaine (during which time law  
and iustice haue no place) began to build a castell iust  
against Berwikke, in the same place where the o-  
ther was begun afore by king Richard, which (as  
before is shewed) was rased and throwen downe by  
king William, by the articles of agreement with  
covenant that it should neuer be builded vp againe.  
This attempt of the Englishmen had ministred  
sufficient occasion of warre, if the nobles of Eng-  
land (considering that the building vp of this castell  
was contrarie to their bond and promised faith) had  
not staied the worke, and so thereupon that begin-  
ning of new trouble betwixt the English and Sco-  
tish nations for that present ceased.

In the yere following came ambassadoz forth  
of France into Scotland, declaring that Is. Lewis  
was readie to passe forward on that iourne, which he  
had taken in hand to make into Jewrie, and there-  
fore desired aid of king Alexander, to support him in  
those warres against Gods enemies. With these  
ambassadoz were sent ouer into France, certeine  
chosen bands of men of warre under the leading of  
Patrike earle of March, David Lindseie of Glen-  
neske, and Walter Steward of Dundonald, three  
captaine of great wisdom, and perfect experience  
in feats of chualtrie. The most part of all those  
Scottishmen, that thus went forth in that iourne,

perished in Aegypt either on the sword or by sick-  
nesse, so that few or none of them returned home a-  
gaine. From henceforth, king Alexander liued not  
long: but falling into a sore and grienous sicknesse  
within a certeine Ile called Carnere, not far distant  
from the coast of Argile, deceassed in the same Ile  
shortlie after, in the 51 yere of his age, the 35 of his  
reigne, and of our redemption 1249, his bodie (ac-  
cording as he had commanded in his life time) was  
buried in Melrose.

After that Alexander the second was thus dead  
and buried, his sonne Alexander the third of  
that name, not passing nine yeres of age, was pro-  
claimed king. There was no small adoe on the daie  
of his coronation amongst the nobles, for that by  
reason of the obseruation of starres, it was iudged  
to be an infortunate daie for him to receiue the dia-  
deme. And againe some held opinion, how he ought  
to be made knight first, before he were crowned; so  
that thus they were at strife together, in such ear-  
nest maner, that it was doubted, least this conten-  
tion would haue bred some great inconuenience,  
had not the earle of Arke prevented the same, in cau-  
sing vpon a sudden the crowne to be set vpon the  
kings head, being placed in the marble chaire, accor-  
ding to the custome, without regard to the scrucious  
allegations of them that spake to the contrarie.  
When the solemnitie was ended, there came before  
him an Hillandman (for so they call such as inhabit  
the mountaine countries of Scotland) who in a  
kind of meter of the Irish language, saluted him  
as king, thus: Bennach de re Albin Alexander, mak  
Alar, mak William, mak Henrie, mak David, and  
so forth (reciting in maner of a genealogie or pede-  
græ, all the kings in order of whome he was descen-  
ded, till he came vp to Cathelus the first beginner  
of the Scottish name & nation.) The words in Eng-  
lish are as followeth: Haile king of Albine, Alexan-  
der the sonne of David, the sonne of Alex, the sonne  
of William, the sonne of Henrie, the sonne of Da-  
uid, and so forth as before. This Hilland Scot was  
highly rewarded by the king for his labour, accor-  
ding as was thought requisite.

In the second yere of his reigne, king Alexan-  
der (or rather such as had the gouernement of the  
realme vnder him) assembled together all the pre-  
lates and barons of the realme at Dunfermling,  
and there ordeined to take vp the bones of his grand-  
mother quene Margaret, which being done, he cau-  
sed them to be put into a thyrne of silver, the 21 day  
of Iulie, and minding to place the same where it re-  
steth at this present, as it was borne forth toward  
that place, when the bearers came against the se-  
pulchre of hir husband king Malcolme, they were  
not able to remoue the reliques anie further, till by  
the counsell (as is said) of an aged man that was  
then & there present, they took vp the bones of the  
same Malcolme also, and bare them forth with him  
to the place aforesaid, where they after rested in great  
veneration of the people. Such as were appointed  
gouernors (during the minority of king Alexan-  
der) doubting least the tender yeres of their soue-  
reigne might embolden the enemies of the realme to  
attempt some inuasion, sent ambassadoz vnto Hen-  
rie king of England, requiring that the peace might  
be ratified anew with him and his people, and fur-  
ther to make a motion of mariage to be had betwixt  
king Alexander and a daughter of king Henries.

Shortlie after, vpon this motion, both the kings  
met at Pothe with a great number of lordes, as well  
spirituall as temporall of both the realmes, where  
king Alexander (according to the promise before that  
time made) married the ladie Margaret daughter to  
the forenamed king Henrie, on saint Stephens day  
X. lii.

The death of  
king Alexan-  
der the second.  
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Alexan-  
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Alexander the  
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An infortu-  
nate day.

The earle of  
Arke preuen-  
teth the occa-  
sion of further  
troubles.

The saluta-  
tion of an Hil-  
land man.

The transla-  
tion of quene  
Margarets  
bones.

They were af-  
fianced in the  
daies of king  
Alexander the  
faire, as in the  
English chro-  
nicle it may  
appear.

An intervieu  
of the kings of  
England and  
Scotland.

1250.

in Christmalle, with all solemnitie and ioyfull mirth that might be deuised. The charges wherof were borne partlie by king Henrie, & partlie by the archbishop, who in feasting those princes spent right liberallie. At length, king Alexander after he had solaced himselfe in the companie of his father in law king Henrie a certeine time, returned into Scotland with his new married wife. During the minority of B. Alexander, the realme of Scotland was gouerned in great prosperitie by the nobles: but after his comming to ripe age, he was informed of certeine extortiones done by some of the pères of his realme against the poore people, and thereupon determined to see redress therin. Amongst other there were accused of such transgression, the earles of Menteith, Atholl, and Buchquhane, with the lord of Strabogie, which were of one surname, that is to saie, of the Cumins. These being summoned to appeare before the iustices, with one Hugh Aberneth, and other of their complices, upon their contempt so to do, were proclaimed traitors, and as the Scottish men tearme it, put to the horne.

Complaint made of the Cumins.

The Cumins put to the horne.

The king taken by the Cumins.

The foresaid lords moued with this displeasure, purposed to reuenge the same, and assembling their powers in secret wise, took the king at Kinross, and brought him vnto Strueling, where they kept him as captiue in ward a long time after. Through which aduenture much harme ensued, by reason of mistreated persons, that wrought manie oppressions against the people, in hope to escape the due punishment for their mischievous acts provided, sith the king who should haue sene iustice ministered, was holden in captiuitie by his presumptuous aduersaries. But of this matter ye maie see moze in the English chronicles, about the 39 yere of Henrie the thirde. The house of the Cumins was in those daies of great power within the realme, both in multitude of offspring, riches, lands, possessions, and mainrent. There were at the same time to the number of 32 knights of that surname within the realme, all men of faire possessions and reuenues. But as it often happeneth, that men of great possessions and dominion are had in suspicion with the prince, whereby the same is for the moze part the cause of their ruine and fall, speciallie when they presume too farre vpon their high power: so it chanced here. For within a short time after that the king was thus taken (as before is shewed) the chiefe author of the whole conspiracy, that is to saie, the lord Walter earle of Menteith, who was highest in authoritie among all those Cumins, was poisoned (as was thought) by his owne wife, through which mischance the residue of the Cumins were so exanimated, that obtaining their pardon, for all offenses passed of the king, they did set him againe at libertie.

The great power of the Cumins.  
Thirty and two knights of one surname.  
The height of great families the cause of their fall.

The earle of Menteith is poisoned.

The king set at libertie.

John Russell an Englishman.

The feast of Corpus Christi instituted.  
The first coming of the Carmelite friers.

A part of the holie crosse found.

This woman did thus make awaie hir husband the earle of Menteith through instigation of an Englishman called John Russell, as by coniectures it was suspected; namelie, for that refusing to marrie with anie of the Scottish nobilitie, he took the said Russell to husband, though in estate to be compared with hers, he was iudged a match farre vniuersall, and thereupon constrained to flie with him into England, he died there in great miserie. About this time pope Urbane the fourth of that name instituted the feast of Corpus Christi, to be celebrated each yere on the thursday after Trinitie sundaie. The Carmelite friers came at this time into Scotland, and erected a chappell of our ladie without the walles of saint Johns towne, which the bishop of Donkeld appointed them, therein to celebrate their seruice. It was also said, that in this season a monke of Melrose was admonished in a dreame, where he should find a part of the holie crosse, not far from Peplis in Low

thian, inclosed in a case ingrauen with the title of S. Nicholas. And not farre from the same was likewise found a stone chest, right cunninglie wrought and ingrauen, wherein were found certeine bones wrapped in silke, but whose bones the same were it was not knowne. As soone as the case was opened, within the which the crosse was included, manie miracles were wrought (as it was then believed.) King Alexander for deuotion hereof, builded an abbey in honor of the holie crosse, in the same place where that peece of the crosse was so found. In this abbey afterwards there were monks inhabiting of the order of the Trinitie.

Not long after, the two kings of England and Scotland met together at Clarke castell, accompanied with a great number of the nobles and gentlemen of both their realmes, for the redress of certeine misorders committed betwixt the borderers. Such reformation also was here deuised, and recompense made on either side, that both the realmes continued afterwards in moze perfect tranquillitie for a certeine space, than euer was sene in anie kings daies before that time. In this season was the church of Glasco finished in that perfection as it stands to be sene at this day, right sumptuously builded, for the most part at the charges of William bishop of that see, who liued not long after the finishing of the said worke. In the yere following, which was the yere after the birth of our Saviour 1263, there fell a great dearth through both the realmes of England and Scotland, by reason of the wet harvest preceding, so that the coyne and graine was quite marred and corrupted before it could be got beside the ground.

Acho king of Norwaie, being informed how the Scots were thus oppressed with famine and other miseries, by report of them that made the same moze than it was in deed, supposed to find time and occasion fit for his purpose, to subdue them whole to his dominion. Hereupon, preparing an armie and a fleet of ships conuenient for such an enterprize, he landed with the same in the westerne Isles, on Lammas day otherwise called Petri ad Vincula. Those Isles continued under subiection of the Norwegians and Danes, from king Edgars time vnto the daies of this Acho. From thence the said Acho with a mightie power of his Danes and Norwegians came ouer into Aran and Butte, which are two Isles, and onelie at that time amongst all the residue were under the dominion of Scots. But Acho hauing quicklie subdued them at his pleasure, in hope of moze prosperous successe, transported his whole armie ouer into Albion, and landed with the same on the next coasts, where after he had besieged the castell of Airc a certeine time, he took the same, and began to waste and spoile all the countrie thereabouts.

King Alexander being soze afflicted with these newes, for that he was young, and not able (as it was doubted) to resist the force of his enemies, imboldened vpon such frequent victories as they had attained, thought best to prolong the time by colour of some treatie for a peace, that waie to diminish the enemies force, by long sojourn in campe without trial of anie battell. Whereupon were ambassadors sent vnto Acho, of the which one amongst them appointed thereto, being well languaged and wise, at their first coming before him spake in this manner.

Where it not that our king & nobles of the realme (by an ancient custome obserued euen from the beginning) doe vs first to seeke redress of all iniuries received; before they offer to be reuenged with the sword; ye should not now behold orators sent vnto you to talke of concord, but a mightie armie in obedi-

An abbey built.

An interuene March, Paris, together that in the yere 1256, both King Alexander & his wife came into England to visit King Henrie, where they found as wonderful, as in the English chronicles further appeareth.

1263.

A great dearth.

Acho king of Norwaie.

The western Isles under subiection of the Danes & Norwegians.

Acho landed in Albion.

The castell of Airc besieged and taken.

King Alexander's purpose to infect his enemies by peace.

Ambassadors sent to Acho.

The oration of one of the ambassadors.

The cause of Achos coming.

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Ambassadors  
sent to Alex

The opinion  
of one of the  
ambassadors

nance of battell comming towards you to giue the  
onset. We are of that opinion, that we neuer get so  
much gaines by victorie of the enemies, no though  
they haue robbed and spoiled our confines, but that  
we account it much better to haue peace, if we may  
haue restitution of wrongs done to vs, by some man-  
ner of honest meanes. For what greater follie may  
be, than to seeke for that by fier and sword, which may  
be purchased with faire and quiet wordes: Neuerthe-  
lesse, when our iust desires and reasonable motions  
are refused of the enemies, when we find them not  
willing to haue peace (so) the obtaining whereof all  
warres ought to be taken in hand) but rather that  
their onelie seeking is to haue warres, not respecting  
the quarrell: we are ready to esse whole together in  
revenge of such contempts with all possible speed and  
violence against our aduersaries. We are sent there-  
fore from our king and soueraigne, to inquire what  
occasion you haue thus to invade his realme and sub-  
iects, in violating that peace and league, which hath  
bene obserued and kept betwixt vs and your nati-  
on, the space of this hundred yeres, and not onelie to  
take from him his two fies of Bute and Aran, but  
also to invade the maine land of his dominions,  
with such crueltie, as neither consideration of age or  
person seemeth to be had; but that women, children,  
and feeble old persons haue passed by the sword, as  
well as those that haue stood at resistance with wea-  
pon in hand against you. What heinous offense haue  
the Scottismen at anie time committed either a-  
gainst you or anie other (whose reuengers ye may  
seeme to be) that they should deserue to haue such cru-  
eltie shewed against them? What furious ire hath  
moued you to burne the churches of God and his  
saints, with the murder of his people that flee into  
the same for safegard of their liues: But if you deare  
not God that governeth all things (by his diuine pro-  
vidence) which here in this world we see; if ye deare  
not the saints nor vengeance to come on you by the  
punishment of the righteous God: ye ought yet to  
deare the two most puissant kings of Albion, alied  
together in bond of amitie and marriage, which shall  
come against you with such puissance, that ye shall  
not be able to resist the same. Therefore sith ye may  
depart with honor, we on the behalfe of him from  
whome we are sent, do admonish you, that better it  
is for you to redresse such iniuries as ye haue already  
done, and therewith to repaire home, than to aduen-  
ture to be brought vnto such desperate ends, that  
when ye shall be constrained to seeke for mercie, the  
same in no wise will be granted vnto you. ¶ These  
wordes were spoken by the ambassadors, vpon pur-  
pose to put some terror into the hart of this hardie  
king Acho.  
Neuertheles he was abashed so little therewith, that  
he answered them in this manner. Your beliefe is  
(I perceiue) ye ambassadors, to abash vs with your  
fierce and a wofull wordes, supposing vs so weake har-  
ted, that we should leaue off our enterprize through  
your menacing threats: but ye are farre deceiued  
in this if your imagination be such. And where ye ex-  
aggerate our iniuries done to you in taking from  
you certaine fies, we perceiue you are not met nor  
indifferent persons to be chosen for iudges in that  
cause, neither do we mind to learne of you, what we  
ought to esteeme right or wrong in such behalfe. If ye  
desire further to know and vnderstand the cause why  
we haue invaded Aran and Bute, we saie and as-  
 firme, that not onelie those two fies pertaine to vs  
and our people by god title and ancient right of inhe-  
ritance, but also all the other fies of Scotland, as  
we are able by firme euidences sufficiently to proue.  
And therfore are we now come to take presentlie so  
much in value out of Scotland, as ye haue taken in

issues and profits out of those fies in times past from  
vs. Shew then to your king, that we feare neither  
his menacing wordes, nor yet anie other violence  
that he can shew against vs. Notwithstanding, if  
he be more desirous of peace than of battell, and lust-  
eth to auoid the spoiling and burning of his townes,  
and slaughter of his people; or if he desired not to see  
the utter extermination of his realme afore his eyes,  
command him to send vnto vs forthwith ten thou-  
sand marks sterling for the fruits of our lands taken  
vp and receiued by him and his elders in times past,  
and further that he make a cleare resignation of all  
claime or title that he may seeme to pretend vnto  
the said fies, in such sort that the same may passe vnder  
our dominion in perpetuall without anie con-  
tradition.

When king Alexander had heard that the answer  
of his enemy was, he was therewith sore moued,  
perceiuing no waie to eschue the battell, but that  
he should be constrained to trie fortunes chance, he  
assembled together an armie of fortie thousand men,  
that though he were not able to match his enemies  
in prouesse, he might yet passe them in number. He  
diuided his host into three battels. In the right wing  
was Alexander Stewart, a very valiant knight, ne-  
phew to that Alexander which indowed the abbeie of  
Dunblie. He had with him all the men that came forth  
of Argile, Leuenor, Atholl, and Galloway. In the left  
wing was Patrike Dunbar, hauing with him the  
men of Louthian, Fife, Perth, Berwick, and Stri-  
ueling shire. In the middle ward was the king him-  
selfe, with all the remnant people of the other parts  
of Scotland, to succour the wings when danger ap-  
peered. These battels were ordered in such arraie,  
that euery band had a capteine assigned to them of  
their owne language, to exhort them to manhood,  
thereby to win praise and honor.

At his entring into the confines of Conningham,  
where he came first within sight of his enemies, he  
called his people together, and exhorted them to do  
their dutifull indeuors like hardie and valiant men,  
against those enemies that invaded their countrie  
without anie iust cause or title of warre, and to put  
their trust in almighty God, desiring him to grant  
victorie vnto that part, which had most right and ius-  
test cause of battell. He further shewed how neces-  
sarie it was for them to behaue themselves valiant-  
lie, and how much it stood them in hand to fight with  
manlie courages, in defense of their wiues, children,  
liberties, and lands, hauing no hope of suertie of life  
but in the valiant using of their able hands, so that  
they whole safegard rested in this point, either to  
vanquish their enemies with manhood, or else to liue  
in seruile bondage as their flanes and miserable  
thralls, and to suffer their wiues and daughters to be  
abused at their lust and pleasure. He willed them  
therefore to consider, that not onelie he, but all Scot-  
land should see them fight that day, noting both their  
manhood & cowardise. But sith their cause was iust,  
and moued onlie in defense of their native countrie  
and ancient liberties, he trusted they would shew the  
more hardinesse and courage, namelie against them  
that sought onelie blood and spoile. These with other  
the like wordes king Alexander uttered with bold  
spirit to encourage his people. And on the other part  
king Acho likewise thought it expedient to use some  
exhortation vnto his armie, that they should not be  
afraid of the great number and huge multitude of  
the Scots.

The chiefest point to encourage them to do val-  
iantlie, he supposed was the hope of spoile, and there-  
fore he put them in remembrance, how by victorie  
not onelie all such riches as the Scots had brought  
thither with them (which could not be small) but also

ming into  
Scotland.

this demand.

King Alexan-  
der assembleth  
his power.

The ordering  
of the Scottish  
host.

Alexander  
Stewart lea-  
der of the  
right wing.

Patrike  
Dunbar cap-  
teine of the left  
wing.

The king in  
the middle  
ward.

King Alexan-  
der exhorteth  
his people to  
do valiantlie.

Hope of suer-  
tie in what  
point it rested.

The necessitie  
of the cause.

Desires of  
blood & spoile.

Acho exhorts  
his people.

Hope of spoile  
incentureth  
men of warre.

all the whole substance and treasure of the realme to be at their commandement, yea and the realme it selfe, if they minded to inioy it: so that this was the day which they had so much desired, wherein sufficient opportunitie was offered to them what reward should follow to eche man for his god and valiant service. But for that high enterpises and famous exploits might neuer be atchiued without extreme leopadie, it behoued them to attaine to these so great commodities by perling thorough, and ouerthrowing by dint of sword the arraied battels of their enemies, which how easie a matter it should be for the most to bring to passe, such as well considered the circumstances, might lone coniecture. For though dearth and famine which so long hath reigned amongst the Scottish people, their bodies and forces (saith he) are so wonderfullie infebled, that they appere to represent rather shadowes than full personages of men able to make resistance.

Again, in consideration how necessarie it was for euerie man to fight without fainting, sith they were inuironed on euey part without meane to escape, he desired them, that if it so fell out, that they should chance to be overcome (which as he trusted should not come to passe) that in such misadventure they would yet sell their liues dearelie, and not to die vnrreouged. Thus hauing ordered vnto them what prosperous hap followed by victorie, and what danger by the ouerthrow, he thought to haue sufficientlie instructed them to put all feare aside, and to do what lay in their uttermost forces to vanquish the enimies. The kings on either side, hauing thus exhorted their people to do their indeuors, they arraie their battells. Also disposed all his best souldiers and whole force of his armie in the middle ward, for that he had knowledge how the Scottis king was placed in the middle battell of his people: wherefore he supposed, that if he might ouerthrow and vanquish that part where the king stood, he should easilie then put the residue to flight. His wiings (because he had not number sufficient to furnish them fullie) were arraid moze weakelie in slender and thin ranks: but yet at the first incounter there was a terrible fight betwixt them, especiallie where the two kings fought: for they pleased still with great violence on that part where they saw anie danger, not ceassing to exhort e encourage their men to stand to the bargainie with manlie stomachs, so that on either side these two kings played the parts of verie ballant captaines.

Also with a band of vertie hardie shouldiers assailed sundrie times to perse and disorder the battell where king Alexander fought: notwithstanding he had so great number of people there with him, that he suffred even the ranks with fresh men where he saw it needfull. Also betwixt the wings, there was no lesse cræftie shewed on either side in the beginning of the battell, till at length the Norwegians, perceiuing themselves overpressed with multitude, and compassed in on euerie side, did somewhat begin to thinke, and first those in the left wing, constrained to breake their order, fell to running awaie. Alexander Stewart therefoze, that had the leading of the right wing of the Scots, hauing pursued the enemies a certeine space, and laine Achos nephew, a man of high reputation and authoritie amongst the Norwegians, caused the retreat to be sounded, and gathering his men againe into arae, brought them against the enemies of the middle ward, where was hardie battell betwixt the two kings, the battell continuing with great slaughter on both parts, and in certeine a long while to whether part the victorie would incline: but the Norwegians being now assailed on the backs by a new power of their enemies, at length they began to flee awaie.

In the meane time, the left wing of the Scots, whereof one Patrike had the leading, was in great danger, by reason the captaine himselſe was ſore wounded, and thereby all the companies in the ſame wing ſore diſcomforſted: but after they once beſeſt both the middle ward of their enemies was put to flight, they recovered new courages, and with great force cauſed their aduerſaries, with whom they were matched, to giue backe alſo: and ſo were the Danes and Norwegians chaſed by the Scots, with verie cruell ſlaughter through all Cunningham, not ceaſing from the perſuite of the enemies, till night made an end of that daies worke. King Acho with a ſew other eſcaped out of danger, and committing to the care of Airc, which (as ye haue heard) he had wone before, he was there informed of an other loſſe which he had ſuſſeined: for his fleet containing the number of an hundred and fiſtie ſhips, were ſo beaten with an outrageous tempeſt, that there were not paſt foure of all that number ſaued, the reſidue being diſcomet and broken againſt the rocks and cliffes. The mariners alſo, being conſtrained to come on land for ſafety of their liues, were ſlaine by the people of the countrie, ſo that ſew of them or none at all eſcaped.

Acho being thus abashed with these two infinite mischances, aswell for the losse and discomfiture of his armie by land, as for the perishing of his nauie on the seas, got him vnto those foure ships that were saued, and sailed with them about the coast, till he arrived in Orknie. In this battell, which was fought at Llargis on the third day of August, in the yere 1263, there were slaine of Danes and Norwegians 24 thousand, and of Scots about fife thousand. Thus saith Hector Boetius. But Fourdon seemeth not to agree altogether herewith, who bytelling of this inuasion made by the Norwegians into Scotland, saith, that they were but twentie thousand merrow warre in all, imbarked in foure score ships, which comming to the new castell of Aran, besieged as well the said castell of Aran, as the castell of Bute, and took them both, spoiling also the churches alongst the sea coast, and after arriving at Llargis in Cunningham, on the feast of the natiuitie of our ladie, lost the most part of their vessels, which were drowned together with thousands of men in the same. The residue that got to land, incountring with the Scots led by Alexander Steward of Dornald, were discomfited, put to flight, chased & drowned in the sea, into the which they were dyuen. Amongest other that were slaine, a nephew of king Acho was one, a yong gentleman of great valiance, and soze lamented of his vnckle. Acho had much adoe to escape himselfe, he was so egerlie pursued of his enemies.

Thus haue I thought good to shew the diuersitie of  
writers in this behalfe, that it may appere how  
things are sometimes amplified by Boetius, to ad-  
uance the glorie of his countrymen, further per-  
haps than by the simple veritie of those that did  
write before him, may in some points be well auer-  
red. But now to proceed: King Acho at his coming  
into Dreane, sent into Forwaile and Denmarke  
for a new armie, prouiding ships & all other things  
necessarie, to haue made a new inuasion into Scot-  
land against the next spring: but for that he himselfe  
departed out of this life in the beginning of the yere  
next following, all that pueruenance and great prepa-  
ration was dashed, and came to none effect. The  
same day that Acho deceased, that is to saie, the 21  
day of Ianuarie, Alexander prince of Scotland, the  
eldest son of king Alexander, whome he begot on his  
loffe queene Margaret, the sister of Henrie king of  
England, was borne, to the great reioicing of the  
people. For the people conceiued double ioy & glad-  
nesse.

High enter-  
pises atcht-  
ued with ex-  
treme perill.

The ordering  
of the battels.

The battels  
foine.

**The balancie  
of the kings.**

The great  
number of  
Scotishmen.

The left wing  
of the Moswe-  
gians are put  
to flight.

**Achos nephue**  
is flame.

The maine  
battell of the  
Norwegians  
fleeth.

The left wing  
of the House  
in danger.

The Dances  
and Foyles  
gangs chased  
by the Sco

The lollie of  
Achilles ship  
by tempest.

**The loss of the marine**

Ucho śliet  
fi, to Dżanki

1263

John Four

Guthred king  
of Man.  
Reginald.  
1228.

Plan, 02: D=

1230.

*Infus. Sodo-*  
*renses*

Plautus and  
Terence.

But.  
Aufbac Aaine

Clanney and

Georgius di-  
vide the king:

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The left hand  
of the Scots  
in danger.

The Danes  
and Portwe-  
gians chased  
by the Scots.

The loss of  
Achoy ships  
by tempest.

The loss of  
the mariners  
Achoy ships  
to Phanie.

1263;

John Foudon

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vell auer-  
omining  
nmarke

Achoy prepa-  
eth to make  
new inuasion  
into Scot-  
land, but died  
before his pro-  
cession was  
readie.  
Alexander  
prince of  
Scotland, as  
eldest sonne  
of the king  
of the  
oy & glad-  
nalle

ne he here of, because th it both a new prince was  
borne, and th it enemie dead which sought the destruc-  
tion of the whole realme. After the decesse of king  
Acho, his sonne Magnus succeeded him, a verie faith-  
full prince, and one that had the feare of God before  
his eyes.

In the second yere of his reigne, he sent his am-  
bassadors (of whom the chiefe was the chancellor of  
Portwaie) unto king Alexander, to some the y found  
at saint Johns towne, and there signified unto him,  
that king Magnus their maister would willinglie  
giue ouer all his title, right, and claime unto Aran  
and Butte, so that the residue of the Isles might re-  
maine in quiet possession of him and his successors  
in time comming. Herevnto was answer made by  
king Alexander, that the Isles by right of old inheri-  
tance pertained unto him and his progenitors kings  
of Scotland, and therefore he might not make anie  
agreement with the Danes or Portwegians, till he  
had recovered the full possession of the same Isles.

The ambassadors being dispatched and sent awaie  
with this answer, incontinentlie Alexander Ste-  
ward of Wallie, and John Cummin were sent with  
an armie ouer into Aran, which Ile they then recou-  
red (though not without blood smoth of the hands of  
the Danes and Portwegians, who had kept the same  
in possession now for the space of 167 yeres passed,  
but not without some alteration and trouble, as may  
appeare by the annales of Richard Southwell, a tow-  
ter (as should seme) well instructed in matters as  
well touching Scotland, and the north parts, as also  
concerning the state of the out Isles. And therefore  
that the same may the better appere to the readers,  
I haue thought it not impertinent to set downe what  
I haue read in the same Southwell, touching the  
kings, or rather viceroies of Aran, and those Isles  
which for a season (as should seme in deed) were sub-  
stituted by the kings of Portwaie, though it may al-  
so appere, that sometime there was a certeine succe-  
sion in them, as from the father to the sonne, & from  
the brother to the brother, &c: in manner as if it had  
borne by waie of inheritance.

In the daies of king John therefore (as saith the  
foresaid Southwell) one Godfred reigned as king in  
Aran. And in the yere 1228, one Reginald being  
king of those Isles, was murdered by wicked per-  
sons, & then his brother Olave reigned in his place.  
In the yere 1230, the king of Portwaie appointed  
one Husbar, the sonne of Edmund (surnamed Har-  
con) to gouerne the said Isles called Sodowenles,  
that is to say, the Ile of Aran, & the other Isles there  
abouts the coasts of Scotland; the which Husbar, to-  
gether with two other captains Olave and Godred,  
surnamed Don, came by sea, and arrived at Butte,  
where they wan the castell: but Husbar was slaine  
with a stone that was throwne downe upon him.  
And then after this, the foresaid Olave and Godred  
came unto the Ile of Aran, where they diuided the  
kingdome of the Isles betwixt them, so as Olave  
had Aran allotted to him for his part, and Godred the  
other Isles. But after that Godred was also slaine,  
Olave gouerned both in Aran, and in all the other  
Isles: those excepted which the sonnes of Somerleis  
held in possession. In the yere 1237, in the moneth  
of Aprill, Olave king of Aran, the sonne of Godred,  
& brother to Reginald, departed this life, after whose  
decesse his sonne Harold succeeded him, and reig-  
ned 12 yeres, being but 14 yeres of age when he  
began his reigne.

In the yere 1247, Haco king of Portwaie sent  
for Harold king of Aran to come unto his coronati-  
on, the comming whither, was honorable received,  
and obtained king Hacos daughter in marriage:  
but as he returned from thence, in the yere 1249,

together with his wiffe, they perished in the seas by a  
tempest on the coasts of Ireland. Then succeeded his  
brother Reginald, who reigned but 27 daies, for he  
was slaine the first of June the same yere, by the ser-  
uants of a knight called Puarus. Then Harold the  
sonne of Godred Don gouerned Aran one yere, be-  
ing remoued by the king of Portwaie: & after him  
Magnus the sonne of Olave began his reigne ouer  
Aran & the other Isles, by consent of the Hanskemen  
themselves. But in the yere 1254, one Puarus was  
ordained king, or rather viceroie of those Isles, & go-  
uerned the same, till the foresaid Magnus king of  
Portwaie resigned his title to all the said Isles unto  
king Alexander (as ye haue heard) who placed his  
lieutenants there, of whom the first was called Go-  
ded mac Hares, the second Alane. And after him  
Haurice Sharsaire succeeded; and then followed one  
that was the kings chaplaine.

For the time of the resignation made, I folloio  
Hector Boetius, by reason of some contrarietie which  
appeareth in Southwell in the account of the yeres  
assigned to the reignes of those Island kings, if you  
consent the same with the time of the foresaid resig-  
nation. But now to the matter. The lieutenant ap-  
pointed to haue the rule of those Isles, now that they  
were thus come into the hands of the Scots, was  
bound by his office to be readie with thirtene ships,  
and four hundred mariners to come to the aid of the  
Scots, at all times when he should thereto be requir-  
ed. After this, were the earles of Atholl, Carrike,  
and Arch, Alexander Steward, with the thanes  
of Argyle, and Lennox, sent with a puissant armie  
unto the other of the westerne Isles, the which those  
that were greatest, they brought with much a do-  
under the obedience of the crowne of Scotland, the  
residue submitted themselves.

Magnus king of Portwaie informed hereof, sent  
eriksones his chancellor in ambassage unto king A-  
lexander, to trie if he might by treatie recover a-  
gaine those Isles: and if he might not bring that to  
passe, prt to compband with him for a pecunie tri-  
bute. The first motion of the chancellor would in  
no wise be heard, therefore surceasing to spend anie  
longer time about it, they fell in communication  
touching the second, which took effect at length in  
this wise. King Magnus by his letters vnder his  
great seale, renounced and gaue ouer his right or  
claime that he had or might haue, both for him and  
his successors to all the Isles of Scotland. And king  
Alexander for this resignation was agreed to paie  
the said king of Portwaie, foure thousand marks  
sterling, together with a pension of tribute of an  
hundred marks by yere. And for the more confir-  
mation of loue and amitie betwixt the two kings  
and their people, Margaret the daughter of king  
Alexander, being not past one yeres of age, was  
promised in marriage unto Hanigo, the sonne of  
king Magnus, the same marriage to be consummat  
when she came to yeres mariable. Further, in  
place where the greatest slaughter of Danes and  
Portwegians had bene made, it was covenanted  
that an hospitall should be erected & founded there,  
for the sustentation of poore folks.

About this season, there were great warres in  
England betwixt king Henrie and his barons, of  
whome the chiefe was Simon Mountfort earle of  
Leicester, and diuerse other. B. Henrie being not  
well able to withstand his aduersaries attempts, re-  
quered B. Alexander to lend him some aid of Scots  
to subdue the rebels of his realme, that had arre-  
res warres against him. Herevpon thortlie after,  
was Alexander Cummin, with five thousand chosen  
men, sent by king Alexander into England, who  
right valiantlie bare themselves in that war which  
king

1240.

Reginald  
he began to  
reigne the first  
of Aprill.  
Puarus.  
Harold.

Magnus.

1254.

Puarus.

Lieutenant or  
baillie of the  
Isle of Aran  
under the  
Scots.

The westerne  
Isles recou-  
red out of the  
hands of the  
Portwegians

The chancel-  
lor of Port-  
waie ambassa-  
dor to king  
Alexander.

The release of  
Magnus  
king of Port-  
waie to the  
Scottish Isles.

A pecunie  
pension.

Margaret B.  
Alexanders  
daughter.

warre in  
England.

King Henrie  
required aid of  
the Scots.

Alexander  
Cummin sent  
into Eng-  
land.

Robin Hood  
and little  
John his  
companion.

A legat from  
pope Clement

The legats  
demand.

The answer  
of king Alex-  
ander to the  
legats mes-  
sage.

The more pre-  
cepts the more  
offendours.

King Alex-  
anders wife-  
dome praised  
by king Hen-  
ric.

A thousand  
marks sent to  
the pope.

Scottish cap-  
tains sent in-  
to Affrike.

1270.  
Thomas  
earle of Car-  
rike.

Martha  
daughter to  
the earle of  
Carrike.

Robert  
Bruce.

Robert  
Bruce married  
to Martha  
daughter to  
the earle of  
Carrike.

king Henrie held against his barons, thereof in the English chronicle ye may read more at large. In these daies (as the translator of Hector Boecius hath written) that notable and most famous outlaw Robin Hood lived, with his fellow little John, of whom are many fables and merie tells devised and long amongst the vulgar people. But John Maior writeth that they lived (as he doth gesse) in the daies of king Richard the first king of England, 1198.

In the yeare next and immediatlie following, after that Henrie king of England had subdued his domesticall enemies, there came a legat from pope Clement the fourth, requiring him to haue a collection of monie in Scotland towards the charges of lenieng an armie against the Saracens. But this legat was not receined into the realme, but commanded to shew his message vpon the borders. He demanded therfore of euerie parish-church in Scotland foure marks sterling, and of euerie abbey foure score marks. And to the end he might the sooner purchase fauor to the furtherance of his purpose, he deuised by the way certeine statutes and ordinances right profitable to be used in the realme of Scotland, as he iudged. But king Alexander for answer hereunto alledged, that the Scots minded not to receiue anie statutes or decrees, other than such as were ordeined by the pope, or some generall counsell: for by a generall rule; The more precepts, the more offendours are alwaies found. And as touching the request made for the collection of so great summes of monie, it was not thought necessarie, that so much coine should go forth of the realme: neuertheless if it were thought expedient, he would be contented to send forth at his owne proper costs and charges, a number of armed men to go with the christian armie against the Turks: but for monie otherwise forth, the realme would not depart with anie, least it should be wastfullie spent, or taken by the way of theues, as it had bene aforesaid.

Henrie king of England praised much the wisdom of king Alexander for this his answer, as he declared shortly after by his sonne prince Edward, who came to visit his sister the queene, and his brother in law king Alexander at Roxburgh, where they met him; for ye must vnderstand that king Henrie had also learned by experience to be wise in that behalfe, as well as others. King Alexander yet after this sent vnto the pope a thousand marks in silver: and vnto Lewis the French king, that required his aid in that iourne which he made into Affrike against the Saracens there, a thousand souldiers, vnder the leading of the earles of Carrike & Atholl, John Steuard brother of Alexander Steuard, Alexander Cummin, Robert Beth, George Durward, John Duincie, & William Gordon. All these going ouer with king Lewis into Affrike, died there, either vpon the enemies sword, or by the intemperat heat of that countrie (whereof they had not bene accustomed) in the yeare after the incarnation 1270. The earle of Carrike, whose name was Thomas, perishing thus amongst the residue in Affrike, left no inheritor behind him to inuoy his lands, leaving a daughter named Martha, being then about fifteene yeares of age. This young ladie, chancing to ride on hunting in the woods for pastime and solace, as she was, fortunely by aduenture to meet with a noble young man one Robert Bruce the sonne and heire to Robert Bruce the lord of Anandale in Scotland, and Cleueland in England, begot of Isabell the second daughter of Dauid earle of Huntington. The ladie immediatlie became so inamorozed of this young gentleman, that she led him with her home vnto Carrike, where (without making hir friends priuite to the matter) she married him in all hast, least any

man should be about to hinder hir determined purpose. Of this marriage was borne that Robert Bruce which after wards (through want of heires of the linage of king Alexander) attained the crowne of Scotland. As soon as Alexander was aduertised hereof, he took such indignation that he should bestow his selfe so lightlie vpon one whom he neuer saw before, that he seized his castell of Turneburgh into his hands, with all his other lands and possessions, as it were by escheat, for that she had married without his consent. Notwithstanding, within short while after he took pittie on his case, and for an easie composition of monie which she paid for his marriage, restored to hir againe all his lands and liuings, suffering hir to inuoy her husband without anie more trouble or vexation. In the third yeare after, the said ladie was deliuered of the afore-remembered Robert Bruce that was after king of Scotland. And the same yeare, which was the yeare after the birth of our Sauour 1274, Dauid the second son of king Alexander deceased; and the third yeare after, the brethren of Edward king of England came into Scotland to visit the queene their sister, & their brother in law the king: & after did attend them in their iourne to London, whither they went to be present at the coronation of the foresaid Edward, as then returned south of Affrike after the deceasse of his father king Henrie, to take vpon him the gouernment of the kingdome descended vnto him by right of inheritance. He was crowned the same yeare on the day of the assumption of our ladie in August, with great solemnitie and triumph.

At the same time there was a flozeman in king Edwards court, of such passing strength of bodie, that he ouerchew all men with whom he wrestled, till at length one Fergushard a Scottishman borne, of the countrie of Rosse, descended of noble parentage, banquished him to his great praise & aduancement in honor: for king Alexander in guerdon of so worthie a deed there done in the presence of so honorable an assemblie, gaue vnto him the earldome of Rosse for euermore. Of this Fergushard succeeded five earles all of his surname, but the first earle was named William Rosse, otherwile Leslie, in whose sonne the seventh earle failed the dignitie of that house for fault of succession. At the same time prince Alexander king Alexanders sonne did homage vnto king Edward for the earldome of Huntington, as the Scottish writers do testifie. Shortly after that king Alexander was returned south of England at that time into Scotland, his wife queene Margaret deceased, and was buried in Dunfermling. She bare by him two sonnes, Alexander and Dauid, and one daughter named Margaret, the which (according to the assurance before made) was married about thre yeares after her mothers deceasse, vnto Hamgo, or rather Aquine king of Powwaie, and deceased in the second yeare after the solemnization of the marriage, leaving behind hir a daughter named also Margaret.

But before this hap fell so out, euen immediatlie after the death of queene Margaret the mother, her younger sonne Dauid deceased: by reason whereof, king Alexander being carefull of his succession, procured a marriage for his elder sonne prince Alexander, with the earle of Flanders his daughter, the which being brought into Scotland, was married vnto the said prince in Jedburgh, on the Sunday after the feast of saint Martine in winter, in the yeare of our Lord 1279. The feast of this marriage was holden with great triumph and solemnitie continuing for the space of fifteene daies together. & This yeare a number of the Scottish nobilitie, which had attended the ladie Margaret into Powwaie, were lost

King Alexander  
der bishop  
South the  
said Margare

Robert  
Bruce that  
was after  
king of Scot  
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King Alexan  
der with his  
wife the  
queene came  
to London.

A flozeman  
of passing  
strength.  
Fergushard  
Scottishman  
ouerchew  
said flozeman

The earle  
dome of Ros  
gaue to Will  
iam Rosse  
alias Leslie.

The death  
queene Marg  
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The marri  
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Dauid sonne  
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age of Alexan  
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1279.

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King Alexan-  
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Wife that  
was after  
king of Scot-  
land is borne  
1274.

King Alexan-  
der with his  
wife the  
quene came  
to London.

A Royman  
of pulling  
strength.  
Fergus and  
Scottishmen  
overthrew the  
said Royman.

The earle  
dome of King  
given to Wil-  
liam Rolle  
alias Leslie.

The death of  
quene Marg-  
aret.

The marriage  
of Margare-  
t king Alexan-  
ders daughter  
ter.

The death of  
David sonne  
to king Alex-  
ander.

The marriage  
of Alexander  
prince of  
Scotland.

1279.

The death of  
Alexander  
king of  
Scotland.

The death of  
Margaret  
quene of  
Scotland.

A council  
at Lions.

The house of  
the freres.

Commande-  
ment given  
quene Mar-  
garet to the  
freres.

The sholdan  
contrarie to  
the true in-  
terpretation  
of the law.

The Scots  
contribution  
to the house  
of the holy  
land.

King Alexander  
maried the  
daughter of  
the earle of  
Chempaign  
the daughter  
of the count  
of Southw.

A Southwell  
barnet some-  
what from the  
Scottish in-  
terests in re-  
spect of the  
king's daugh-  
ters.

H.B.

1290.

H.B.

1286, 1287, 1288.

The death of  
Thomas of  
Erilton.

A prophetic  
of the  
times.

lost by shipwacke; as they would have returned  
backe againe to Scotland after the consummation  
of hir marriage there with king Hamigo or Aquine.  
Whilie after, by the force of deaths dreadfull dint,  
two greivous losses chanced unto king Alexander,  
the one following in the necke of another. For first  
his eldest sonne prince Alexander, being not past  
twentie yeares of age, departed out of this world,  
without leaving anie issue behind him; and not long  
after, his daughter Margaret quene of Forwaie  
deceased also, leaving behind hir one onelie daugh-  
ter (as before is mentioned) being as yet but an  
infant.

In the same yere was a generall councill holden  
at Lions, the pope and a great multitude of the pre-  
lats of christendome being there assembled. To  
this councill were summoned to appeare all the pro-  
vincials, wardens, and ministers of the begging  
friers. And for that there were so manie sundrie or-  
ders of them, each man desiring of his owne baine  
some new alteration; all those orders were reduced  
into the foure orders, which after by the church of  
Rome were approved and allowed. A generall com-  
mandement was also given, that no man should go  
about to begin anie new forme of such baine super-  
stitious orders, which appoint themselves to such  
labors, to the end they may live in pleasure, lust & idle-  
nes, upon the trauell of other mens bowes. In this  
mean time, after that the christian armie was retur-  
ned home out of Affrike, by reason of a truce con-  
cluded with the Soldan, the same Soldan that truce  
notwithstanding ceased not to make great slaugh-  
ters and invasions upon those christian men that re-  
mained behind. The christian princes soze moved  
herewith, made their appells for a new expedition  
into the holie land. The Scots gave the tenth penie  
of all their lands, or rather (as some bookes say) the  
tenth part of all tithes belonging to churches, to the  
furtherance of this toynie: notwithstanding through  
such enuie and contentions as rose amongst the said  
princes, that toynie brake, to the great damage and  
preiudice of the christian faith.

King Alexander having lost his wife and chil-  
dren in maner as is before expessed, not onelie hee  
himselfe, but also all Scotland was in great pen-  
suene and sorrow, each man by a certeine soze  
lodgement and misgiving in mind, doubting the  
unhap that might thereof insue. But yet did king  
Alexander, by the advice of his nobles, in hope of  
new issue, marie the daughter of the earle of Cham-  
paign in France, named Yolant. The marriage was  
celebrated at Jedburgh with great feasting and tri-  
umph: but that ioy and blithnesse indured not long  
after. For the same yere on the 18 day of April, as  
he was galloping upon a fierce horse at Kingorne,  
forcing him in his race somewhat rashlie, he was  
tholne over the west cliffe towards the sea by a  
wonderfull misfortune, so rudelie, that he brake his  
necke, and so therewith immediatlie died in the 42  
yere of his reigne. He was buried at Dunfer-  
ling, in the yere after the incarnation 1290. It is  
said, that the daie before the kings death, the earle of  
March a little before night, demanded of one Tho-  
mas Leimont, otherwise named Thomas the ri-  
mer, or (as the translator of Hector Boetius saith)  
Thomas Erilton (who in those daies was reputed  
for a noble prophet) or (as we may call him) a sooth-  
sayer, what weather they should have on the morrow.  
To whome the said Thomas answered, that on the  
morrow [before none] should blow the worst wind  
and tempest that ever was heard of in Scotland at  
anie time before.

On the morrow when the skie appeared cleare  
and bright, without cloud or anie other signe of foule

weather, and that it blew vnto the midst of the  
daie, and no wind heard from anie side, but all calme  
and quiet, the earle of March sent for the forenamed  
Thomas, and told him that he had mistaken his  
marks, in prophesying of anie such notable tempest  
as he had spoken of the night before, considering it  
proued so lithe a daie, without appearance of anie  
tempest to insue. This Thomas said little thereto,  
saying that he said it was not yet past none. And  
incontinentlie hereupon came a post to the castell  
gate of Dunbar, where this earle of March as then  
laie, bringing word of the kings sudden death, as  
before is recited. Then said the prophet: That is  
the scathfull wind and dreadfull tempest, which shall  
blow such calamitie and trouble to the whole state of  
the whole realme of Scotland. This Thomas was  
a man in great admiration of the people, shewing  
sundrie things, as they after ward chanced: howbeit  
they were euer bid and inuolued under the veile of  
darke and obscure speeches.

Anie strange wonders and unkinde sights were  
seene in the daies of this Alexander the third. In the  
17 yere of his reigne, there was such an infinit  
number of wormes through all the parties of Al-  
bion, that not onelie the leanes and fruits of trees,  
but also flowers & herbs in gardens were eaten by  
and consumed with them. And in the same yere, the  
waters of Forth and Taye rose with such high tides  
in flowing over the banks, that manie towines and  
villages were drowned, to the great destruction  
both of men and beasts. In the 20 yere of his reigne,  
there was a comet or blasing starre seene of a mer-  
vellous quantitie, shining euerie day toward the  
south, even about none daies. On the Epiphanie  
day next after, rose so great winds, with stormes of  
such immeasurable great hailstones, that manie  
towines were throtne downe by violence thereof.  
In the meane time, rose through the vehement rage  
of winds, a sudden fire, in manie bounds within the  
realme of Scotland, that did much hurt to buildings  
and edifices, burning by steeples with such force of  
fire, that the belles were in diuerse places melted, as  
though it had bene in a fornace. Amongest other,  
those of the abbey of Abirgothke were most preti-  
ous, which were as then consumed together with the  
steple wherein they hung. The towines of Aberdeen  
and Perth were burned the same time: also part of  
Lainrike, with the temple, and all the towines and  
villages in Clow, a part of Angus: and likewise  
manie towines and other buildings in Lothian, and  
in diuers other parts of the realme, so long here to  
rehearse.

In the 21 yere of his reigne, was the first com-  
ming of the pestilence into Scotland, with great  
mortalitie of the people, where it had not bene heard  
before that time. In the solemnization of the second  
marriage of king Alexander, as the bridegrome (ac-  
cording to the manner) led the bride in a danse, a  
great number of lords and ladies following them in  
the same danse, there appeared to their sight as it  
were cloving by the hindermost of the dancers, a  
creature resembling death, all naked of flesh & live,  
with bare bones right dreadfull to behold. Through  
which spectacle, the king and the residue of all the  
companie were so astonied, and put in such fright  
& feare, that they had quicklie made an end of their  
danse for that time. In the daies of this Alexander  
the third, lived sundrie great clearkes. Amongst o-  
ther, Michaell Scot was reputed for an excellent  
physician, and for his singular practise & knowledge  
in that profession was no lesse esteemed and had in  
high fauour with Edward king of England, than  
with king Alexander, during his life time.

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Unkinde  
sights and  
wonders.

High tides.

A blasing  
starre.

Great winds.

Fire caused  
through winds.

Bells melted

The first com-  
ming of the  
pestilence into  
Scotland.

A strange  
sight in dan-  
cing.

A learned man.

Michaell  
Scot a phy-  
sician.

Francis Thins  
addition, to  
this marke.)

The lawes of  
Alexander the  
third.

This Alexander made manie healthfull and good  
lawes, whereof most by the negligence of men, and  
longnesse of time are worne away; so that things  
so profitablie by him deuised, same rather by report  
to haue bene ordeined, than that they are by cu-  
stome practised. He diuided the kingdome into foure  
parts, through which he made his progresse almost  
euerie yere, remaining about thre moneths in e-  
uerie place, there to sit in iudgement, and to heare  
the complaints of the poore, at what time the meanest  
person might haue free access vnto him. As often  
as he went into anie prouince to giue sentence of  
law, he commanded the gouernor of that place to re-  
ceiue him with a chosen companie; and when he de-  
parted thence, to bring him to the borders of his iur-  
isdiction, where he was honorable receiued of the  
next gouernors. The which traouelling about his  
realme he vsed, to the end that he might know all  
his nobilitie, and that he might also be knowne of  
all others. During which time of his progresse, no  
great traine or multitude of courtiers did follow  
him; bicause he would not charge his people in recei-  
uing of them; and for that cause also abated and re-  
streined the troope of horsemen which followed the  
nobilitie, and brought them into a certeine & meane  
number, bicause he supposed that the multitude of  
horses (whereof in warre there was no vse) were  
needlesse deuourers of meat. Further, he forbad his  
people to trauell by sea for gaine or merchandize,  
when he considered that through the unskillfulness of  
sailing, the rashnesse that men vsed in committing  
themselves to the sea, and the rapine of pirats, ma-  
nie men were lost, and their goods spoiled: whereby  
the merchants were diuened to extreame pouertie.  
Which precept when it had continued almost a whole  
yere, and by manie mens speeches was reprehended  
as dangerous and hurtfull to the weale publike,  
at the length there arrived such plentie of strange  
merchandize in Scotland, that the abundance and  
cheapenesse thereof did exceed the memoire of anie  
former age. But yet to take order with and for the  
benefit of the merchants, he forbad his people to buye  
anie thing brought in by strangers, but such as  
were merchants of his land, and that all the other  
people should buye of them such things as they  
needed.)

Scotland  
without a k.  
and gouernor.

Whiche for  
insisting for  
lacke of a  
king.

Sir gouer-  
nors chosen to  
haue the rule  
of Scotland.

King Alexander the third, being in such miserable  
wise deceased, as before is specified, the realme re-  
mained in great discomfort, by reason he had neither  
left anie issue behind him to succeed in the gouerne-  
ment thereof, neither taken order in his life time by  
testament, or otherwise, for anie other to supplie the  
rome of a gouernor, so that hereof ensued such infi-  
nit misorders, by the presumption of wicked and in-  
gratious persons, the which vpon hope to escape unpun-  
ished (bicause iustice was like to want due pro-  
cesse) ceased not to attempt manie vnlawfull acts,  
to the greivous oppression of the people: which mis-  
ruled demcanors and disordered enterpises of those  
outragious persons, when such as had anie zeale to  
the wealth of their countrie vnderstood dailie to mul-  
tiplye and increase, they thought it appertained to  
their duties to prouide some remedie in due time,  
and there vpon called a counsell together, wherein  
after sundrie consultations had, and manie matters  
debated touching the rule of the realme, it was fi-  
nallie agreed, that sir gouernors should be elected and  
chosen, of the which three should haue the administra-  
tion and rule of the north parts, and these were Wil-  
liam Fraser bishop of saint Andrews, Duncane  
earle of Fife, & John Cummin earle of Buchquane.  
The other three were appointed to the gouernance of  
the south countries, that is to say, Robert bishop of  
Glasgow, sir John Cummin (a man of high estima-

tion for his wisdom and experience as well in mat-  
ters concerning peace as warre) and James high  
steward of Scotland.

But in the meane time Edward king of Eng-  
land, surnamed Longshanks, call in his mind, how  
he might make some conquest of Scotland, now the  
same was thus destitute of an head to gouerne it.  
And for that he well vnderstood that the daughter of  
Dorwaite (of whom before ye haue heard) was right  
inheritor to the crowne of Scotland, though she  
were but vertie yong in yeres, & not able for mari-  
age: yet to compasse his purpose that waies south,  
he sent his ambassadors vnto the lords of Scotland,  
requiring to haue hir to wife, and the realme with-  
all, as due vnto hir by good title and right of inheri-  
tance. The lords, after long deliberation herein had,  
consented to his desire, vnder these conditions, that  
the realme should remaine in all freedoms and liber-  
ties, without anie kind of seculie subiection, in the  
same maner and state as it was vsed in the daies  
of king Alexander last deceased, and other his noble  
progenitors: and if it chanced, that no issue came of  
this marriage to succeed them, then should the crowne  
returne by remainder ouer to the next heirs of king  
Alexander, without anie claime or pretext of title to  
be made by king Edward, or anie of his successors  
in time to come.

Immediatlie herewith, two noble knights, sir  
John Scot of Albawore, and sir James Menis,  
were sent into Dorwaite to fetch the bride ouer into  
Scotland: but before their coming thither, she  
was deceased, & so they returned backe into Scot-  
land againe without effect of their errand. And thus  
by means of hir death, all amitie betwixt English  
men and Scots ceased. Then began to ensue great  
trouble and businesse in Scotland, by reason of the  
contention which sprang betwixt the kinsmen of  
king Alexander, for the title and claime which they se-  
uerallie made and pretended to the crowne. Where  
were three chiefe that seemed by nearnesse of blood  
to haue most right, and therefore made most earnest  
sute in their claime: John Balioll, Robert Bruce,  
and John Hastings. This Robert Bruce was sonne  
to the son of that Robert Bruce, which married Ma-  
bell the yongest daughter to David earle of Huns-  
tington, on whom he got a son named also Robert,  
that married the inheritor of Carrike, as we haue  
shewed before, whose sonne this Robert Bruce was,  
that now claimed the crowne. John Balioll came of  
Margaret, eldest daughter to the foresaid David  
earle of Hunsington: for Alane lord of Galloway,  
which married the said Margaret, begot on hir two  
daughters, of the which the eldest named Dervogill,  
was giuen in marriage vnto sir John Balioll, father  
vnto this John Balioll, that thus made claime to the  
crowne: alledging that forsomuch that he was  
come of the eldest daughter of earle David, the bro-  
ther of king William, he ought by reason to be re-  
puted as next heire to the same king William, & by  
none other person alieue approached so nere vnto him  
in blood.

Here I thinke it conuenient before any more  
be spoken of this historie, to interlace somewhat (be-  
sides that which is alreadie spoken, being here in part  
repeated) of the descent of this Dervogill, the daugh-  
ter of Alane lord of Galloway, beginning the same  
somewhat higher, in this sort. In the reigne of Wil-  
liam I. of Scots, which began in the yere of Christ  
1160, as saith Lelies, lib. 6. pag. 226, Fergusius  
gouernor of Galloway left two sons, Gilbert, and  
Ethred, who after the death of their father, fell at va-  
riance for the lands of Galloway, to be diuided be-  
twixt them in equall portions. This hall coming  
to the eares of king William, he was desirous to  
quench

How can the  
be true, for  
Edward had a wife at  
that time: but  
because the  
Scottish lawe  
was then  
different from  
ours, they  
were not  
reckoned as  
one in the  
lawe.

Of this mat-  
ter though not  
wholly is  
related before,  
yet, as  
the cronicle  
has another  
another.

The daughter  
of Dorwaite  
deceased.

The conten-  
tion betwixt  
the kinsmen of  
king Alexander  
for the crowne.  
The manner  
of this matter  
in the English  
historians.

The ancedors  
of Robert  
Bruce.

The time of  
the Balioll  
with his title  
to the crowne.

Whiche for  
insisting for  
lacke of a  
king.

Whiche for  
insisting for  
lacke of a  
king.

Whiche for  
insisting for  
lacke of a  
king.

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of Eng-  
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Scotland,  
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to Scot-  
And thus  
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There  
of blood  
I earnest  
rt Buse,  
as sonne  
ried Mar-  
of Hun-  
Robert,  
me haue  
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I came of  
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alloway,  
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sious to  
quench

How can the  
be true, when  
Edward had a  
that time: be-  
verie the  
Scottish wy-  
ters them-  
themselves  
uer come to  
to much mis-  
lice in most  
things which  
they wrote in  
the deformati-  
on of Edward

The daughter  
of Edward  
deceased.

The conten-  
tion betwixt  
the kindred  
of Edward  
for the crown,  
the more of  
this matter in  
the English  
histories.

The ancest-  
ors of Robert  
Bruce.

The line of  
the Balliol  
which his title  
to the crowne.

Fr. Thia.

Buchanan.

Wil. Parus  
named him  
Edward.

quench those flames of unkindnesse betwene the  
said brethren, and for that cause with indifference  
(as he supposed) he went to pacifie and satisfie each  
part, by dividing the inheritance equally betwene  
them. But Gilbert highlie taking this partition in  
grudge (because he was eldest, & that the whole inhe-  
ritance belonged to him) did with like hatred pursue  
both the king and his brother, the one as enuious a-  
gainst him, and the other as an unequall iudge, in gi-  
uing his right from him. Wherefore when king Wil-  
liam was taken prisoner of the Englishmen, this  
Gilbert being of bold spirit (and now by the kings  
misgaping out of all danger, being deliuered from the  
feare of anie law) began to utter his conceiued ha-  
tred till this time couertlie concealed. For upon the  
sudden, he took his brother prisoner, put out his eyes,  
cut out his tongue, and not contented with a simple  
death (to be giuen unto him at one instant) did most  
miserable a long time together put him to paine, by  
dismembryng the seuerall parts of his bodie, before  
he should die. After which wretched fact against his  
owne brother, he ioined himselfe to the English na-  
tion, and taking prizes on the borders, he did unna-  
turalie and traitorouslie (as it were an utter eni-  
mie to his countrie) rage against his owne citizens,  
with all kind of murther and slaughter of battell. In  
which he did such harme, and so great oppression, as if  
he had not bene resisted by his nephew Rowland (ga-  
thering a strong power to him of such common peo-  
ple as remained stedfast in dutifull obedience to the  
imprisoned king) he had utterlie spoiled all the coun-  
tries adioining to England, or else would wholie  
haue brought them into his subiection. For this  
Rowland a lustie young gentleman, bold of spirit, in-  
dowed with noble strength of mind and bodie, did not  
onelie beat downe the force of his vncle, but did ma-  
nie times (and that sometimes most hapillie) fight  
with the English, when they spoiled his native soile,  
or that he made anie inuasion into their borders.

At length when king William was deliuered of  
restraint, and returned into Scotland, this Gilbert  
(notwithstanding all his former euils) by the media-  
tion of his friends, found fauor in the king, and was  
pardoned of all his offenses, but yet so as he promi-  
sed to make recompense of all such damages as he  
had committed; for the sure performance whereof,  
he found sufficient pledges to the king. But Gilbert  
shortlie after departing this life, they which had ser-  
ued vnder him, giuen by continuall use vnder the  
and blood, did yeld themselves to the fauourable pro-  
tection of the king of England, either for inconstan-  
cie of mind, or feare of punishment, being touched  
with remorse of conscience for the euill which they  
had before committed. These men thus shabowed vnder  
the wings of England, did againe take armes a-  
gainst their countrie, vnder the conduct of Gilpa-  
trike, Henrie Kennedie, and Samuell, who before  
had bene authors and executors to Gilbert, of all  
such euils as were by him perfozmed. Against whom  
was Rowland sent with an armie, who in a set bat-  
tell slue the capteine, and a multitude of both kinds  
of the common people. They which escaped the con-  
flict, did fle to the refuge of one Gilcombe, capteine  
of such persons as liued vpon spoile and pilfering,  
who by continuance of followers, & increase of peo-  
ple, were now growne to some number, & did wan-  
der ouer all Louthian, robbing & spoiling in euerie  
place where they set foot: and not so content, did from  
thence passe into Galloway, where this Gilcombe  
tooke in hand the defense of Gilberts cause (now vt-  
terlie forsaken of all men) vnder colour whereof, he  
not onelie challenged the inheritance belonging to  
Gilbert, but also behaued himselfe as chiefe lord of  
all Galloway. At length encountering with this

Rowland in the kalends of October (the third mo-  
neth after the companie of this Gilbert was be-  
fore dispersed) this Gilcombe was valiantlie slaine,  
with the greatest number of his followers, by the  
said Rowland, on whose part there was verie few  
missing.

The king of England highlie offended therewith  
(because the yere before they had sowne themselves  
to serue faithfullie vnder him against their owne  
blood) came in haste with a maine armie to Carleill  
to seeke reuenge thereof. Which when William king  
of Scots vnderstood, he laboured by all the meanes  
he could, to appease the king of Englands displea-  
sure, and to reconcile this Rowland vnto him. In the  
end the king of Scots wrought so with the Eng-  
lish, that Rowland was admitted to come to Car-  
leill to the presence of the king of England, the which  
Rowland did accordingly. At that time before the  
king of England, refelling the slanderous accusati-  
ons of his aduersaries (and further declaring that he  
had done nothing either rashlie, or vniustlie against  
his and the common wealthis enimie) he was hono-  
rable by the English king suffered to depart from  
Carleill. These things thus done, & king William  
returned into Scotland, he called to remembrance  
the continuall constancie and good seruice, which  
thye the father of Rowland had manie times done  
to him and to the realme; therewithall not forget-  
ting the twoshie exploits which this Rowland had of  
late perfozmed for the common wealthe: for which  
considerations he twoshie recompensed the said  
Rowland, in bestowing on him the whole countrie  
of Galloway. And further (although he did not me-  
rit the same by reason of his fathers euils) yet the  
king mildlie considering, that the sonne was not to  
beare the offense of the father (but hoping by this in-  
deserued liberalitie, to bind him faithfullie to serue  
him) did giue the lands of Carrike vnto the sonne of  
the said Gilbert. All which William Parus repeateth  
to haue happened in the yere of Christ 1183.

Rowland being thus made lord of Galloway,  
married the sister of William Haytill constable of  
Scotland, who dieng without issue, obtained the  
same office by inheritance in right of his wife, from  
whome did issue Alane lord of Galloway, and con-  
stable of Scotland, by inheritance from his mother,  
a valiant gentleman, and such a person as for his no-  
table seruice (imploied in Ireland on the behalfe of  
John king of England) was rewarded by the said  
king with honorable and rich revenues: for which by  
the permission of William king of Scotland, he pro-  
fessed himselfe the liege man of John king of Eng-  
land, and sware fealtie vnto him. This Alane (as is  
before said) married Margarete the elder daughter of  
David earle of Huntingdon, of whome he raised thre  
daughters, whereof the eldest being Doznagill, was  
married to Balioll, the second to Bruce: in right of  
which Doznagill, the sonne of this Balioll challenged  
the crowne of Scotland, as descended from the el-  
der sister. On the other side Robert Bruce, albeit he  
was descended of the yongest daughter to earle Da-  
uid, yet was he come of the first issue male, for his fa-  
ther was first borne, and therefore if king William  
had deceased without issue, the crowne had descen-  
ded to him: for which consideration he maintained  
that he ought now to be preferred. Hastings also for  
his part, because he was come of the yongest daugh-  
ter of king David, married to his father Henrie Ha-  
stings, wanted not allegations to propone, why he  
ought to be admitted. Beside these, there were other  
also, that made claime to the crowne of Scotland,  
and had matter sufficient to mainteine their sute.  
This controuersie being brought before the gouer-  
nors, was at sundrie times argued with much con-  
solation,

Rowland re-  
stayed to the  
fauour of the  
king of Eng-  
land.

Rowland  
made lord of  
Galloway.

Carrike giuen  
to the sonne of  
Gilbert.

Rowland con-  
stable of Scot-  
land.

Alane lord of  
Galloway, &  
constable of  
Scotland.

The title of  
Robert Bruce

Hastings.

The doubt of  
the governours

Fr. Thin.  
Buchanan.

The title  
doubtfull.

Fr. Thin.  
Buchanan.  
The nobles  
swore to  
stand to the or-  
der of king  
Edward.

This report  
of the Scottish  
writers smel-  
eth altogether  
of malice con-  
ceived against  
him, for that  
he scourged  
them so fore  
for their  
untruths.

Respect of  
persons in de-  
ciding contro-  
versies is not  
to be confide-  
red.

sention, not without the assistance of the nobles fa-  
uoring the parties, as occasion of friendship or kin-  
red moued them, namelie Balioll and Bruce had no  
small number that leaned vnto their parts; by rea-  
son whereof, the governours were in doubt to proceed  
to anie definite sentence in the matter, least if they  
declared one of them king, an other would attempt  
to stirpe the crowne by force.

Hereupon they iudged it best to refferre the deci-  
sion of all this whole matter to some mightie king,  
which was of puissance able to confreine the parties  
repugnant to obey his sentence. Herevnto was  
none thought so meet as Edward king of England,  
and therefore they chose him. [Of whose faith and loue  
towards them, they did not anie whit mistrust, be-  
cause Alexander the last king of Scots had found the  
father of this Edward, both a louing father in law to  
himselfe, and byright tutor to his realme. Wherevnto  
also they ioined this cause of hope in king Edward,  
for that the said Edward had of late before tried the  
fauor of the Scots towards him, by a singular testi-  
monie, in that they so easilie consented to ioine the  
heire of Scotland with the son of the said Edward.]  
Whereupon king Edward toke this charge vpon  
him, as competent iudge, & promised by a certein day  
to come vnto Berwik, willing that their counsell  
might be assembled there against that time. At his  
comming thither, at the day assigned, and hauing  
heard what could be said on ech part, and throughtlie  
considering at length their allegations, he perceiued  
the same doubtfull, and required a longer time to dis-  
cuss the truth by god aduise of counsell: and there-  
fore required to haue twelue Scottishmen, the best  
learned and most skilfull lawiers of all the realme to  
be associat with twelue Englishmen, which he pro-  
mised to chose forth of the most perfect and wisest  
clerks that might be found within all his domini-  
ons, to the intent that by their ripe and aduised deba-  
ting of the matter, the truth might appere, according to  
the which he minded to giue sentence, without fa-  
uor either of one part or other. [Before which he toke  
a solemne oth of the ambassadores of Scotland, and  
such nobles as were there to stand to his definitive  
sentence, further therevpon requiring a writing to  
be made, sealed with the seales of the same nobles.]  
After when all such matters and pces as were pro-  
poned by the parties, alledged by them for furthe-  
rance of their titles were put in writing, as matter  
of record, he returned backe againe into England.

¶ Where the Scottish writers report, that king Ed-  
ward bled himselfe nothing byrightlie in this mat-  
ter, but accordinglie (as it often happeneth) had the  
eyes of his conscience blinded, vpon hope to gaine  
somewhat by this credit thus to him committed. But  
how vniustlie he is slandered in this behalfe, I leaue  
to the indifferent readers to consider, by conferring  
that which the Scots doe write thereof, with that  
which is to be found in our English historie. But to  
proceed as we find it in the Scottish writers. King  
Edward to be satisfied in knowledge of the truth,  
sent into France for men learned and of great ex-  
perience in the lawes, that he might haue their opi-  
nions in the demands of the parties for their doubt-  
full rights. But (saith Hector Boetius) he first com-  
manded them in no wise to agree vpon anie resolute  
point, but rather to varie in opinions, that when the  
place should seeme doubtfull by reason of their con-  
trarietie in deciding thereof, he might the better vn-  
der that colour, giue iudgement with which partie he  
thought most expedient to serue his purpose.

¶ Doubtless the most part of the lawiers iudged with  
Robert Bruce, both for the wrongnes of his person,  
and also for that he was come of the first issue male.  
But some there were that gaue sentence with John

Balioll, for that he was descended of the eldest sister.  
King Edward supposing this to be the time most  
conuenient for his purposed intention to conquer  
the realme of Scotland, returned to Berwik, where  
he had appointed the 24 learned men before specified,  
to be present, that finall sentence might be giuen, ac-  
cording as he had before promised. When he was  
come thus vnto Berwik, and the foresaid 24 lear-  
ned lawiers assembled as assistants with him, and  
the parties appering before him in a chamber prou-  
ided for the purpose, he caused the doores to be sterlie  
kept, and the entries strongly warded, that no man  
might come in or out, but by his appointment and li-  
cence. His purpose was to make him king, that  
would be sworne to hold the crowne of Scotland of  
him, as superior lord thereof. And because he knew  
that Robert Bruce was a man of singular manhood  
and wise dome, he thought best to assaie him first, and  
if he found him not conformable to his purpose, then  
he minded to trie what the Balioll would do.

When Robert Bruce had throughtlie heard king  
Edwards motion, he answered that he woued the li-  
bertie of his countrie, more than his private prefer-  
ment, and therefore minded not to deliuer his coun-  
trie (which euen to that day had bene free) into the  
bondage and seruitude of the Englishmen. King  
Edward perceiuing his stoutnesse of stomack, brake  
off with him, and fell in talke with the Balioll, who  
had such blind desire to attaine the crowne, that he  
passed not whether he intoid the same in libertie or  
seruitude, so he might haue it. Herevpon when this  
Balioll had giuen his faith by assured oth vnto king  
Edward, that he would doe homage vnto him for the  
realme of Scotland, and acknowledge to hold the  
same of him as superior lord, king Edward gaue  
sentence with him, to haue most right to the crowne  
and realme of Scotland, notwithstanding controuersie.

It is said, that the earle of Gloucester, a man of  
great prudence and authoritie in England (seeing  
the Balioll thus made king, and Robert Bruce with-  
out reason put backe) spake in this sort to king Ed-  
ward: Oh king, remember what is done by thee this  
day, sparing to giue righteous sentence in this mat-  
ter; for though the same be now couered and hid, it  
shall be reuealed, when the great iudge that searcheth  
consciences, and the secrets of euerie mans mind,  
shall cause thee to answer for it at the dreadfull day  
of that vniuersall iudgement: thou hast now giuen  
sentence on a king, but then shall iudgement be gi-  
uen on thee. Shortly after, John Balioll went in  
great arraie vnto Scone, where he was crowned  
king of Scotland on saint Andrews day, in the  
yeere from the incarnation 1292. In the yeere next  
insuing, on saint Stephens day in Christmasse, he  
came to Helwcastle vpon Tyne, and there did ho-  
mage vnto king Edward for the realme of Scot-  
land, contrarie to the mind and consent of all his no-  
bles, for that by this meanes, he seemed to submit his  
realme (which had remained in freedome vnto those  
daies) into the seruitude of the Englishmen: but  
small felicitie succeeded therof. And here it appea-  
reth by Buchanan, that the nobilitie of Scotland,  
which held with Balioll, did also their homage: for be-  
ing farre from home, they durst not contend against  
the power of two kings. Whereof some taking it  
greenoullie in their hart, dissembled with the present  
time, and couered their anger vnder the cinders of  
a faire countenance, which yet in the end burst out,  
notwithstanding this painted helu. For the declara-  
tion and pfoe whereof, there was shortly after occa-  
sion offered to Spaldouffe, by the death of the earle of  
Fife, being (in the time when there was no king)  
made one of the six governours of the realme: for this  
earle was not anelie killed by these of Abirneithie  
(which

R. Edward  
commeth to  
Berwik.

The purpose  
of king Ed-  
ward, as the  
Scots doe  
vniuallie re-  
port.

The answer  
of Robert  
Bruce.

The Balioll  
promised to  
doe homage  
vnto king Ed-  
ward.

The taking  
of the earle  
of Gloucester  
by the Scots  
was like to be  
true. King  
Ed-  
ward was  
man to be  
dealt with.

Fr. Thin.

John Balioll  
crowned king  
of Scotland,  
1292.

John Balioll  
durst homage  
to king Ed-  
ward.

So lay the  
Scottish sup-  
plers, but by  
contrarie, re-  
uered more  
in England.

Fr. Thin.  
Buchanan.

The league  
sworne be-  
tweene Scot-  
land.

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time most  
conquer  
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Abirneithie  
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R. Edward  
commeth to  
Berwick.

The purpose  
of King Ed  
ward, as the  
Scots do  
vntill re  
post.

The answer  
of Robert  
Bruce.

The Balio  
promiseth to  
do homage to  
king Edward.

The saluag  
the earle of  
Glocester  
the Scots  
sente, but no  
like to be  
true.)  
King Ed  
ward was no  
man so to be  
dealt with.

John Balliol  
crowned king  
of Scotland,  
1292.

John Balliol  
doth homage  
to king Ed  
ward.

So say the  
Scottish  
writers, but how  
true, read  
more hereof  
in England,  
Fr. Thin.  
Buchana. li. 8.

John Balliol  
king of  
Scotland  
was  
crowned  
at  
Berwick  
in  
the  
parliament  
of  
England  
in  
the  
year  
1292.

John Balliol  
king of  
Scotland  
was  
crowned  
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Berwick  
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parliament  
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England  
in  
the  
year  
1292.

1292.

John Balliol  
king of  
Scotland  
was  
crowned  
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Berwick  
in  
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parliament  
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England  
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1292.

Crimage  
was  
made  
in  
France  
in  
the  
year  
1292.

(which familie did then grea the flourish in riches and  
aropate within Scotland) but the brother also of  
the said earle was called into late by the Abirneithie  
ans, for whom the king in assemble of the states did  
give sentence against the other. This Baliothe after  
the law thereof the contention grew was so adu  
ged, supposing therein the king to be more iustif  
against him than was cause, and that the king was  
not so severe a reuenger of his brothers death, as he  
hoped that he would be: for sake the Baliothe, and ap  
pealed to the king of England, before whom he com  
mitted his suit against Baliothe. The deciding there  
of was appointed to be holden at London, where was  
an assemble of parliament of the nobilitie, after the  
English manner, amongst whom this Baliothe had  
his place also.

The parliament begun and Baliothe there summe  
ned as cited, would have answered by his proce: as  
attorney: but this (not being allowed) Baliothe was  
compelled to rise out of his seat, and to defend his  
cause himselfe in an inferior place. Which constre  
nt when he durst not at any time reuerse, forrehe  
he still bare in mind, until fit opportunity might ar  
rise the reuenge thereof. But when he would, and  
then could not deliuer himselfe of such disgrace; he  
returned home with a mind of deablie anger, re  
lating mounteins of choler therein, who still bending  
himselfe on euery side to satiffie his anger, sturled  
on this point: how he might reconcile the hearts of  
his subjects: and offend the state of the English.  
Whereof Baliothe with this meditation was feeding  
his hot stomach, a fit means was now offered to  
performe his desire, by reason of the iours netelle  
growen betwixt England and France, as after  
shall appere. For upon this occasion of iours, king  
Edward of England commanded this Baliothe by  
trauce of his land, & tenure of his homage, to come  
with all the power he could prepare to aid him in his  
warres against the king of France.)

King John Baliothe incontinentlie heretofore be  
came repentant, in that he had endangered himselfe  
thos by doing his homage; and thereupon sent his  
ambassadors to king Edward, as then sojourning  
at London, to reuenge his at touching the same  
homage, alledging that for so much as it was done  
without the assent of the three estates of Scotland, it  
was of no strength in it selfe, and not worthy to be  
observed being done by force; for which cause he  
would reuenge his friendship and alliance, as well  
for manie other injuries done unto him and his: as  
for that he would take to redress his countrie to his  
former libertie. Which message when none of the  
better sort durst take in hand to execute, a certaine  
monke (as after haue the abbots of Abirneithie)  
carried these letters into England, upon the secret  
whereof, king Edward authorized the ambassadors  
(whom he trusted with innumerable countmeies)  
that since we perceiue (with he) your king will not  
come unto us, we intend to come unto him,  
whereof the ambassadors departed. Foras (with  
Buchanan) could scarcely refuse him in safetie:  
being at his returne into Scotland rather had in  
contempt of his own people, than could not receiue  
redress for such an outrage.

After this, king Edward the better to accomplish  
his purpose against the Scots, sent marquis to con  
clude a peace with the king of France, and for the  
more confirmation of the same peace, the French  
kings daughter was given in marriage unto king  
Edward his sonne. Whereof (as said the Scot  
tish writers) he purposed (when he had made his  
will once against the Scots) to make a league  
betwixt the king of England, with some kinde of  
league, as shalbe by him considered. After this he

procured the friendship of Robert Bruce, and upon  
promis (as it is to be thought) to make him king,  
the same Robert deliuered unto king Edward his  
hands all such castles as he held in Scotland. John  
Baliothe the Scottish king, understanding that king  
Edward minded to make a conquest upon him, sent  
William bishop of Saint Andrews, and sparchus  
bishop of Dunblod, with sir John Scotis, and sir  
Ingram Cumfrank into France, to reue to the an  
cient league betwixt him and Philip the fourth, as  
then king of France; which accordingly was done:  
and for the more approbation thereof, the eldest  
daughter of Charles earle of Vallois and Arion,  
brother to king Philip, was promised in mari  
age unto Edward Baliothe, the sonne of king John,  
which Edward should enjoy lands of pearlie rents  
& revenues to the summe of fiftene hundred pounds  
sterling, in places not of the demaines belonging to  
the crown, as Balleuille, Damperre, Harcourt,  
and Bourne, which his father held in France with  
Lanache, Ribion, Paludiers, Carvingham, and the  
castell of Dunbar, with the appurtenances in Scot  
land: and hereto was annexed a promise, that if those  
seignories and places exceeded the value of fiftene  
hundred pounds of pearlie revenues, then should  
the surplusage remaine to the R. of Scotland: but if  
the same amounted not to that summe, then should  
the said king make them good, and supply the same  
with other rents in Scotland, as otherwise as should  
be thought meet. And further, the said summe of  
fiftene hundred pounds in pearlie rent was assigned  
as it were the dower of the said lady, to enjoy to  
her selfe during her life after her husbands decease, if  
her hap were to marrye him.

In consideration whereof, king Philip contrary  
ed to content and pay unto king John in name of  
the marriage meute, the summe of 40000 crownes,  
as (as other write) 25000 pounds sterling. The char  
ter containing the articles, covenants, and agree  
ments of this marriage and league above mention  
ed, beareth date at Paris, the 23 day of October,  
in the yeare of our Lord 1295. And the letters po  
curatory made by king John to the said bishop of  
Saint Andrews, & the other his affectors, bare date  
at Strinking, the third mones of Julie the same  
yeare. Wherof heretofore, king John was adu  
ertised that king Edward purposed to come and be  
siege Berwick; therefore by aduise of his nobles  
he sent the most part of all the barons and gentlemen  
of Fife and Lothian unto Berwick, to defend the  
towne against the enemy, if he came to besiege it.  
The Englishmen came not onlie with a mightie  
power by land, but also with a great number by sea to  
harbour the said town of Berwick. Wherof com  
ming the Scots being affrighted, came forth a  
gainst those that approached by sea, with 100 of their  
ships, and quail about the town.

King Edward rather provided than feared with  
this misadventure, came with a farre greater pow  
er than before, to reue to the siege: but when he  
perceiued his purpose like not to be effect as he  
hoped it should have bene, he decided him to take  
this towne by some slightfull policie. Whereupon he  
sent into Scotland some of his nobles by his siege,  
and to raising his campe, with a little from the  
towne, and then sending painted banners and en  
signes, resembling altogether such as should be  
seen in Scotland when the Englishmen returned to  
the town, certain one of his nobles touching a  
decree of Saint Andrews came on their barneis,  
after the manner of the Englishmen. There were al  
to last before the towne, certain Scots that  
served the king of England, which gave knowledge  
to the Englishmen that they were there. And thus king  
John

Ex chron. A. 1  
London, as I  
take it.

Hector Boe  
tius.  
Abandon.

1295.

The gran  
men of Fife,  
and Lothian  
sent to Ber  
wick to be  
seen it against  
the English  
men.

English ships  
taken at Ber  
wick.

Berwick the  
siege.

The policie of  
king Edward  
to take Ber  
wick.

John was comming with his armie to their succors. The Scots that were within the towne, believing it had bene most true, set open the gates, and came forth against their king (as they supposed) to have received him with all joy and gladnesse.

But when they came neere into the Englishmen, they perceived both by their language and habit what they were: but this was not before the Englishmen were hard at the gates, so that when the Scottishmen would haue fled backe to haue got into the towne againe, the Englishmen pursued them so fast at the heeles, that they entered the gates with them, and so took the towne with great slaughter, as well of the souldiers and men of warre, as also of women, children, and aged persons, without all ruth or compassion, so that they left not one creature aliue of the Scottish blood within all that towne. Thus was Hertwicke towne the 30 day of aparch, in the yere 1296. Such abundance of blood was spilled thorough all parts of the towne (as the Scottish chronicles testifie) that where at the falling tide the water was not able to dyine about the mills, some of the same mills yet, were now at a low water set on gate, by reason the streames were so hugelic augmented with blood. There were slaine aboue seven thousand persons that day, with the greatest part of all the nobles and gentlemen of Fife and Louthian.

King Iohn hearing of this slaughter of his people at Berwikke, in great desire to be auenged, gathered his power, and sent the same forth against king Edward, with whome they met not farre from Dunbar, and there encountering with him in battell, the Scottish host was discomfited, the most part of the Scots being either slaine or taken. The earles of March and Wentworth, with 70 knights, fled to the castell of Dunbar, but they were besieged so streitlie by the English power, inuironing the castell on eche side, that in the end they were constrained for lacke of vittells to yeeld themselves to king Edward, on condition to haue their liues saued, which couenant was not obserued; as the Scottish writers affirme: for king Edward hauing got them into his hands, caused them forthwith to be put to death. It was reported that Robert Bruce vpon secret conference had with king Edward before this battell at Dunbar, solicited all his friends in the Scottish armie, to flee vpon the first iourning, which the residue perceiuing, were so discomfited, that incontinentlie they threw awaye both armor and weapon, and so were vanquished without resistance.

Trueth it is, that after this victorie, Robert Bruce submitted himselfe unto king Edward, requiring him to performe his promise touching the right which he had to the crowne of Scotland; howbeit he received no answer to his liking touching that request; for king Edward had no lesse desire to invade the kingdom of Scotland, than Bruce, as the Scottish writers affirme. Therefore to call off Robert Bruce concerning his demand, he answered thus, as is said, Belieue I thanke you have nothing else a do but to conquer realmes, and to achieve them, once againe unto thee. Robert Bruce hereby perceiving the subtle meaning of the king Edward, returned right sorrowfull into his land in England, having great indignation in his mind, that he had obliged king Edward, requiting him, but yet considered with himselfe, that he must suffer for the time, till occasion served; remember the injuries received, which he intended to do, and that in great cruel manner, as at this time it will awaye. King Edward after he had thus wonne the crowne of Scotland, got the same by the title of Edwardus secundus, ruling in the north of this Iohann till he had conquered him to take for his wife the daughter of a baron thereunto

John Gamin lord of Strabogie came to king Edward, and was sworn his liege man.

Shortlie after, by a politike practise of the same John Cumyn, king John with his sonne Edward came to Pouniros, where perceiuing himselfe disselise to be fallen into the hands of king Edward, through feare of death which he doubted by reason of the menacing words of king Edward, he suffered himselfe to be spoiled of all his kinglie abilitiments, and with a white ward in his hand (as the manner is) presented himselfe before king Edward, resigning there vnto him all his right and title which he had to the crowne of Scotland, utterlie renouncing the same both for him and his heires for ever. Hereof was a charter made in most sufficient wise, confirmed with the hand and seale of king John, and other the nobles of Scotland substantiaillie as might be deuised, bearing date the fourth yeare of his reigne. After this, king Edward assembled all the lords and barons of Scotland at Berwik, where he caused them to be swoorne his liege men, and to do homage vnto him as to their soueraigne lord and supream gouernor, with William Douglas (a man of noble birth and famous for his deeds) refused to do, and so; his obstinacie was cast into prison, where after a few yeares he ended his life. And for the more suertie of their allegiance, he constrained them to surrender into his hands all the strengths & holds of the realme, both as well those that stood on the sea coasts, as also such other as were situate in the inner parts of the cuntry.

These things doing, and order taken in each be-  
halfe as was thought requisite; the quiet keeping  
of the countrie, he sent king John and his sonne  
Edward Balioll into London, where they were  
kept in strong ward; till at length he suffered the  
said king John to returne into Scotland: but lea-  
ving still his sonne in pledge behind him, least he  
should attempt anie new rebellion after his depar-  
ture; which after was deliuered at the request of the  
pope. King John vpon his returne into Scotland,  
perceiuing that he was in the hatred both of his  
lords and commons, he withdrew againe of his  
owne accord into England, forsaking wholie the  
administration of the Scottish dominion, and final-  
lie went ouer into Normandie to his ancient inhe-  
ritance and lands there, where at length falling  
blind, and wasting away by long age, he departed  
out of this world in the castell Galliard, leauing  
those lands which he possessed on that side the sea, vnto  
his sonne Edward Balioll, who being released  
out of captiuitie, was come ouer to his father be-  
fore his deceasse.

In the meane time, king Edward hauing well in remembrance the warres which he had intended to make against France, had be not but staied through the businesse of Scotland, purposed, haile to pursue the same with all diligence; & therefore garnishing all the strengths & forts in Scotland to withstand the Scots, if they attempted any rebellion against him in his absence, he appointed Hugh Cressingham regent there, whilst he should be occupied in France, which Cressingham before was treasurer. Then hauing provided a great number of ships, he passed over into France, trusting that the Scots might not stirre, who he had of late suspected to be some overgrowing and loose ones, after an other he had lost, but in a while he of such a nature, that by no kind of munition it may arise, long time he might be defended, for whole people that he could see, and all the real seruitude, will not faile to follow to deliver themselves from the yoke of that tyrannical burden, when they see opportunity of time and occasion seruerly, wherefore the lord of Scotland

king Edward the castill of  
Fofaire.

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John Balliol  
king of Scot-  
land refign-  
all his right  
to king Ed-  
ward.

Cherter.

Homage of  
barons of  
Scotland to  
king Edward

Fr.Thin.

The hobb  
Scotland d  
livered into  
king Edward  
his hands.

John Balliol  
all kept as  
prifoner in  
England.

He returned  
into Scot-  
land.

He renoun-  
ceth the ab-  
nuftration of  
Scotland.

He returned  
into France  
and decaide  
in caftell  
Gard.

King Ed-  
ward his  
purpofe to  
nappe France

Hugh Cref-  
ingham re-  
gent of Scot-  
land.

King Ed-  
ward bur-  
ned by the  
Scots in  
the year of  
1296.

The Scotch  
king Edward

Edward go-  
vernor elec-  
ted in Scot-  
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John Cummin.

William Wal-  
lase begyn-  
ning his  
warre.

John Balliol  
prifoner in  
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having knowledge that king Edward was passed over the seas, they got them all together straightwaies, and assembled in counsell at Striueling, where by generall agreemnt, twelve noble men were chosen to be gouernors of Scotland, euerie one in their limits appointed, that they might the better provide to resist the enimie. Amongest these gouernors, John Cummin earle of Buchquhan was principall, a man of great wisdom and singular knowlege in all affaires, as well of peace as of war. This earle of Buchquhan raised a mightie armie, and with the same entered into Forthumberland, where he wasted with fier and sword all that countre. After this, he laid siege to Carleill, but he wan nothing there, the towne was so well defended. In that season also, the fame of William Wallase began to spring, a young gentleman of so huge stature and notable strength of bodie, with such skill and knowlege in warlike enterprises, and hereto of such hardinesse of stomack in attempting all manner of dangerous exploits, that his match was not anie where lightlie to be found. He was sonne to one sir Andrew Wallase of Craigie, knight, and from his youth bare euer an inward hatred against the English nation. Sundrie notable feats also he wrought against the Englishmen in defense of the Scots, and was of such incredible force at his coming to perfect age, that of himselfe alone, without all helpe, he would not feare to set vpon thre or foure Englishmen at once, and vanquish them.

When the fame therefore of his worthie acts was notified thorough the realme, manie were put in good hope, that by his means the realme should be deliuered from the seruitude of the Englishmen within short time after. And hereupon a great number of the Scottish nation as well of the nobilitie as of the commons, were readie to assist him in all his enterprises. By reason whereof he might not easilie be intrapped nor taken of the Englishmen, that went about to haue got him into their hands. At length, when occasion serued to be the helpe of such a notable chiefe, he was chosen by generall consent of the Scottishmen as gouernour vnder John Balliol, to deliuer his countre from bondage of the English nation. At the same time manie abbeies & spirituall benefices in Scotland were in Englishmens hands. Wherefore, this William Wallase by commission had of William Fraser bishop of saint Andrews, auoided and put them forth of all parts of Scotland, leaving neither temporal nor spirituall person of their blood within that realme. For shortly after, by publike authoritie, he received the armie that John Cummin earle of Buchquhan had led before, and constrained those Scots that sauored king Edward, to obey his commandements, in renouncing all such faith and promise as they had giuen or made vnto him.

This done, he passed forth with great puissance against the Englishmen, that held sundrie castles within Scotland, and with great hardinesse & manhood he wan the castles of Fofaire, Dundee, Brechen and Mountros, sleaing all such souldiers as he found within them. Wallase now full of this his prosperous successe, and hearing that certeine of the chiefe captains and officers of those Englishmen that kept the castell of Dunoter, were gone forth to consult with other Englishmen of the foris next to them adjoining, came suddenly to the said castell, & took it, not leaving a man aliuie of all those whome he found as then within it. Then after he had furnished that hold with his owne souldiers in most defensible wise, he went to Aberdeen. The towne he found in manner void of all the inhabitants, but the castell was so strongly garnished with men and munition, that

considering it might not be wane without great murder, he raised from thence, and returned into Angus. King Edward as then being in France, hearing of these exploits atchiued by this Wallase his aduersarie, sent diuerse noble captains vnto his lieutenant Hugh Cressingham, with an armie into Scotland to redresse the matter.

Wallase in the meane time had laid siege vnto the castell of Couper, but now being aduertised of the coming of this armie against him, he raised his siege, & went to Striueling to defend the bridge there, that Hugh Cressingham with his armie should not passe the same, according as the report went his intent was to doe. Here incounting with the enimies, the third Ides of September, he obtained a verie worthie victorie, for he slew not onlie the fore said Cressingham with a great part of his armie being passed the riuer, but also forced the residue to flee, in such sort, that a great number of them were drowned, and few escaped awaie with life. Thus hauing gotten the vpper hand of his enimies here at Striueling, he returned againe to the siege of Couper, which shortly after vpon his returne thither, was renoued vnto him by those that were within in garison. There were manie of the Scottish nobilitie the same time, that sent vnto him, offering to leaue the king of Englands part, and to aid him with monie and vittels, if he would onlie receive them into fauour, wherevnto he granted. By which means, sundrie other castles were yielded vnto him, the which after he had garnished with men, munition, and vittels (according as was thought requisite) he brake vp his campe, and went with sundrie of his most faithful friends vnto the castell of Striueling.

Afterwards perceiving that through scarcitie of corne, great dearth arose on each side within the realme of Scotland, he deuised which way he might best relieue the peoples necessitie and lacke in that behalfe, and hereupon he determined to passe with a mightie armie into England, and to sojourn there the most part of the winter, in susteining the whole number of his men of warre on such provision as they might find within the bounds of their enimies countre. He commanded therefore that all the Scots, appointed to go with him in that iourne, should be readie at a certeine day and place prefixed. But diuers of the northerne Scots (as they of Aberdeen and other) for that they disobeyed his commandements set forth by letters and proclamations, were hanged as rebels and traitors to their countre. By whose example, other being put in feare, his commandements were the better obeyed, so that hauing got together an huge host of men, he entered with the same into Forthumberland, wasting and spoiling the countre euen vnto Newcastle. Thus putting the enimies in great feare and terror of his awfull name, he brought his armie backe againe into Scotland, laden with spoile and glorie of their prosperous atchiued iourne. They entered into England (as Io. Maior writeth) about the feast of all saints, and remained there till Candlemas after, liuing still vpon the spoile of the Englishmens goods.

Edward king of England, being informed of the great slaughter of his people, and what damage the Scots had done in Forthumberland, returned in great displeasure out of France into England, and sent his ambassadors vnto Wallase, fore menacing him, for that he had invaded his realme in such cruel wise in his absence, which he durst as he sent him word) full little haue done, if he had bene at home himselfe. Wallase herevnto answered, that he had taken the aduantage for the atchiuing of his enterprise, touching the inuasion of England, in like sort as king Edward had done for the conquest of Scot-

Hugh Cressingham sent into Scotland

Hugh Cressingham slaine at Striueling and his armie discomfited by William Wallase. The castell of Couper renoued to Wallase.

Dearth in Scotland. The policie of wallase to relieue the peoples lacke in time of dearth.

Disobedience punished.

Wallase inuadeth Forthumberland.

Fr.Thin.

Edwards message vnto wallase.

The answer of wallase to Edwards message as the Scots doe write.

land, at such time as he was chosen by the nobles of the realme as indifferent iudge in decision of the right and lawfull title of the parties that stroue and were at contention for the crowne. And further, to the end it might appeare unto king Edward, that he inuaded England in defense of his owne native countrie, and that he was fullie bent to imploie his whole indewor to deliuer the same from all manner of subiection to any forreine power, and to reuenge the iniuries done to them by the Englishmen in times past; he willed the English ambassadoz to declare from him unto king Edward, that he purposed to hold his Caster in England (if God afforded him life) and that in despite of king Edward, and all such as would beare armoz against him.

Wallase entered England with an armie of 30000 men.

And vndoubtedly according to his promise he kept his day: for assembling together an armie of 30000 men, he entered into England at the time before appointed, where king Edward was readie with an armie vpon Stanesmore, double in number to the Scots, to giue them battell: but when the time came that both parties were readie to haue ioined, the Englishmen withdrew, hauing no lust (as should seeme) to fight with the Scots at that time) who perceiving them to giue backe, incontinentlie would haue rushed forth of their ranks to haue pursued in chase after them: but Wallase (doubting lest the Englishmen had ment some policie, and sauing (as writeth Io. Ma. lib. 4. cap. 14.) that it was honor enough for him that he had inforced so mightie a prince in his owne countrie to forsake the field) caused the Scots to keepe together in order of battell, and so preserving them from the deceitfull malice of their enemies, brought them backe into Scotland with liues and honors saued, besides the infinit spoiles and booties which they got in this loznie.

But as in the beginning all men were glad to support Wallase in all exploits and enterprises which he toke in hand, so afterward when his fame began to war great, to the derogation of other mens renownes, such as were farre his superiours in birth and linage, that fauor which mantle bare him at the first, was now turned into enuie, hauing no small indignation, that a man of so base parentage should so surmount them in all honor and dignitie. Those that enuied him most, were of the Cumins bloud, and Robert Bruce. King Edward being aduertised of this enuious grudge, and new sedition amongst the nobles of Scotland, had secret conference by his agents with the chiefeest amongst those that thus enuied the high gloire of Wallase, and vpon trust of such practise as was concluded by reason of the same conference, he came with a mightie armie into Scotland, and at Falkirke met with this Wallase, who mistrusting no guile, had raised a power to resist him: but now being come in sight of the Englishmen, there rose a right odious contention betwixt the head capteins, who should haue the leading of the vanguard, which is reputed a most high honor among the Scottishmen. And among other, John Stewart, and John Cumins, thought scozne, that Wallase a man of so low beginning, should be preferred before them in that honour: but on the other part, Wallase considering that the charge of the whole was giuen unto him by agreement and consent of the thre estates, thought it no reason that he should giue place to anie of them, though vnto his face, as saith Iohn Maior, the lord Stewart had before vpbraid him with his pride, comparing him to an owle, which from his originall had begged a feather of euerie bird, and being now enriched with abundance of feathers, did aduance himselfe aboue all other birds.

In the meane time came the Englishmen vpon

them right fiercelie, before the Scottish chiefeestins (hauing their brests filled with more malice one against another, than with desire to defend their countrie against their enemies) could bring their men in to anie perfect arate. Herewith at the coming to the point of ioining, the Cumins with their retinues fled out of the field, and left the residue of the Scots in all the danger. Robert Bruce seruing that day among the Englishmen, fetched a compass about an hill, and came on the backs of the Scots, so that they were in maner compassed in, and beaten downe on each side: yet Wallase left nothing vndone that might pertaine to the dutie of a valiant capteine. But at length, all his indewors notwithstanding, the Scots (ouerfet with multitude of enemies, as the Scottish writers affirme) were slaine in such huge numbers, that he was constrained to draw out of the field, which such small remnants as were left alive. The Englishmen pursued fiercelie after him, namely one valiant capteine named Frere Brian Jate, a templer, whome Wallase perceiving to be within his danger, stepped forth vnto him, and slew him there in sight (as it is said) of all the English armie. Which valiant act of Wallase caused the Englishmen somewhat to state, for doubt of further perill by their vnwise pursue likelie to befall them. In this unfortunate battell, were slaine on the Scottish side, John Stewart of Bute, with his Barons (for so they name them that are taken by to serue in the warres forth of the Stewards lands) Spaldouffe earle of Fife, with sir John Graham, whose death was much lamented by Wallase, as one whome he highly esteemed for his great experience in warlike knowledge. Spante other noble and valiant men died in this conflict, whose names would be too long to rehearse. This battell was striken on Marie Magdalens date, in the yere of our Lord 1298, and therefore the Englishmen haue holden it euer since an happie day for to fight against the Scots.

\* When William Wallase was passed the riuer Carran, where he might defend himselfe, and gather his dispersed people, Bruce desired to speake vnto him, which Wallase did not denie. Where vpon each of them (drawing alone by themselves without any arbiters to the bankes of the riuer, in such place as it was narrowest, and they might without anie companie best heare one another; Bruce began to say as folloiweth. I do much muse, thou most valiant of all men, what came into thy mind to be caried away by the vncertaine fauor of the common people, and to stand against the mightiest king of our age, supported with the greatest forces of the Scots: and dalle to offer thy selfe to euerie danger, and that for no reward assured to thee for all thy labors. For if thou shouldst ouercome king Edward, the Scots will neuer aduance thee to the kingdome, and if thou be ouercome, there resteth no refuge for thee, but onely the mercie of thine enemy. And dost thou not see the Cumins, and me, and the most of the nobilitie, to follow the English faction? Neither dost thou consider the malice of the princes conceived against thee: Looke vnto thy selfe, and thou hast but a few of the nobles thy partakers, and a small number of the commons (which are more vncertaine than the wind) to follow thee, whose fortune is now almost ouerthrowne. All these words Iohn Maior supposed that Robert Bruce did speake, to serch the mind of Wallase, whether he ment to aspire to the crowne or no: being in deed rather contented that Wallase had left the field, than otherwise to reduce him to the part of king Edward.

To whome Wallase answered in this sort. The end of all my trauell was not to attaine the kingdome,

The Cumins fled.

The Scots discomfited at Falkirke.

Frere Brian Jate slaine by the hands of William Wallase.

Nobles of Scotland slaine at the battell of Falkirke.

Marie Magdalens day, 1298, the Englishmen to fight against the Scots.

Fr. Thin, Iohn Maior lib. 4. cap. 14. Buchan lib. 1. Lellous ep. Ross lib. 6. p. 35. Conference betwene Wallase & Bruce.

1298.

Wallase resolutely his will.

Philip king of France.

France.

Scottish ambassadoz sent to pope Boniface.



The second  
battell ouer-  
come.

other before: neuerthelesse, the Scots encouraged  
with their fresh towne victorie, got themselves pre-  
par'd into arrais, & receiued their enemies with such  
incredible manhood, that they had quickly got the up-  
per hand of these also. But scarce had they made an  
end with this second battell, when the third part was  
at hand ready to charge them, being now fore in-  
fected, what thorough wearinesse and wounds recei-  
ued in the two former encounters, besides the want  
of such of their numbers as were slaine: yet by ex-  
hortation of their capitaines, and the valiant presence  
of the officers of bands beside, they rushed forth on  
their enemies with such earnest forwardnesse to re-  
ceiue them, that after a verie sharpe bickering, they  
put the whole number of them to flight. Few of the  
Englishmen had escaped the Scottishmens hands,  
that they were not able to follow anie great waite in  
the chase.

The third  
battell of the  
Englishmen  
banquished at  
Roth.

1302.

The matter  
is amplified  
by the Scots  
to the piers-  
moir.

The great  
preparation of  
king Edward  
to invade the  
Scots.

The Scots  
withdrew to  
their holds.  
The English  
armie passeth  
throug Scot-  
land from the  
south parts to  
the north.

K. Edward  
sendeth vnto  
Wallase.

Wallase refus-  
eth the offers  
of K. Edward

The castell of  
Sterling ren-  
dered.

This with-  
drew the  
Scottish  
bookes name  
Dises.

The castell of  
Arquhar was  
taken by force.

This victorie fell to the Scots in manner as is be-  
fore rehearsed, vpon saint Matthewes day, in the  
yere after the birth of our Saviour 1302. The glo-  
rie of this victorie was great, considering that thi-  
rie thousand Englishmen well furnished, & throug-  
hly appointed for warre, should be thus in one day  
banquished with an handfull of Scottishmen. For as  
their histories make mention, they passed not eight  
thousand at the most: and therefore all men supposed  
that it came to passe by the singular fauour and grace  
of almightie God. But yet the Scots did not long  
intoy the benefits of so notable a victorie. For king  
Edward hearing of this discomfiture of his people  
at Rothin, gathered a mightie armie of English-  
men, Galcoigns, Irishmen, and such Scots as toke  
his part, and hauing all his furniture and puruei-  
ance ready both by sea and land, he set forward with  
the same to invade the Scots on eche side. The Scots  
perceiuing they were not of puissance able to resist  
his inuasion, withdrew to their strengths: by means  
whereof the English armie passed through all Scot-  
land, cuen from the south parts to the north, & found  
few or none to make resistance, except Wallase, and  
such as followed his opinion, which were fled to the  
mounteins and woods, to eschue the malice of the  
Englishmen.

It is said, that king Edward required by a mes-  
senger sent vnto this Wallase, that if he would come  
in and be sworne his liege man and true subiect, he  
should haue at his hands great lordships and posses-  
sions within England, to mainteine his port as  
was requisit to a man of verie honorable estate.  
But Wallase refused these offers, saying that he  
preferred libertie with small reuenues in Scotland,  
before anie possession of lands in England, were  
the same neuer so great; considering he might not  
inoy them, but vnder the yoke of bondage. The cas-  
tell of Sterling at the same time was in the kee-  
ping of one sir William Fitzed knight, who would  
not render it to king Edward by anie summons  
or other meanes, till after thre moneths siege he  
was constrained to giue it ouer vnder these condi-  
tions; That all persons being within the castell, should  
depart by safe conduct with bagge and baggage at  
their pleasure. Neuerthelesse king Edward caused  
the said sir William Fitzed to be conueied to Lon-  
don, where he remained as prisoner manie yeres af-  
ter.

Sundry other castells were taken by force the  
same time by king Edward, and all such as resisted,  
being found within anie of them, slaine without  
mercie or ransome. Amongest other, the castell of  
Arquhar in Murray land was taken by force, and  
not one left aline that was found in the same (one  
gentlewoman onelie excepted) who being great with

child, was in that respect preserved. She was the  
wife of Alexander Boyis, lord of that house, though  
by reason she was got into worse apparell, the Eng-  
lishmen toke hir but for some other woman of me-  
aner estate. She therefore with hir life saued, being  
suffered to depart, got hir ouer into Ireland, where  
she was deliuered of a son; that was named at the  
font-stone Alexander, who when Scotland was reco-  
uered out of the Englishmens hands, came to king  
Robert Bruce, requiring him to be restored vnto  
his fathers heritage, being as then in the occupation  
of other possessors. King Robert doubtfull what to  
do here in; for he thought it neither convenient that  
a prince should take lands or possessions from noble  
men, which had bene giuen to them in reward of  
their manhood, shewed in defense of the realme; nei-  
ther iudged he it reason to keepe him from his right-  
full inheritance that had lost his father, his friends,  
and all his whole substance in the like cause and qua-  
rell by iniurie of the common enemies.

Wherefore to qualifie the matter, he deuised this  
meane: he gaue vnto this Alexander Boyis certaine  
other lands in War, nothing lesse in value (consi-  
dering the largenesse and fertilitie) than the other of  
Arquhar were: and willed him to content himselfe  
with those, in recompense of such as belonged to his  
father: to the intent that all parties might be satisfi-  
ed, and no man should seme to haue wrong in being  
deprived of his rightfull possessions. This Alexander  
Boyis had afterwards his name changed, and was  
called Forbesse, for that he shew a beare in those par-  
ties, by great and singular manhood. And so the sur-  
name of the Forbesses had beginning, as descended  
from him. Scotland being subdued by the mightie  
puissance of king Edward, he went about to abolish  
all the old statutes and ancient constitutions of the  
realme, trusting by that meanes, that Scots liuing  
together with Englishmen, vnder one vni forme ma-  
ner of lawes, they should finallye for themselves to  
be of one mind and opinion, as well touching the su-  
preme gouernement of their publike weale, as also  
in all other things, touching the friendlie societie of  
life.

He burnt all the chronicles of the Scottish nati-  
on, with all manner of bookes, as well those contei-  
ning diuine seruice, as anie other treatises of pro-  
fane matters, to the end that the memorie of the  
Scots should perish: and thereto appointed gre-  
uous punishments for them that should disobie his  
commandements herein, in keeping anie of the said  
bookes vndeaced. And he ordeined also, that the  
Scots should occupie church bookes after the vse of  
Sarum, and none other. Moreover, he compelled all  
such Scottishmen as were of anie singular know-  
ledge in learning or literature, to be resident in Ox-  
ford, doubting least the Scottish nobilitie increasing  
in politike prudence by their instructions, should  
seek to throw off the yoke of bondage. Thus king  
Edward going about (as the Scottish writers do re-  
port) to extinguishe the name of Scots, together with  
their rule and empire, passed through the most part  
of all the bounds of Scotland. And vpon verie hate  
which he had to the Scottish antiquities, at his com-  
ming to Camelon, he commanded the round temple  
standing ouer against the same, to be thrown downe,  
which was builded (as before is shewed) in the hono-  
ur of Claudius the emperour, and the goddesse Victoria.  
But for that his commandement was not immedi-  
atlie put in execution, he changed his purpose, and  
appointed onelie that the monuments of Claudius,  
with the superscription of his name, should be taken  
away, and in place thereof, the armes of king Ar-  
thur, with his name to be set by; commanding the  
place to be called Arthurs hois (as ye would say) Ar-  
thurs

The marble  
chaine is con-  
uered into  
England, and  
placed in West-  
minster.  
The nobilitie  
of Scotland  
sworne to K.  
Edward.

Wallase el-  
deth to as-  
sist the  
Englishmen.

Domare or  
Damer de Wa-  
lase gouer-  
nour of Scot-  
land vnder  
king Edward

Conference  
betwixt  
Edward and  
Wallase.

The begin-  
ning of the  
name of the  
Forbesses.

Indemnes  
agreement  
betwixt Ed-  
ward & Bruce,  
touching the  
guiltie.

Chronicles  
and other  
bookes burnt.

John Cumy  
doubt.

Scottishmen  
learned, com-  
manded to be  
resident in  
Oxford.

John Cumy  
doubt.

The temple  
of Claudius  
was at Col-  
chester, and  
not in Scot-  
land, whither  
the Hebror  
Boecius or  
other heame  
thereof.

Robert Bruce  
was banished.

thars court.

Moreouer king Edward at his returning into England, toke the chaire of marble with him, and causing it to be conueied by to London, did place it at Westminster, where it remaineth yet unto this day. Furthermore, before his departure out of Scotland, he appointed all the Scottis lords to assemble at Stone, where he caused them to take a new oath, that from thenceforth they should take him for their soueraine lord, and to obvie him in all things as loiall subjects. All the nobilitie of Scotland was sworne to him that day (Wallase onelie excepted) who eschued more than the companie of a serpent, to haue any thing to do with the Englishmen, touching any agreement to be made with them, agreeable to their desires. Moreouer, to keepe the Scots from rebellion, king Edward ordeined Adam de Wallace to be gouernour there, as his generall lieutenant ouer the whole realme of Scotland in his absence. And hauing thus set all things in good order (as he supposed) he returned into England with great ioy and triumph.

In the meane time, John Cumyn summoned the reid, and Robert Bruce hauing conference together, complained the one to the other of the miserable seruitude wherein the realme of Scotland as then stood by the oppression of king Edward. And at length by on offers made betwixt them, it was agreed, that if by any means they might deliuer the realme out of the Englishmens hands, the one of them should be king, that is to say, the Bruce, and the other, that is to say, the Cumyn, should inioy all the Bruces lands and possessions, with manie other preferments of honours and dignities, as next unto him in all authoritie touching the gouernement of the realme. There were indentures made betwixt them, subscribed with their names, and sealed with their seales interchangeable, for the full ratifying of covenants agreed in this confederacie betwixt them. Shortly after, upon deliuerie of those writings, Bruce went into England, for he might not remaine long in Scotland, for doubt of suspicion which king Edward had in him, because of the title which he had to the crowne of Scotland (as before is specified) so that (as was thought) king Edward would haue put both him and his brethren unto death long before, if he might haue once got them all into his hands.

John Cumyn (after that he and Bruce were thus agreed upon articles, and departed the one from the other) began to doubt, least this conspiracie denieth betwixt them, would not last to any tuckie conclusion for his purpose, either for that he feared the great puissance of king Edward, either else for that his authority and power (as he mistrusted) would not be great, if the Bruce once attained the crowne; and hereupon he sent one of his seruants to king Edward, with his counterpane of the indenture, containing the covenants of the said articles, and demanding with Bruces owne hand and seale, that messenger deliuered this writing in secret to king Edward, declaring unto him the whole matter as it was passed and concluded betwixt the Bruce and his maister, according to instructions given him in that behalfe. King Edward at the first gave him hard rebelle, but king Edward at the first gave him hard rebelle either to the writings, or words of the Cumyn, supposing that the same were done through amitie, which he bare to ward the Bruce, considering lest he should beare the rule in Scotland, if the Bruce once attained any authority within the said king. At length king Edward pondering with himselfe the whole circumstance, and being in some doubt of the matter, he desired the counterpane of the indenture into Bruces hand, questioning with him, if he knew his owne hand; Bruce answered that he

was priuite to anie such denisse or writing, and therefore desired of king Edward to haue the same for one night, to peruse and scan ouer at leasure, & then if he were not able to proue that it was forged, and maliciouslie deuised vpon an enuious purpose, to put him in danger of life, he would forsake all his lands and liuings that he held either within the realme of England, or else where. King Edward, because he conieured at the first how this accusation of Cumyn was nothing like to be true, granted his request, wherein manie iudged he did unwise; but such was the ordinance of almightie God, that Bruce should escape that danger, to accomplish that whereunto he was appointed. The earle of Gloucester immediatlie after that Robert Bruce was departed from the kings presence, sent vnto him twelue sterling pence, with two sharpe spurs, whereby he conieured his meaning to be, that the best shift for him was to auoid out of the waie in most speedie wise, whereupon he causing a smith to shew thre horses for him, contrarie to the callins forward, that it should not be perceiued which waie he had taken by the tract of the horses, for that the ground at that time (being in the winter season) was couered with snow: he departed out of London about midnight, accompanied onelie with two trustie seruants.

It chanced also, that there fell on the same night more snow aloft vpon the other snow that was fallen before, by reason whereof it could not easilie be iudged in the morning which way he was gone, though king Edward vpon knowledge had that he was fled, sent out a great manie of hoisemen after, to haue brought him againe, if they might anie where haue found him. But Bruce halted forth with such speed in his iournie, that the tenth day of his departure from London, he came to Louchmaben in Annandale, and there found David, (as some books haue) Edward his brother, with Robert Fleming, a worthie yong gentleman, vnto whom (they musing what he meant by his sudden coming) he declared into what perill of life he had fallen by means of Cumyn, and how narrowlie he had escaped out of king Edwards hands. His brother hearing the matter, consented to go with him, and to be partaker of all haps that might fortune to fall out in his fight; and by the way they chanced to light vpon one of Cumins seruants, that was going with letters vnto king Edward from his maister the said Cumyn, signifying by the same, that if Bruce were not the sooner put to death, there would insue shortly such trouble and rustling in Scotland against the Edward, that it would be much ado to appease it.

The letters being found about Cumins seruant, through means of yong Fleming, the Bruce after he had appoyed the better throughlie in each behalfe, and learned of him that his maister the said Cumyn was in the friers at Dunferme, he first due this felicitie that was thus sent with the letters, & after in all hast possible came to Dunferme, by the guiding of the yong Fleming, to beate the quier of the friers church there he found Cumyn. And reasoning the matter there with him, so that he had vied him to euill, and withall shewing him the indenture which king Edward had deliuered to him, as before is mentioned, in the end after some multipling of words together, Robert Bruce plucked forth his sword, and strooke the said Cumyn a fore blow in the helme, and therewith striking out of the church, met with two of his dearest friends, James Lindsay, and Roger Bicknart, who beholding his countenance altered, and comming forth of the church each half, demanded of him what was the matter. I trow (said he) that Cumyn is slain. And (say they againe) had they attempted to high an

Robert Bruce  
dwylls.

He commeth  
to Louchmaben.

Robert Fleming.

A seruant of  
Cumins taken  
with letters  
on him.

Cumyn was  
at the friers in  
Dunferme.

comparable  
to the  
conscience  
of the  
Scottis  
lords.

which  
of the  
Scottis  
lords.

comparable  
to the  
conscience  
of the  
Scottis  
lords.

conference  
betwixt  
Cumyn  
and  
Bruce.

indentures  
made  
betwixt  
Cumyn  
and  
Bruce.

The beginning  
of the  
Scottis  
rebellion.

Chronicles  
and other  
bookes burne.

Scottis men  
learned, and  
manded to be  
resident in  
Dunferme.

The temple  
of the  
Scottis  
lords.

an enterpryse, and left it doubtful? And immediatlie herewith they went to the place where Cummin lay wounded (as before is mentioned) and asked of him whether he thought he had anie death's wound, or hoped to recouer if he might haue a good surgian. And for that he answered how he trusted to doe well enough if he might haue a good surgian in time; they gaue him three or foure other wounds so grieuous and deadlie, that forthwith vpon the same he yelded by the ghost. This chanced in the yeare of our Lord 1305, the fourth Ides of Februarie. About the same time was William Wallace taken at Glaskow by the means of sir John Spenteth and others, in whome he had euer put a most speciall trust; but they being corrupted with the offers of large rewards promised by king Edward to such as could helpe to take him, wrought such fetches that he was apprehended at length by Doonare de Valence earle of Penbroke, who with a great power of men brought him to London, where he was put to death, and his quarters sent into Scotland, and set vp in sundrie great towres there for a spectacle, as it were to giue example to other. This was the end of that puissant champion William Wallace, praised amongst the Scottismen aboue all other in that age, for so much as he would neuer yeld or consent to acknowledge anie superiortie in the Englishmen or uer his countrie, no not when all other had submitted themselves to king Edward as his liege subiects and most obedient vassals. It is said, that when he was yong and went to schole, he learned by heart two verses of his scholemaster, which euer after he bare in mind, and vsuallie would rehearse them, (when a toy toke him in the head) as follooweth.

*Dico tibi verum; libertas optima rerum,  
Nunquam feruili, sub nexu uincit sili.  
My sonne I say, freedom is best,  
Then neuer yeeld to thralls arrest.*

Of this William Wallace one Henrie, who was blind from his birth, in the time of my natiuitie (saith Iohn Maior) composed a whole booke in vulgar verse, in which he intred all those things vulgarlie spoken of this Wallace. But I do not in all points saith the same author, giue credit to the writings of such as he was, who onelie get their food and clothing (whereof this man was most worthy) by reciting of histories before the nobilitie of Scotland.

But now touching Bruce, after he had laine Cummin (as before is mentioned) he purchased an absolution from Rome for that act; and to the end he might then through authoritie obtaine some aid to resist the puissance of his aduersarie king Edward, he went by support of friends into Scone, where caused himselfe to be crowned king, on the 27 day of March, though he had no great number that toke his part in the beginning; as shortly after well appeared. For when he should assemble an armie against a power of Englishmen that were sent against him by king Edward, immediatlie vpon knowledge had of his attempts, he was not able to get together anie sufficient number to resist his aduersaries, though with those few which came vnto him, he thought to trie the chance of battell, and so incountering with Doonare de Valence lieutenant of the English armie at Speffen the 9 day of June 1306, he was there put to flight; and though the slaughter was not greatly yet for that it was judged to be an enill signe to haue such infortune backe vpon his entering into the estate, the peoples fauor sprang greatlie from him.

Doonare de Valence after he had obtained this victory against king Robert, banished the rest of all those that supported the same Robert, by the

thercof, manie ladies and gentlewomen were constrained to flee into woods, and other desert places, to escape the crueltie of their aduersaries. King Robert also after this ouerthrow, fled into Atholl, and from thence to Strath, where the third Ides of August at a place called Dalreie, he fought againe with the Cummins and other such Scots & Englishmen as were assembled in those parties ready to pursue him, and had the like lucke here that had chanced to him before at Speffen; for he was put to flight after the same maner, though he lost here but few of his men, neither in the fight nor chase. This place Dalreie is as much to say, as the kings field: Buchanan lib. 8, which is also called Dathkie by I. Maior. lib. 4. cap. 19, who supposeth that Bruce had so hard a beginning for a punishment of the death of Cummin, laine in the church by him and his friends. Wherevpon finding fortune thus contrarie vnto him in these two seuerall battells, he was left so desolat and vnprovidid of all friendship, that he was constrained for his refuge to withdraw into the woods and mounteins, with a few other in his companie, and there liued on herbs and roots oftentimes for want of other food.

Whilste he remained in this estate of aduersie fortune, there were two that shewed themselves right trustie and faithfull seruants vnto him aboue all the rest, the earle of Leuenor, and Gilbert Bate: for though either inforced by persecution of enimies, or constrained through some other necessitie, they departed sometimes from his presence; yet did they euer acknowledge him for their soueraigne lord and onelie king, ready at all seasons to serue and obey him in each behalfe. The most part of all other his friends peas and seruants, in that present miserie, did cleaue for sake him; so that sometimes he was left with onelie one or two in his companie, & glad to keepe himselfe secret in desert places, where no person lightlie vled to resort. His wife & queene fled to saint Dutho, and chanced to be taken by William Cummin earle of Ross, who deliuered hir to king Edward, by whose commandement she was committed to safe keeping at London, where she remained till after the battell of Bannockburne. His brother Nigel was also taken, and so afterwards were his two other brethren, Thomas and Alexander, with manie other nobles and gentlemen of Scotland, of whome some were executed at Carleill, and some at Berwikke. Nigel was taken at the castell of Biddane whither he fled, and came to Berwikke. Thomas and Alexander were taken at Lochreis, and carried to Carleill, and so beheaded. I. Maior. lib. 4. cap. 19. Finallye the most part of all such as had aided him before, and were now shonke from him, were within one yeare after, either laine or kept as prisoners in England.

Wherevpon he was thus left desolat of all aid and succour, hauing his brethren and other of his friends murdered and laine to his bitter discomfort and ruine (as was to be supposed) he neuertheless liued euer in hope of some better fortune, whereby in time to come he might recouer the realme out of the enimies hands, and restore the ancient libertie thereof to the former estate. As for the paines which he toke in liuing barelie for the most part by water & roots, & doing vnto times on the bare earth, without house or other hard comfort, he was so accustomed thereto by hauing the waters at his point, that the same yee used him little by nothing at all. But to conclude, with his ballaunce and most excellent fortitude of mind and courage, that no man could wishance or withstande, he would abash his inuincible heart and manlike mind. At length, after he had laboured from place to place in sundrie parts of Scotland,

Cummin is  
laine.

1305.

Wallace is  
taken.

Wallace is  
brought to  
London.

He is put to  
death.

Iohn Fourdon.  
Iohn Maior.

Fr. Thin.

Absolution  
from Rome.

Robert  
Bruce is  
crowned king  
of Scotland,  
the first of that  
name.

Iohn Maior.  
King Robert  
is discomfited  
at Speffen.

Fr. Thin.

The miserie  
ble state of  
Robert in  
beginning of  
his reigne.

King Robert  
was taken  
into the  
Jus.

King Robert  
was taken  
into the  
Jus.

King Robert  
was taken  
into the  
Jus.

King Robert  
was taken  
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Scotland, the better to avoid the sleights of them  
that lay in wait to apprehend him, he got over in-  
to one of the Isles, where comming unto one of his  
special friends, a man of high nobilitie and welbe-  
loved of the people in those parts, he was most har-  
tilie welcome, and gladlie of him receiued, to his  
great ease and comfort.

Here when he had remained a certeine space, he  
got support of men, armoz and weapons, by meanes  
whereof taking new courage, he passed ouer unto  
Carrick, & winning the castell there that belonged  
to his fathers inheritance, he due all the English  
men, which he found within it, and bestowed all the  
spoile of monie and goods gotten there amongst his  
soldiers and men of warre. His friends that late  
hid in covert and secret corners, hearing of these his  
doings, began from each side to resort unto him, by  
whose assistance shortly after he won the castell of  
Inuerness, and due all them that were within it  
in garrison. With the like felicitie he got the most  
part of all the castels in the north, rasing & burning  
by the same till he came to Glenelke, where being  
aduertised that John Cummin with sundrie English  
men and Scots were gathered against him, because  
he was upon a strong ground, he determined there  
to abide them: but they being thereof informed, and  
wondering at his manlie courage, durst not ap-  
proch to giue him battell, but sent ambassadors un-  
to him to haue truce for a time, vnder colour of  
some communication for a peace, till they might in-  
crease their power more strongly against him: which  
being done, they pursued him more fiercely than  
before. Perceiuelesse King Robert receiued them at all  
times in such warlike order, that they might neuer  
take him at anie aduantage, but were still driuen  
backe with laughter and losse, though the same was  
of no great importance to make account of, but such  
like as hapeneth oftentimes in skirmishes & light  
incounters, where the battels come not to ioine pu-  
issance against puissance. The same whereof yet pro-  
cured him the fauour of sundrie great barons in  
Scotland.

About this time, Simon Frazer, and Walter  
Logan (most valiant knights, and greatlie fauour-  
ring their countrie) were taken (by such as followed  
the faction of Cummin) deliuered to the English, sent  
to London, and there executed. Almost about which  
time, James Dowglasle ioined himselfe to the part  
of King Robert. This James being the sonne of  
William Dowglasle, was a yong gentleman very  
adone and forward in all chiefe exercises and arts.  
Who when he gaue himselfe to studie at Paris (hea-  
ring that his father was by the king of England  
cast in prison, in which he shortly after died, as is be-  
fore noted) returned home to dispose the rest of his  
life after the aduise of his friends. But being with-  
out living, & all his other friends by misfortune dis-  
perced: he committed himselfe to the seruice of W.  
Lambert bishop of saint Andrews, of whome he  
was gentlie receiued into his familie, and well in-  
tertained: untill King Edward comming to Ster-  
ling (after that he had almost pacified all the rest of  
Scotland) to besiege Striueling: at what time Lam-  
bert going to Sterling to salute the king, caried  
Dowglasle to attend upon him, to the end to prefer  
him to his living and inheritance. Whereupon the  
bishop finding the king at convenient leisure, be-  
sought him to be fauourable to this Dowglasle: to  
resort him unto his fathers patrimonie: and that  
(receiuing the yong man into his fealtie and de-  
fence) it would please him to implete him in his faith-  
full and warlike seruice: adding further such com-  
mendations in the behalfe of James, as for that  
time he thought most conuenient. But the king was

deert inding his name and kintred, spake bitterlie of  
the disobedience and stubbernesse of his father Wil-  
liam Dowglasle; further answering, that he would  
neither vse the same James, nor his trauell in anie  
thing, neither that he could (if so he would) restore  
him to his patrimonie, because he had with the  
same gratified other that well deserued it. For which  
cause being by the king so repelled, he remained still  
in the bishops seruice, untill Wm came into  
Sperne, at what time (least he might lose the oppor-  
tunitie to offend King Edward, whome he secretly  
in heart disdained) this Dowglasle departed from  
Lambert his master, taking with him all the bi-  
shops gold, and certeine of his best horses, with the  
which, having in his companie diuerse other hardie  
yong gentlemen, priuie to his doings, he fled with  
all speed unto King Robert, offering him his seruice,  
and to spend his life in his quarell and defence. The  
bishop was priuie to his counsels going awaie, pea-  
ce and counselled him thereunto, though he would by  
no means it should outwardlie so appeare, for doubt  
least if things had not come to passe as he wished, he  
might haue run in danger for his cloaked dissimula-  
tion. The Dowglasle was toisfullie receiued of King  
Robert, in whose seruice he faithfullie continued both  
in peace and warre to his liues end.

Though the surname and familie of the Dow-  
glasles was in some estimation of nobilitie before  
those daies, yet the rising thereof to honoz chanced  
through this James Dowglasle: for by meanes of  
his aduancement, other of the same lineage took oc-  
casion by their singular manhood and noble pzooves  
shewed at sundrie times in defense of the realme, to  
grow to such height in authoritie & estimation, that  
their mightie puissance in mainrent, lands, & great  
possessions, at length was (through suspicion concei-  
ued by the kings that succeeded) the cause in part of  
their ruinous decay. Edward king of England hear-  
ing of the doings of his aduersarie King Robert,  
doubted (if some redresse were not found in time)  
lest the Scots reioicing in the prosperous successe of  
his said aduersarie, would revolt wholie from the  
English obedience: and heretupon purposing with  
all speed to subdue the whole realme of Scotland  
from end to end, he came (with a far greater armie  
than euer he had raised before) to the borders; but  
before his entring into Scotland, he fell sicke of a  
right sore and grievous maladie, whereof he died  
shortlie after at Burgh upon sands, as in the Eng-  
lish historie more plainlie doth appeare, though  
Buchanan say he died at Lancaster.

The Scottish writers make mention, that a litle  
before he departed out of this world, there were  
brought unto him 55 yong striplings, which were ta-  
ken in the castell of Kildrummie, after it was wonne  
by the Englishmen, and being asked what should be  
done with them, he commanded they should be han-  
ged incontinentlie, without respect to their yong  
peeres, or consideration of their innocencies that  
might haue moued him to pitie. After his decesse,  
his sonne Edward of Carnaruan succeeded in the  
gouernement of England, who following his fa-  
thers enterpryse, called a councill at Dunfreis, sum-  
moning the lords of Scotland to appeare at the  
same, and caused a great number of them at their  
comming thither to do their homage unto him, as  
to their superiour lord and gouernoz: but yet diuers  
disobeyed his commandements, and would not  
come at his summoning, upon trust of some change  
of fortune by the death of his father, for that the son  
was much giuen (as was reported) to incline his  
eare to letow counsell, not without the great griefe of  
his people, and namelie of the lords and chiefe no-  
bles of his realme.

Shortlie

The craftie dis-  
sembling  
prelate.

The rising of  
the Dowglasle  
to honoz.

The death of  
King Edward  
Longshanks.

The crueltie  
of King Ed-  
ward as is  
noted by the  
Scottish writers.

Edward of  
Carnaruan,  
sonne to Ed-  
ward Long-  
shanks.

Homage to  
King Edward  
of Carnaruan



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But

But the number of naturall Englishmen ex-  
ceded anie one nation beside, inasmuch that the whole  
armie that of one and other, contained (as the same  
went) one hundred and fiftie thousand souldiers, and  
almost as manie horsemen, beside carriage-men,  
coffers, women, and lackies, but the same herein  
belike (as often happeneth) did farre exceed the truth.  
For it is not to be thought (as John Maior himselfe  
writeth) that he should get such a number together,  
not for that England it selfe is not able to set forth  
such a power: for as the same Maior saith, as manie  
men as are to be found in England of lawfull age,  
so manie able personages may be found there to  
passe for able souldiers. But either kings are not of  
abilitie to find so great a multitude with vittells and  
sufficient provision, or else they will not straine them  
selues thereto. Nevertheless, the whole number by  
all likelihood was great, for many as well strangers  
as Englishmen, brought their wives, their children,  
and whole household-maine with them, in hope after  
the countrie were once subdued, to have dwelling  
places appointed them in the same, there to inhabit:  
for so had king Edward promised them. By reason  
whereof the disorder was such, that no warlike disci-  
pline might be obserued amongst them; for men, wo-  
men, and children, were all mixt together, with such  
clamor and noise, through the huge number of peo-  
ple, and diuersitie of languages, that it was a thing  
right strange to behold a campe so confusedlie or-  
dered.

King Edward himselfe most proud and insu-  
lent of such incredible number, took no heed at all  
to the governing of them, supposing victorie to be al-  
readie in his hands; inasmuch that at his coming  
to the borders, he took aduise with his counsell to  
what kind of torment and death he might put king  
Robert, for he had no doubt of catching him at all.  
He also brought with him a religious man somewhat  
learned belike, of the order of the Carmelites, to de-  
scribe the whole maner of his conquest and victorie  
ouer the Scots: so sure he thought himselfe that all  
things would come to passe as he could wish, or de-  
uise. This Carmelite, as may appeare in John Bales  
booke, intituled A summarie of the writers of great  
Britaine, was named Robert Baston, and had the  
gouernance of an house in Scarborough, of the Car-  
melites order, he being (as before is said) of that  
cote himselfe.

On the contrarie part, king Robert ordered all  
his doings by god & prudent aduise, and with  
men, right hardie and thoroughlie exercised in wars,  
came forth against his enemies, shewing no token  
of feare in the world, but boldly pitched downe his  
tents in good order and warlike arraie, vpon a plaine  
a little aboue Bannocksborne. Whether he did this  
for the great confidence he had in the hardinesse of  
his people, or for that he would shew how little he  
doubted the puissance of his enemies, least they  
shuld haue him in contempt, it is vncertaine. Indeed  
there were diuerse expert warriors amongst the  
Englishmen, that said (when they heard how the  
Scots were thus assembled to fight) that the victorie  
would not be had, except it were dearely bought:  
the wisdom and manhood of king Robert was  
knowne so well amongst them, that they were as-  
sured he would not teopard himselfe in such a case, but  
that he knew he had such fellows about him, as  
would sticke to their tackle.

Howeuer the Scots by appointment of their  
king, to the furtherance of his hardie enterpryse, had  
cast deepe pits and ditches in the place where it was  
iudged the battels should ioine, and pitched sharpe  
stakes within the same, and after covered them over  
highlie with greene turfes or sods, in such wise that

a few souldiers might passe ouer well enough; but if a  
nie great number should come preassing together, or  
that anie horsemen came thereupon, the sods would  
shinke and fall to the bottome of the trenches, with  
extreme perill of the men and horses, that were sure  
to fall vpon the stakes set there for that purpose; or  
else to be so inclosed, that they should not be able to  
get out of those pitts. By the place where king Ro-  
bert was thus incamped, there runneth a great  
brooke or water called Bannocksborne, so named of  
often-cakes called bannocks, which were used to be  
made commonlie at the mills standing on the banks  
of the said water. It falleth into the forth right fa-  
mous afterwards by reason of this battell fought  
nere to the same.

When both the armies were approached within a  
mile together, king Edward sent eight hundred  
horsemen by a secret waie, vnto the castell of Strive-  
ling, to giue notice to sir Philip Mowbray the cap-  
taine, that he was come with his armie to succour  
him. As Robert being aduertised of their gate, & be-  
holding them which way they took, he sent Thomas  
Randall with five hundred Scottish horsemen to saue  
the countrie from spoile, who with singular manhood  
incountering with those Englishmen in sight of  
both the armies, there ensued a cruell fight betwixt  
them for so small a number, continuing a long space  
with vncertaine victorie. In the meane time sir  
James Dohoglasie, dreading that his speciall friend  
the said Thomas Randall should be ouerset with  
multitude of the Englishmen, came to As Robert,  
and falling on his knees before him, required li-  
cence to go forth to the support of them that were  
thus fighting with their enemies: which because the  
king would not grant at the first, he rushed forth of  
the campe without licence, hauing in his companie  
a small band of men, but yet chosen out for the pur-  
pose, that if it were but by shewing himselfe, hee  
might put the enemies in some feare.

Notwithstanding, when he was come nere to the  
place where they fought, and saw how the Scots had  
got the victorie with great murder of the English-  
men, he traied and went no further; least he should by  
his coming seeme to betraue them the glozie of the  
victorie, which had wonne it with so great prowesse  
e singular valliance. All those in the Scottish campe  
were relieved, in god hope of greater successe to fol-  
low in the whole enterpryse by so happie a beginning.  
The Englishmen passed little thereof, but yet for that  
the Scots should not wane proud, and take ouer-  
much courage thereby, they determined to giue them  
battell the next morow. King Robert with great di-  
ligence caused his people to prepare themselves rea-  
die to receiue the enemies, though he was nothing a-  
ble to match them in number, deuising which waie  
he might traue them into the ditches before prepa-  
red. He commanded through the armie that euerie  
man should on the next morow receiue the sacra-  
ment of the Lords bodie, through the which they  
might haue the better hope of victorie against the  
vniust invaders of their realme and countrie.

On the other side, the Englishmen trusted that  
all things would prosper with them, euen as they  
could best deuise: for by one small daies labour they  
hoped to be lords of all Scotland, and to dispose of  
the lands and goods of their enemies, as should seeme  
to them good, and most for their owne anile. But  
king Robert all the night before the battell took little  
rest, hauing great care in his mind for the successe of  
his armie, one while reuoluing in his consideration  
this chance, and another while that; yea and some-  
times he fell to deuout contemplation, making his  
prayer to God and saint Phyllane, whose arme as it  
was set and inclosed in a siluer case, he supposed had  
sane.

E. j.

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The fight of  
St. Randall  
with 500 Sco-  
tishmen in his  
companie a-  
gainst 800  
Englishmen.

The English  
men deter-  
mine to giue  
battell.  
King Robert  
prepareth to  
receiue the  
enemies by bat-  
tell.

berne the same time within his tent, trusting the better fortune to follow by presence thereof. In the meane time, as he was thus making his praier, the case suddenly opened, and clapped to againe. The kings chapleine being present, astonished therewith, went to the altar where the case stood, and finding the arme within it, he cried to the king & other that were present, how there was a great miracle wrought, confessing that he brought the emptie case to the field, and left the arme at home, leass that relike should haue bene lost in the field, if anie thing chanced to the arme otherwise than well.

A subtill chapleine.

A matter devised betwixt the king and his chapleine, as is to be thought.

The exhortation of king Robert to his people.

The king verie iofull of this miracle, passed the remnant of the night in praier and thanksgiving. On the morrow he caused all his folks to heare diuine seruice, and to receiue the sacrament, as ouer night he had appointed. The abbat of Inchchaffrate did celebrat before the king that day, and ministered vnto him and other of the nobles, the communion, other priests being appointed to minister the same vnto the residue of the arme. After this, when seruice was ended, the king called the people to his standard, and first declared vnto them from point to point, how necessarie it was for them to shew their wanted manhood, considering that such a huge multitude of people was brought thither against them by king Edward, not of one nation or dominion, but of sundrie languages and parties, as well subiects as allies to the Englishmen, with full purpose of heart to extinguish the Scottish name and memorie, and to plant themselves in their seates and townes, as in possessions utterly holden of all the ancient and former inhabitants. To increase the fierce stomachs of the Scottishmen against the enimies, he recounted vnto them what he heard by credible report touching the menacing words and insolent brags of the same enimies, able to moue verie quiet minds vnto full indignation. Again, to auoid feare out of their hearts, which they might conceiue by reason of the multitude of their aduersaries, he rehearsed what a number of rascals were amongst them, without anie skill of warrelike affaires, not taken vp by choice and election in appointed musters, but resorting without difference together, in hope of spoile and booties, having not else whereupon to liue at home in their countries.

Moreover, if nothing else might raise their hearts in hope of victorie, their lust cause sith they came in defense of their countrie against inuious invaders, was matter sufficient to aduance their manlie stomachs, in trust of Gods aid in that quarrell, hauing partlie assured them thereof, by notable miracles shewed in the night last passed. Hereto he added, that the greater multitude there was of the enimies, the more spoile and riches was to be got, if they attained the victorie. Finally, the more to stirre their hearts to do valiantlie, he required them of one thing, which he trusted (their manhood being such) they would not thinke hard for them to achieve, and this was, that euerie of them would but dispatch one of the enimies, which if they performed, he promised them assured victorie. As for ten thousand, he knew to be amongst them of such approued souldiers, and old men of war, as he durst safely undertake for them that they would slea two of the enimies a peece, at the least. Such manner of persuasions king Robert vsed to encourage his people.

Fr. Thin.

But Iohannes Maior, lib. 5. cap. 2. putteth speech much different from this, in the mouth of Wylse, further saing, that when this oration was ended, that the king came downe the hill, on which he stood, when he uttered these words, and bareheaded imbraced all the nobilitie in his armes, and after turning himselfe to the whole arme, he reached to euerie man his

hand, in signe of amitie: but I suppose he was over-wearied before he had taken 35000 men by the hands.) On the other part, king Edward called the colonels of ech nation within his campe, to exhort their retinues to remember, that if they fought valiantlie for one houre or two, they should purchase infinite riches with the whole realme of Scotland, in reward of their labour: for he desired nothing for himselfe, but the superiortie. Again, he willed they should haue in remembrance what irreuerable shame would follow (sith they had departed out of their countries in hope of gaine) to returne home with emptie hands, and void of victorie, not without some reproch and note of cowardise.

Besides which (as seemeth by Iohannes Maior) king Edward clothed in his kinglie robes, is said to haue vsed these speeches to the arme. If I did not behold the open victorie, I would this day (most valiant men) make an other beginning of speech vnto you. We are in preparation & number of souldiers farre beyond these miserable Scots. Besides which, we haue abundance of brasie peeces, catapultes, bowes, and other such engines of warre, which on the contrarie part the Scots doe want. They are onelie couered with leather pilches made of bucks skins, and with clothes like vnto the wild mountaine people, for which cause our archers, before the strength of the maine battell shall come, will soon subdue them. Sparrell not that they haue before time subdued some of my subiects, because they did it by their accustomed deceits, and not by strength of battell. And though by chance they haue overcome (in fight) some weake compaignie of equall number vnto them, yet are they not able to resist vs; being farre more excellent in number, preparation, and order of battell. The Scot hath a weake nation fighting on his owne charge, not hauing anie chosen souldier. God hath in this field inclosed that for Wylse (nourished by my god father) to the end that he might receiue worthy punishment for his wickednesse. His three brethren were consumed by my father: therefore it now remaineth that we apprehend (alike) these other two wicked and wauering men, to lead them to London, there to receiue their due punishment. You had great reuenues (noble princes) given to you by my father, in that kingdom. Therefore now shew you selues valiant persons, that you may againe recouer the same, at this day possessed by the vnitt and vnrightfull owners. Besides which, I will further by line geometricallie measure south all the land of Scotland, to be diuided vnto those that deserue the same, according to the merits of the men. Thus much Maior.)

But yet when they should march forward in array of battell towards the Scots, they might scarce be seuered from their wiues and children, which they had there in campe with them: neuertheless, at length by the sharpe calling vpon of their captains, they were brought into order of battell, not without much adoe, by reason of the vnrule multitude. The archers were placed in wings, mingled amongst the horsemen on the sides of the wards and battels, which stood inclosed in the midst of the same wings. King Robert appointing all his battels on foot, diuided the same into three parts: the foreward he committed to Thomas Randulfe, & James Douglas, captains of verie approued valiance, vnder whom went seven thousand of the borderers, and three thousand of the Irish Scots, otherwise called Batersans or Redshanks. These no lesse fierce and forward, than the other practised and skilfull. The second ward was gouerned by Edward the kings brother, where in were ten thousand men: but for that he was impeded of too much rashnesse, there was joined with

The exhortation of king Edward.

Fr. Thin. Iohannes Maior maketh Edward to speake thus vnto his people.

To Maior he got that were not in number.

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Exord.

The abbat of  
Inchmaharrie  
bearing a  
crosse.

John epis-  
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anus, it  
emphatice  
the abbat  
of lin-  
colne, pae-  
paurie of  
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tongit.

Exord. fol-  
10.

Some thou-  
sand English  
soldiers o-  
verthrewen  
the Scots.

Exord.

Some o-  
ther for the  
gout of their  
hairs, since  
the Scots  
were in com-  
paign in  
the field, but  
not in a battell.

The appoin-  
ting of the  
Scottish bat-  
tels.  
The first bat-  
tell.

The second.

him secrete ancient gentlemen of great nobilitie  
and circumspection, to qualifie his battie and hot na-  
ture. The third battell, in the which were (as John  
Maio) recordeth) fiftie thousand fighting men, the  
king himselfe led, the which a verie cherefull coun-  
tenance amongst them, so farre forth, that euerie one  
that beheld him, conceived in his mind an assured  
hope of victorie to succeed.

The abbat of Inchmaharrie afore said (who as be-  
fore is mentioned, did celebrate that morning afore  
the king) came forth before the battels, with the cro-  
cisse in his hands, bearing it aloft like a standard, ad-  
monishing them valiantlie to take in hand the de-  
fence of their countrie, and the libertie of their posses-  
sion: for (saith he) you must not euerie man fight as  
it were for his owne private defense, his owne house  
and children, but euerie man for all men, and all men  
for euerie man: must fight for the libertie, life, patri-  
monie, children, and twines of all the realme: for such  
and so great is the dignitie of our countrie; as they  
which de face or spoile it, are to be punished with per-  
petuall fier, and they which do preserve it, are to be  
recompensed with an eternall crowne of glorie. And  
here with all this abbat instructed them of manie  
things touching the loue of their countrie, which na-  
ture hath so planted in all men, that for the preserua-  
tion and libertie thereof, none should refuse any dan-  
ger, no not the losse of life, yea though (if it were pos-  
sible) that it might be manie times lost therefore.  
Which done, he feared not to admonish them to wor-  
ship the image of Christ, which he shewed them on the  
crosse. Incontinentlie wherupon, the Scottish armie  
fell on knees before it, devoutlie commending them-  
selves to almightie God.

The English armie beholding the Scots fall on  
knees, thought verelie they had yielded without  
stroke stricken. But when they saw them rise a-  
gain, and to come forthward, they began to be some-  
what doubtfull. And hereupon rushing together, at  
the first joining a great number of people on either  
side were beaten downe & slaine. The archers which  
were arrayed on the bitter skirts of the English  
wings, sore annoyed the Scots, till finally Edward  
Brace came on their backs with a thousand speares,  
and brake them assunder, in such wise that they did  
but little more hurt that day. Albeit incontinent-  
lie herewith a battell of horsemen to the number of  
thirtie thousand, came rushing together all at once  
in shoocke, to haue borne downe and overriden the  
Scots; but being so in their full race galloping with  
most violence towards them, they tumbled into the  
fosses and pits before mentioned, in such wise one  
upon another, that the most part of them was slaine,  
without all recoverie. Neuertheless the Scots in  
maner oppressed through the huge multitude of the  
enemies, were nere at the point to haue bene van-  
quished. [ During which conflict saith Buch. this  
happened (which though it be a small thing to put in  
writing, yet was such as oftentimes it chanceth in  
battell, and as brought no small benefit to the per-  
fection of their businesse) that king Robert (who  
continualle rode before the battell appointed to his  
gouernement) holding a mace of warre in his hand  
(and keeping the first order in the array) was espied  
of an Englishman that knew him verie well: and  
forthwith rode full against Brace with his speare.  
But the king beating the stroke aside, came to his  
English aduersarie, overthrew him by the force of  
his horse, in the end killed him with his mace & so  
left him dead. Whereupon, the common people be-  
holding the valure of their king and capteine, dis-  
posed with great force by the instigation of their fierce and  
fiere minds (and not by the kings perswasion) fall  
upon their enemies in such sort, that they seemed to

haue had the victorie of the aduersie battell of their  
enemies: had it not bene for the English archers;  
which were placed in the wings of the battell; whom  
Brace (sending out certaine light horsemen) dis-  
comfited: wherby the Scots discouraged, made  
their partie good; rather by hidden policie, than  
prepared force. For a Stratagem by the Scots de-  
vised, and executed by the English therof conceived,  
was far more hurt to the enemy, than the power af-  
forded in the field. For that deuise in the end was  
the cause that the English lost the victorie, being in  
this sort.

The Scots which were appointed to attend the  
carrage, as carbores, waite-men, lackies, and the  
women, beholding in what danger their masters,  
friends, & countreymen stood, put on their smocks,  
and other white linnen aloft upon their usual gar-  
ments, and herewith binding towels and napkins  
to their speares; and to other such frames as they got  
in their hands; placed themselves as well as they  
could in array of battell, and so making a great  
moyle and shew anelo, came downe the hill side  
in the face of their enemies, with such a terrible noise  
and hideous clamor, that the Englishmen fighting  
as then with most furie against the Scots with  
certaine victorie, and beholding this new reinforce  
coming downe the hill upon their faces, supposing  
verelie it had bene some new armie, their hearts  
began to faint, the more in deed, for that they saw  
themselves verie able to susteine the violent in-  
counter of the Scots then present. And hereupon  
they began to turne their backs, and fell to running  
away as people clearelie vanquished: on whom the  
Scots followed with insatiable fire, and due them  
down on all sides where they might overtake them.  
Sir James Douglas with foure hundred chosen  
horsemen, was commanded by king Robert to  
pursue the king of England with all speed, to trie  
if he might overtake him.

Douglas (according to his charge) followed him  
in chase to Dunbar, & casting betwixt that and the  
borders, laie in wait to haue taken him. If he had  
returned by land; but he being receiued into the ca-  
stell of Dunbar by Patrike Dunbar erle of March,  
with fiftene earles in his companie, was by the  
same erle of March conueied into certaine vessels,  
lieng there at anchor, with the which he passed alongst  
by the shore into England, to shew an example of  
the vnsafe state of princes: for though this Ed-  
ward was that day in the morning right proud of  
the great puissance and number of people which he  
had about him, not unlike sometime to the great  
armie of king Herres yet he was constrained before  
the evening of the same day, to save his life in a  
poore fishers boat. In this battell were slaine fiftie  
thousand Englishmen (as the Scottish writers af-  
firme) amongst whom was the erle of Gloes-  
ter, with two hundred knights. On the Scottish  
part were slaine about foure thousand, and amongst  
other two valiant knights, sir William Wallace,  
and sir Walter Ross. The spoile was so great of  
gold, silver, and other Jewels gotten in the field, that  
the whole number of the Scottish armie was made  
rich thereby: and besides this, they got little lesse mo-  
nie and riches by ransoming of prisoners taken at  
this battell, than of spoile gotten in the fight, campe,  
and field. But the death of sir Giles Argentine,  
that died amongst other in this mortal battell, was  
so displeasing to king Robert, for the familiaritie  
which he had sometimes with him in England, that  
he reioiced little of all the gains got by so famous a  
victorie. He caused his house to be buried right ho-  
norable in saint Patriks church beside Edinburgh.  
The queene king Roberts wife, who had bene kept  
E. ij.

The English  
mens hearts  
began to faint.

The English  
men put to  
fright.

King Ed-  
ward cleareth

The vnsafe  
state of prin-  
ces puissance.

The number  
of Scots  
slaine.

Sir Giles  
Argentine  
slaine.

The quene  
king Roberts  
wife restored  
to his husband

in captiuitie the space of 8 yeares, was in England  
now, delivered by exchange. One of the nobles  
of England, which was taken at the battell, the rich  
clothes of silke, velvet, and gold, which were found  
in the English campe, were distributed to the ab-  
beies and monasteries of the realme, to make there  
of vestments, copes, and frontals for altars. The  
Carmelite frier, of whome ye heard before, brought  
further by king Edward to describe the victorie of  
the Englishmen, was taken prisoner amongst o-  
ther, and commanded by king Robert to write con-  
trarie the victorie of the Scots, according as he had  
sene: who thereupon gathered his rustie wits toge-  
ther, & made certaine rude verses beginning thus.

Verses made  
by Robert  
Balfour the  
Carmelite.

*De planctu cudo metrum cum carmine nudo.*  
*Rijum retrido cum tali themate ludo.*  
With barren verse this rime I make,  
Bewailing whilest such theme I take.

Miracles if  
ye list to be-  
lieue them.

Where be some that haue iudged, how this victorie  
was attained by the singular fauor of almightie  
God, by reason of miracles, which they rehearse  
to happen at the same time. The night before the day  
of the battell, there came to the abbete of Clatter-  
burie two men in complet armour, desiring to  
lodge there all night: the abbat keeping an house of  
great hospitalitie, receiued them right gladlie, and  
making them good cheare, demanded what they  
were, and whither they were going: who answered  
that they were the seruants of God, and going to  
helpe the Scots at Bannorbozne. On the morrow  
the chamberlaine found them departed before anie  
of the gates were opened, & the beds faire made, and  
not stirred otherwise than as they left them ouer  
night. The same day that the battell was foughten,  
a knight clad in faire bright armour, declared to the  
people at Aberdeen, how the Scots had gotten a  
famous victorie against the Englishmen, and was  
sene shortly after to passe ouer Vialand firth on  
horsebacke. It was supposed by the people that this  
was saint Magnus, sometime prince of Orkney,  
and for that cause king Robert endowed the church  
of Orkney with five poundes sterling of the cu-  
stomes of Aberdeen, to furnish the same church, with  
bread, wine, and wax.

Robert fles-  
hing reward-  
ed for his  
faithfull ser-  
uice.

Some noble men for their approued manhood  
shewed in this conflict, were highlie rewarded at  
the hands of king Robert. One Robert Fleming,  
by whose means he reneged the treason wrought a-  
gainst him by John Cummin, with slaughter of the  
same John, had the lands of Cumminald giuen  
him, which were of the inheritance belonging to the  
said Cummin. It is reported by writers, that two  
knights of Babant that serued amongst the Eng-  
lishmen, chanced to heare manie reprochfull words  
spoken in the English campe against king Robert,  
who being somewhat moued therewith, and misli-  
king such dismeasured talke, wished in words that  
the victorie might chance vnto him. For the which  
with la. Edward informed thereof, caused them by  
a trumpet to be conueied vnto the Scottish campe,  
with commandement to aid king Robert to the vt-  
termost of their powers, purposing to punish them  
according to his mind, if he attained the victorie, as  
he had no doubt but he should. Whereupon, before  
the joining of the battells, he caused proclamation  
to be made, that whosoever brought their heads vnto  
him, should haue an hundred marks in reward.

A proclama-  
tion.

The Scottish  
house in An-  
tuerpe build-  
ed.

King Robert hearing in what danger they had  
run for his sake, rewarded them with great riches  
of the spoile got in the field, with the which they re-  
turning into Babant, built a goodlie house in An-  
tuerpe, naming the same Scotland, and causing  
the Scottish armes, and the picture of Baulie to be  
set vp in the same, appointed it for a lodging to re-

ceive form of the Scottish nation that should resort  
vnto that house, as may appeare even vnto this  
day: And this was done for a memoriall, to shew  
that long and hartie beneuolence these two knights  
bare towards king Robert and his people, for the  
great liberalitie receiued at his hands. This glory-  
ous victorie chanced to the Scots on the day of the  
natiuitie of saint John Baptist, in the yeare 1314.  
About this time for the varietie of fortune (in so  
small a course of yeares) happened a thing not un-  
worthy the reporting. For John Mentith, which  
before betrayed his deere friend Wallace to the Eng-  
lish, being therefore (as of right he ought) extreme-  
lie hated of the Scots, was (in recompense thereof  
beside manie other rewards) benefited with the gar-  
dianship of the castle of Dunbaiton: which fort (after  
all the other castles before said were recovered to the  
Scots) was almost the onlie thing (except some few  
others) that remained in the hands of the English;  
and because this fort was by nature inerpugnabile,  
king Robert dealt with the capteine (by such as  
were friends and of kindred vnto him) to betraye the  
castle into his hands, promising great recompense  
therefor. Wherevnto this Mentith by no means  
would agree, unless la. Robert would giue to him the  
earldome of Lennox for his reward. Whereupon  
the king being greatlie in doubt what to say therein,  
(though in deed he vehementlie longed for the said  
castle) because he did not thinke the obtaining there-  
of to be of such good vnto him, as that he would  
therefore offend or lose the earle of Lennox, who had  
in all his calamities bene the most certeine, and al-  
most the onlie friend of the king: which doubt, when  
the earle vnderstood, he forthwith came vnto him,  
willing him in no wise to refuse the condition; where-  
upon the bargaine was concluded betwene John  
Mentith and the king, and that in such sort, as it was  
most solemnelie confirmed.

Now, when the king should come to receiue this  
castle (according to compositions) as he was in the  
wood Colchon, a mile distant from the same, a cer-  
teine carpenter called Rowland came thither secre-  
lie vnto him, & desired licence that he might speake  
to the king, for he would discover a great matter  
touching a treason that was deuised and prepared a-  
gainst him, by the capteine of Dunbaiton. Which  
pardon obtained, he opened vnto Baulie, that be-  
low in the wine-cellar of the castle, were a number  
of English inclosed, which at dinner should either  
take or kill the king (being then safe) after that he  
had obtained the castle. Whereupon the king no-  
thing abashed, but keeping on his former determi-  
nation, & being (according to appointment) receiued  
by the said John Mentith in the castle of Dunbaiton:  
after that he had searched all other places, and  
was courteously invited to sit downe to dinner;  
answered that he would not eate, vntill he had lo-  
ked into the cellar below. Wherevnto for excuse,  
and to defer the time, the capteine answered that the  
smith was absent and caried the key away with him.  
But the king not waiting for the coming of the  
smith, did incontinentlie breake open the cellar  
dore, whereby all the deceit appeared. After which,  
the armed men were brought forth before the king,  
who being severallie examined, confessed the whole  
matter; and further, that there was a ship readie in  
the haven to haue caried the la. prisoner into Eng-  
land, if they had taken him alive. Whereupon the  
rest being punished, John Mentith was onlie cast  
into prison, & reserved from further paine: because  
the king would not offend his friends & kindred in so  
pangerous a time as that was. For this Mentith  
had manie beautifull daughters married to men of  
great power & riches. After which imprisonment of this

this  
fau-  
our:

1314.  
The crowne  
of Scotland  
minted.  
Margerie the  
daughter of  
king Rob-  
ert by his  
first wife.

1314.  
Fa. Thim.

Buchanan.

John Men-  
tith made ca-  
ptaine of Dun-  
baiton castle.

The second  
marriage of  
king Robert.

The issue of  
king Robert  
by his second  
wife.

Liberties by  
king Robert.

Englishmen  
inclosed in a  
cellar to kill  
king Robert  
after his en-  
terance into  
Dunbaiton  
castle.

1315.

The lords of  
Ireland re-  
newed aid of  
king Robert.

Walter.

Edward  
Baulie pro-  
claimed king  
of Ireland.

The English  
did not little  
in the popes  
commande-  
ments.

this p<sup>r</sup>inth was by mediation of such as greatlie fauored him, restored to the fauor of Buse, vnder whome he did after serue most faithfullie.

In mediaticke after, king Robert called a parlement at Airc, where, by consent of the thre states he to us confirmed king, and the crowne intailed to the heires male of his bodie latofullie begotten, and for want of such heires, to remaine vnto his brother Edward Buse, and to the heires male of his bodie; and if he chanced to die without such heires, then should the crowne descend to Margerie the daughter of king Robert, and to the heires generall of hir bodie by lawfull succession. In which parlement it was further decreed, that if the king were in his minority, he should then be governed by Thomas Randolph, and if anie misfortune chanced vnto the said Randolph, that then the gouernement of the kings person and kingdome should be committed to James Douglas.

This Margerie was gotten by king Robert on the earle of Mar his sister, his first wife, and was married by the aduise of his nobles vnto Walter great Steward of Scotland. Also king Robert, for that his first wife aforesaid was deceased, married shortly after Elizabeth the daughter of the earle of Ulster, on whome he got a sonne named Dauid, and two daughters, the one named Margaret, and the other Maule. The first was married to the earle of Sutherland, and bare him a sonne named John: the second departed this world in hir infancie. After the marriage solemnized betwixt his daughter Margerie, and the foresaid Walter Steward, king Robert went through all the bounds of his realme, and did not onelie confirme the ancient liberties and priuileges of the burrowes and towne in all places where he came, but also augmented the same, and granted vnto diuerse, as well towne as baronies, sundrie new prerogatives and franchises, as may appeare by his charters made vnto them of the same, speciallie to the towne of Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen.

In the yeare following, which was in the yeare 1315, the princes of Ireland oppressed (as they toke it) with long and insufferable tyrannie of the Englishmen, and trusting by support of Scots to recouer their libertie, now after so notable an overthrow of the whole English puissance, sent ambassadors vnto king Robert, requiting that it might please him to send his brother Edward Buse, to receiue the crowne and gouernement of their countrie of Ireland. This request being granted, Edward prepared to take that iourne in hand, and so with a small power of Scottishmen transporting ouer into Ireland, and taking with an armie of such as were readie to assist him there, he toke the towne of Ulster, and slew a great number of Englishmen which were found in the same. Then afterwards, by the generall consent of all the estates of Ireland, Edward Buse was proclaimed king of that realme, and certayne of the Irish nobilitie sent ambassadors vnto the pope, to sue for a ratification of their act and proceedings, for the suertie and weale of their countrie, sith they were not able longer to susteine the greivous pike of the English thralldome. These ambassadors, through their earnest diligence, got such fauor in their sute, that the pope sundrie times charged the Englishmen to auoid out of Ireland: howbeit, they seemed to passe little of his commandments in that behalfe, for they daile sought how to make themselves strong in that part, least they should lose the possession of that countrie, which their enemies were about to get forth of their hands.

King Robert, being informed how through the reinforcement of the English armie, being daile re-

freshed with new succors, his brother was like to run in danger to be cast away, he left sir James Douglas gouerno: in Scotland, with a competent number of men to defend the borders, and he himselfe with a great power of other souldiers and men of war went ouer into Ireland, to support his brother: but suffering great distresse at his first comming thither, for want of vittells & other provisions, he lost almost the one halfe of his folks through verie famine & hunger, & the residue were constrained to eate horses and other such lothsome meates, therewith to susteine their languishing liues. At length being approached within a daies iourne of his brother, in purpose to haue supported him with those people which he had left, his brother not abiding his comming, fought vntwilelie with the Englishmen at a place called Dundach, and receiuing the overthrow, was slaine himselfe with a great number of other. It is vncertaine whether he had anie knowledge of the comming of his brother king Robert, or that through desire of fame he feared least if he staied till his brother came, a great part of the praise (if they got the victorie) should remaine to him: and therefore he made such hast to fight. But howsoeuer it was, thus he was slaine on the fourteenth of October, in the yeare 1317.

Edward king of England, hearing that king Robert was passed ouer into Ireland, thought the time to serue well for his purpose, estimes to invade Scotland: and hereupon comming with a great power to the borders, he purposed to haue done some great feat. But sir James Douglas the gouerno, hauing likewise gathered an armie, gaue him battell, and put both him & his people to flight. In this battell were slaine thre notable capitaines on the English side: as sir Edmund Uilaw a Galcoigne capitaine of Berwick, with sir James Peuill, and the third sir James Douglas slue with his owne hands. King Edward perceiuing it was not like that he should do anie god at that time against the Scots by land, thought it best to assaile them by sea, which way forth the Englishmen commonly were euer to god for the Scots. He rigged therefore a fleet of ships, and sent the same into the North, which burned the countrie on each side, and toke manie rich booties from the inhabitants nere to the shore.

Duncane earle of Fife, hearing of these cruelties done by the Englishmen, came forth with five hundred hardie souldiers, to defend the countrie from such inuasions: but when he perceived that the enemies were of greater number than he was able well to encounter, hauing but an handful of men in comparison to them, he gaue somewhat backe, and in the meane time met with William Sinclair bishop of Dunkeld, hauing about thre score armed men in his compaignie, who blaming the earle for his faintnesse of courage, caused him to set forth againe towards the enemies, & finding them busie in spoiling & harrieng the countrie, they gaue an onset vpon them so fiercelie, that there was slaine at the first encounter to the number of five hundred of the Englishmen, and the residue chased to their booties lying at Dunbrissell, which they entred in such haste, that one of the booties being possessed with ouer great number of haue with them before they could get to their ships. King Robert euer after customablie called this William Sinclair his owne bishop, for the noble prowess which he shewed in this enterprise.

In the same yeare Robert Steward the sonne of Walter Steward and Margerie Buse was borne, which Robert after the death of his Dauid le Buse was preferred to the crowne. After this, Thomas Randolph earle of Murray, the second day of April recovered

See more hereof in Ireland.

King Robert passed ouer into Ireland.

Edward Buse is slaine in Ireland.

See more of this matter in Ireland.

Edward sendeth a name into Scotland.

Englishmen discomfited.

William Sinclair called Robert's bishop.

Robert Steward borne.

1318.

Berwikke re-  
covered.

Fr. Thin.  
Scala chron.

Ri. Southwell.

The Scots  
enter further  
into England  
than they were  
accustomed,  
even unto  
wetherbie (as  
Fourd, saith.)

Fr. Thin.

1219.  
Berwikke be-  
sieged.

Ri. Southwell.

William Spel-  
ton archbishop  
of yorke.

recovered the towne of Berwikke out of the Eng-  
lish mens hands, which they had held for the space of  
twentie yeres before. It was taken now by prac-  
tise, through meanes of one Spalbein an English  
man, who for his labour had certeine lands given  
him in Angus, which his posteritie inioeth to these  
daies.

\* Trulie it were a wonderfull processe to declare  
what mischietes came through hunger and other mis-  
fortunes, by the space of 11 yeres in Northumber-  
land; for the Scots became so proud after they had  
gotten Berwikke, that they nothing esteemed the  
English nation. But (amongst other things by the  
Scots attempted) much about this time, Adam de  
Cardonne came with 160 men, to drive awaie  
the cattell pasturing by Forham, which the people of  
the towne perceiuing, ran forth and encountered  
with the Scots, who had gotten the victorie of them,  
had not Thomas Grey capitaine of the castell, seeing  
them in some leoparde, issued forth with 60 of his  
souldiers, & slaine most part of the Scots, and their  
horses. The which Grey had bene twice before besie-  
ged in the castell of Forham, once almost by the  
space of a whole yere, and another time by the terme  
of seven moneths, in which he behaved himselfe like  
a worthy gentleman, in that his enemies got none  
advantage of him, although that during the siege,  
they had erected manie fortresses before the castell,  
to annoie such as were within: of which forts they  
made one at Wpittington, and one in the church of  
Forham, the castell whereof had bene twice tein-  
ted and in danger of losse, had not the lord Perrie  
and Penill (being great succourers of the marches)  
rescued the same. For at one time the vtter ward of  
Forham castell was taken in the time of this Grey  
on saint Katharins euen, which the Scots kept not  
but three daies, and their purpose in winning the  
same did vtterlie faile them.)

After that the earle of Murray had recovered  
Berwikke, he and the lord James Douglas in the  
moneth of Aprill invaded England with a puissant  
armie, passing further into the countrie than the  
Scots had bene accustomed to do before time, bur-  
ning as they went forward the townes of Forshal-  
erton and Burrobbidge, and coming to Kipon,  
they spoiled the towne of all the goods found therein;  
but compounding with them that kept the church a-  
gainst them for a thousand marks, they forbore to  
burne any of the buildings. After they had taried  
here three daies, they departed thence, and went to  
Banerburgh, which towne they burnt, and beating  
the woods (into the which the people were with-  
drawne with their goods and cattell) they got a great  
bottle, and returning homewards by Scipton in  
Craven, they first spoiled the towne, and after burnt  
it, and so marching thorough the countrie, came  
backe into Scotland with their spoiles and pris-  
oners without any resistance. [This castell of Ba-  
nerburgh was taken by John Lilliborne, which after  
rendered himselfe to the king vpon certeine condi-  
tions.]

In the yere following, king Edward came and  
laid siege vnto Berwikke, but the towne was so well  
defended, that he was constrained with small hono-  
r to returne home, and leaue it as he found it. For in  
the meane time, while king Edward lay at the siege  
before Berwikke, Thomas Randall earle of Murrey,  
and the lord James Douglas assembled their  
forces together; but perceiuing themselves to be weak  
to remove the siege by force, they passed by, and en-  
tering into England, walled and spoiled all before  
them. Keeping on their way vnto Burrobbidge, &  
whereof when the citizens of Yorke were aduertised,  
with their capitaine William Spelton their arch-  
bishop,

shop, and the bishop of Ely, not making them of the  
countrie once priuie to their purpose, but hauing in  
their companie a great number of priests and men  
of religion, they gaue battell to the Scots one day  
in the after none, not farre from the towne of Wit-  
ton vpon Swale, twelue miles distant from Yorke  
northwards.

But forsomuch as the most part of the English  
men were not expert in the seates of warre, and  
came not in any orderlie arraie of battell, they  
were easilie vanquished & put to flight by the Scots,  
who were readie to receiue them in good order, close  
together in one entier squadron, and after their ac-  
customed maner, at their first joining they gaue a  
great shot, wherewith the Englishmen out of  
hand began to giue backe: which when the Scots  
perceiued, they got them to their horses, and follo-  
wed the chase most egerlie, beating downe and sla-  
ing the Englishmen, neither sparing religious per-  
son nor other, so that their died to the number of  
four thousand Englishmen that day, and amongst  
the rest was the maior of Yorke one. In the water  
of Swale (as was said) there were drowned to the  
number of a thousand. To be short, if might had not  
come the sooner vpon, it was thought scarce there  
should anye of the English part haue escaped.

When king Edward lieng as yet at the siege of  
Berwikke, vnderstand what mischietes the Scots did  
within his realme, he raised his siege, in purpose to  
haue encountered with his enemies: but the Scots  
aduertised of his purpose, returned with all their pri-  
soners and spoile by Stanemore, and so through  
Gilland, and the west marches, with their home  
into their countrie. About the feast of All saints,  
when the inhabitants of the north parts had got in  
their harvest, so that their barnes were now stuffed  
with coine, of the which prouision they were to liue  
all the yere after, the Scots vnder the conduct of  
the said two capitaine, the earle of Murray, and the lord  
Douglas, entered into England, and burnt the  
countrie of Gilland, taking away both such people  
as they toke prisoners, and also all the cattell which  
they might meet with, and so kept vpon their iourne  
till they came to Burgh vnder Stanemore, destruy-  
eng all afoze them, & then returning through West-  
merland, practised the like mischietes there, in bur-  
ning vp houses and coine in all places where they  
came, as they had done before in Gilland. And fi-  
nallie passing through Cumberlond with the like ha-  
uocke, at length they drew home into their owne  
countrie, with no small number of prisoners, and  
plentie of great riches which they had got in that  
iourne. [And the souldiers going backe againe to-  
ward Scotland, fought with the commons of New-  
castell at the bridge end, for certeine displeasures  
done vnto them, in which conflict sir John Perith  
knight was slaine, and manie other squires belong-  
ing to the constable and marshall. About which time  
also, king Edward lieng at Leth to go vnto Eden-  
burgh) was constrained to returne for lacke of vil-  
tels.]

About the same time died Margerie Wyse king  
Roberts daughter. Shortly after also was a truce  
taken betwixt the two realmes of England & Scot-  
land for a certeine time. When king Robert having  
no trouble, neither within his realme nor without,  
caused a parlement to be holden at Berth, where he  
required the lords to shew their deids and charters  
whereby they held their lands. The lords after long  
debate taken herein, at length pulled out their  
scrolls all at once, declaring that they had none o-  
ther charters nor charter to shew for the terme of  
their times, King Robert was somewhat amazed at  
this sight, and toke no small indignation therewith,  
but

The battle  
of Winton  
vpon Swale.

The Eng-  
lish men  
were  
slain.

The mayor  
of Yorke  
slain.

The Scots  
invaded Eng-  
land.

Burgh vnder  
Stanemore.

Fr. Thin.  
Scala chron.

Margerie  
Wyse  
king  
Roberts  
daughter.

A parlement  
at Berth.

The rulers  
and charters  
whereby the  
lords of Scot-  
land held  
their lands.

Confederacie  
of the lords  
against king  
Edward.

A palmer  
taken  
with forty-  
eights on him.

The lords  
that had con-  
federed, were  
committed to  
prison.

The blacks  
in prison.  
1220.

And the  
nobles  
of the  
kingdom.

Among other  
there these,  
Robert de  
Bos, John  
de Mowbray,  
John de  
Hastings,  
John de  
Warrenton,  
John de  
Majour.



The abbey of  
Holme burnt.

Fourneis ab-  
bey.

Leuin lands.

The towne of  
Lancaster  
burnt.

Preson in  
Anderneis  
burnt.

K. Edward  
raisth an ar-  
mie.

He entered  
Scotland.

The abbeyes  
of Whorle  
or Whorle  
and Wiburgh  
burnt.  
King Robert  
inuaith the  
north parts of  
England, ap-  
proching al-  
most to Yorke.

K. Edward is  
put to flight.

The earle of  
Richmond is  
taken.

1323.

Ri. Southwell,  
Kinale abbey.

Yorke wolde  
waist by  
Scots.

Baptist, he entered into England with an armie  
thence to Carleill, and burnt a manor place that some-  
time belonged to him at Kosse, and Allerdale, and  
spoiled the monasterie of Holme, notwithstanding  
his fathers corpes was there interred.

From thence he marched forward, destroying and  
spoiling the countrie of Copland, and so keeping by,  
on his iourne, passed Doden sands, towards the ab-  
bey of Fourneis: but the abbat meeting him on the  
waie, redeemed his lands from spoile, and brought  
king Robert to his house, and made to him great  
chere: but yet the Scots could not hold their hands  
from burning and spoiling diuerse places; and mar-  
ching forward unto Cartmelle beyond Leuin sands,  
burnt and spoiled all the countrie about, except a pri-  
orie of blacke canons which stood there. Passing from  
thence they came to Lancaster, which towne they al-  
so burnt, saue onelie the priorie of blacke monks,  
and a house of preaching friers. Thence came to them  
the earle of Murray, and the lord James Douglas  
with an other armie, whereupon marching further  
southwards, they came to Preson in Anderneis,  
and burnt that towne also, the house of friers in-  
uolued onelie excepted.

And thus being foure score miles within Eng-  
land from their owne borders, they returned home-  
wards with all their prisoners, cattell, and other bo-  
ties which they had got in that iourne, coming to  
Cartleill on the eue of saint Margaret, and lodging  
abode that tyme the space of five daies, they wasted  
and destroyed the corne, & all other things that came  
within their reach. Which done, on saint James e-  
uen they entred into Scotland againe, having bene  
within England at this tyme three weekes and three  
daies. Immediatlie hereupon, to wit, about the  
feast of Lammas, king Edward with his armie  
came to Newcastell, and desirous to be reuenged of  
such iniuries done to his subiects, entered into Scot-  
land, and passing forth till he came to Edenburgh,  
through want of vittells and other necessarie prouisi-  
on, he was constrained to returne home within the  
space of 15 daies. For king Robert aduertised of  
his coming, had caused all the corne and cattell in  
the countrie to be conueyed out of the waie into cer-  
teine forts, whereunto the Englishmen might not  
come to get it into their hands, & so to relieve them-  
selves therewith. But in their returning homeward,  
somewhat to reuenge their displeasures, they spoiled  
and burnt the abbeyes of Whorle, and Wiburgh,  
with diuerse other religious houses and places, not  
sparing anie kind of crueltie against all those of the  
inhabitants that fell into their hands.

In reuenge hereof, king Robert shortly after en-  
tered with a puissant armie into England, spoiling  
& wasting the countrie, till he came almost to Yorke.  
At length, hearing that king Edward was com-  
ing towards him with an armie, he chose a plot of  
ground betwixt the abbey of Wiland and saint Sa-  
uith, there to abide battell, which king Edward re-  
fused not to give, though in the end he was put to  
flight with his whole power, and chased with great  
laughter both of Englishmen and Irishmen, which  
were there in his aid. Diuerse also of the nobilitie  
were taken prisoners, as John de Britaine earle of  
Richmond, and Henrie Scotlie, with others. This  
battell was fought in the yere of our Saviour 1323,  
15 daies after the feast of saint Michaell the archa-  
n-  
gell. King Edward being the same time at the abbey  
of Kinale, aduertised of this overthrow, fled and got  
him into Yorke, leaving his plate and much other  
stuffe behind him for want of cariage in that his sud-  
den departure, which the Scots coming thither  
found, and took away with them. And from thence  
they passed forth into Yorke shire, spoiling and wa-

sting the countreymen vnto Beuerleie, which tyme  
for a summe of monie they were contented to spare,  
and so then they returned homeward, entering a-  
gaine into Scotland on All soules day, which is the  
second of Nouember, after they had remained with-  
in England at that time the space of a moneth and  
foure daies.

Shortly after, king Robert sent an ambassado: to  
the French king [to pacifie him offended with them  
for the English] and to renew the ancient bond of a-  
mitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and  
France, which was accomplished with this new con-  
dition added to the former articles, that if it chanced  
that succession failed touching the inheritance of the  
crown of either realme, so that a doubt should rise,  
who ought by right to inioy the same, the claime and  
title thereof should be tried and decided by the nobles  
of both the realmes; and further, that they should not  
onelie remove and exclude all such as went about  
longfullie to usurpe the crowne, but also to defend  
and mainteine the true inheritor to the uttermost of  
their powers. In confirmation of this covenant, both  
the kings receiued the sacrament. And for further  
ratifying of it, they made a prouiso, that whereas  
(then) they had the popes consent hereto, neither he,  
nor anie of his successors hereafter should dispense  
with them for the breaking of that bond; and if they  
did, euerie such dispensation should be reputed void  
and of none effect.

In this yere 1323 (as Richard Southwell re-  
poy-  
teth) about the Ascension day, came commissioners  
from the two kings of England and Scotland, vnto  
Newcastell, there to treat of some agreement of  
peace. For the king of England came Amerie de  
Valence earle of Penbrooke, the lord Hugh Spen-  
ser the yonger, and foure other persons sufficientlie  
authorized. And for the king of Scots came the bi-  
shop of saint Andrewes, Thomas Randall earle of  
Murray, and foure other persons likewise of god  
calling. After much talke, in the end they agreed vpon  
a truce to indure for 13 yeres, which was procla-  
med in both realmes about the feast of saint Barna-  
bie next ensuing. About this time also, or not long be-  
fore, an Englishman descended of noble linage, cal-  
led Hamton, chanced for speaking certeine words in  
commendation of king Robert, to fall at variance  
with one of king Edwards priuie chamber, named  
John Spenser; insomuch that fighting together a-  
bout the same words, Hamtons hap was to sea this  
Spenser, & thereupon knowing there was no waie  
but death, if he should hap to be caught, he fled with  
all speed into Scotland, where he was receiued of the  
king in most friendlie wise, and had giuen to him  
for the maintenance of his estate like a gentleman,  
the lands of Cadzow [which (as saith Buchanan) he  
called by the name of Hamilton.]

The posteritie of this Hamton remaineth in Scot-  
land vnto this day, increased so in kindred and hono-  
r, by reason it was in processe of time mingled with  
the kings blood, that few linages in that realme  
are of like estimation. They are now called Ha-  
milltons, somewhat changed from the name of their  
first beginner. [Donald earle of Marre, was made  
by king Edward the second gardian or capitaine of  
the castell of Biffow in England, the which he kept  
until the coming of queene Isabell against hir  
husband Edward the second, at what time he deliue-  
red the same into the hands of the said queene, and re-  
turned into Scotland.]

In the meane time, Edward king of England be-  
ing ruled altogether by two of the Spensers, as  
Hugh the father and Hugh the sonne, ran so farre in  
to the hatred of his people, as well the nobles as  
commoners, that in the end he was deposed of all  
kinglie

his son Ed-  
ward the third  
crowned.  
1326.  
Ri. Southwell.  
The castell of  
Biffow.

Fr. Thin.  
Buchanan.

The bond of  
amitie betwixt  
Scotland and  
France re-  
newed with  
new articles.

Fr. Thin.

Ri. Southwell.

James Dow-  
gill sent into  
France to the  
Papall.

Hamton an  
Englishman  
of whom the  
Hamiltons  
are descended.

The resigna-  
tion of the  
Papall to  
king Robert.

Fr. Thin.

3 parliament  
at Cambus-  
kenneth.  
An act for  
the succession  
of the crowne.

The Papal  
romaine  
with the  
king's blood.  
Fr. Thin.

1325.  
Scala chron.

The rule of  
things com-  
mitted to  
Thomas

R. Edward  
deposed.

Randall and to James Douglas.

They made Northumberland. Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

1327.

King Edward the third commeth with an armie against them.

Fr. Thin.

The Scots are incamped on a hill.

The English men sent to the Scots.

The answer of the Scots.

earle of Murray, and to the lord James Douglas, two captains, for their high prowesse and noble valour in those daies greatly renowned. These two hardie chieftains assembling an armie of twentie thousand men, or (as some writers haue) 25 thousand, entered with the same into Northumberland, waiking & spoiling the countrie on each side. [And in countering with an assemblie of the English at Darlington, there slew many of them, and put the rest to flight.] Against whom came king Edward with an armie of an hundred thousand men: of the which number there were (as Froissard saith) eight thousand horsemen, and 24 thousand archers. At their coming into Northumberland, they might well perceiue by the smoke of the fiers, which the Scots made in burning of villages, houses, and townes, where the enemies were: but yet because they tarried not long in a place, but passed on without following here or there, the Englishmen might not come nere to fight with them.

King Edward therefore was counselled to draw towards Scotland, that lieng betwixt them and home, he might haue them at some aduantage as they should returne, which was thought should be shortlie, as well for lacke of vittels, as also to defend their owne borders, when they heard once that the English armie drew that waies forth. But coming to the riuer of Tyne, through abundance of raine (latelie fallen) the streame was so risen, that neither horse nor man might passe, so that the armie was constrained to incampe there for the space of three daies, in great scarcitie of vittels, till they were faine to send vnto Newcastle (which was distant from thence 26 miles) and to Carlisle (which was about 22. miles thence) for provision, which was sent them from those places in great plentie. In the meane time were thus certaine light horsemen sent abroad into the countrie, to vnderstand where the Scots were, and to view their doings. [Upon proclamation before made by the king (that who so could bring him word where the Scots were harbored, should haue a hundred poundes of yerelie reuenues in recompense for the same; Thomas Rokelbeie after diligent search, brought word to the king thereof:)] for those which were sent, finding where the Scots were incamped, vpon the top of a mountaine, not past five miles from the English campe, returned backe to king Edward, and declared what they had sene and learned of the enemies doings.

King Edward right sofull of the news, causeth his armie to be diuided into three battels, and forthwith marcheth on towards the place where his enemies late. And coming about none daies within sight of the Scots, he perceiued at length that the place which they kept was so strong, that with the height of the ground, & thereto defended on the one side with the course of a riuer, that by no means they might be assailed without great and manifest danger. The Englishmen in the end thought it best to chuse forth a place to incampe in for that night, and so doing, sent an herald at armes vnto the Scots, requiring them to come downe vnto some euen ground where battell might be giuen; but the Scots refused so to do, alledging that sith the Englishmen were three to one in number, it was no reason to will them to forsake their ground of aduantage which they had taken and chosen forth for their owne defence.

Thus were they incamped nere together either in sight of other for the space of three nights, euerie day shewing themselves in order of battell, without breaking their arraie, except certeine of the horsemen, which on either part now and then came forth

and

kinglie authoritie, committed to prison, and in fine secretly murdered, as in the English historie more plainlie appeareth.

His sonne Edward the third was placed in his crone, and crowned the 26 day of Januarie, in the yeere 1326. In the night of the same day in which he received the crowne, the Scots went to haue stolne the castell of Roxham by scaling, and they went so cunninglie about their purpose, that they were to the number of 16 of them got aloft on the walls: but the capitaine of this castle Robert Baners being warned aforehand of their coming by one of his soldiers that was a Scottishman bozne, suddenlie assailed them, slew nine or ten of them, and took six prisoners alive, but sore wounded, so as this misfortune falling to them in the beginning of king Edward the third his reigne, might haue bene a forwarning of their losses to follow in the daies of his gouernement.

Whilist these things were a doing in England, king Robert though he might seeke to haue title iust enough to the crowne of Scotland, which he had possessed now not onlie by rightfull conquest, but also by lawfull interest of inheritance for a certeine number of yeeres, by consent of all the estates of the realme; yet to the end to put awaie all doubts, and to conclude the succession of the Ballioll from all claime, which hereafter they might pretend to the crowne of Scotland, he sent sir James Douglas into France vnto the lord John Ballioll, to require him to transpore and resigne all the challenge of right and interest which he might sene to haue to the crowne of Scotland, as well for himselfe as his heires & successors for ever, to king Robert le Bruce, and his heires. In consideration of which resignati- on, he offered faire lands and rents to him to be appointed forth in Scotland.

The Ballioll being now sore bozne with age, and thereto blind of bodilie sight, lightlie consented vnto this motion, considering (as he said) he took it to be the ordinance of almightie God, that king Robert should inioy the gouernement of the Scottish kingdom, as most worshipie and able thereto, hauing deliuered the same, and defended it most valiantlie from the hands of most cruell enemies. He called therefore his friends and kinsmen together, in the presence of whome he wholie resigned vnto king Robert and his heires, all the right and title which he or anie other for him either had, or hereafter might haue to the crowne of Scotland, concerning anie interest or claime which might be auouched for anie cause or consideration, from the beginning of the world vnto that present day. After the returne of sir James Douglas forth of France, with so good expedition and dispatch of that businesse therabout he was sent, king Robert verie sofull thereof, assembled a parlement of the nobles and other estates of the realme at Cambuskenneth, where he procured a new act to be established touching the succession of the crowne, which was, that if his sonne David deceased without heires of his bodie lawfullie begotten, that then Robert Steward begotten on Margerie Bruce his daughter, should succeed in possession of the crowne. All the lords at the same time were sworn to mainteine this ordinance.

In the meane while, king Edward the third sent vnto king Robert for peace, but for so much as it was perceiued to be but a coloured pretense, no conclusion thereof insued, but preparation made on either part for wars. King Robert shortly after fell sicke, by reason thereof, being not able to ride abroad, nor to trauell himselfe, he committed the administration of all things touching the common-wealth, and other the affaires of the realme vnto Thomas Randall,

John Edward the third crowned. 1326. Southwell. The castell of Roxham.

James Douglas sent into France to the Ballioll.

Resignation of the Ballioll to king Robert.

Parlement at Cambuskenneth. Act for the succession of the crowne.

Rule of the commons continued to Thomas

are, g a the uth and

to hem Fr. Thin. of Buchanan. and The bond amitie betw Scotland and France renewed with new articles. and bles not bout fend it of both ther reas r he, ense they bold

epo: Ri. Southwe ners into nt of ie de pen: milie be bi cle of god d bp: socla: rna: g be: Hamton an: cal: ds in iance med per as a this waie with of the him nan, in) he

Fr. Thin.

Scot: onoz, with alme: ) Ha: their made ne of kept. hie: cline: ndre: nd be: s, as re: in es as of all inglie

The Scots made with the king's blood. Fr. Thin. 1325. Scala chron.

Edwards deposed.

The Scots  
dislodge.

The English  
armie raised.

An enterprize  
exploited by  
sir James  
Dowglas.

The Scots  
secretly re-  
turne home to  
their countrie.

and fell in skirmish, so that sometimes a man might  
haue seene good emptieng of saddles betwixt them.  
On the fourth day in the morning, when the Eng-  
lishmen beheld the hill where the Scots had lien the  
night before, they perceiued how they were gone,  
and thereupon sending forth light horsemen to trie  
out which way they had taken, word was brought  
how they were but remoued to an other hill a little  
off, lieng fast by the same riuer, and there lay in-  
camped more stronglie than before. Incontinentlie  
hereupon, king Edward raiseth his campe, and re-  
moueth to an other hill lieng ouer against that hill  
where the Scots with their power were now lodged.  
At length, after that both the armies had lien thus  
a good space the one ouer against the other, James  
Dowglas took aduise with himselfe to exploit a  
right hardie enterprize.

He chose forth two hundred of perfect good horse-  
men, mounted vpon verie swift and readie gel-  
dings, with the which in the night season he passed  
sillic by the English watch, that he was not once  
descried by anie of them, till he was entered into  
their campe, where, by the notice of the mouing of the  
horse feet, some chanced to awake that lay asleepe.  
But yet per the alarme were raised to anie purpose,  
the Scots thus led by Dowglas had persed through,  
euen vnto the kings tent, and cut two cords of the  
same in sunder, so that the king was in no small  
danger to haue bene slaine, had not the Scots  
withdrawen the longer for doubt of being inclosed  
with their enimies as now raised on each side to  
come to his succors, but Dowglas yet returned in  
safetie with his number backe againe to the Scottish  
campe, hauing slaine (as some books report) three  
hundred Englishmen at this bzunt. The English-  
men warned hereby, took better heed after to their  
watch.

These armies lay thus one against an other for  
the space of eighteene daies, till at length the Scots  
priuillie in the night conueied themselves away, and  
returned home in most speedie wise, supposing they  
had done sufficientlie inough for that time. It chanc-  
ed that in the euening, before the Scots went thus  
their waies, there was a Scot taken by the English  
watch, who being brought before the king, confes-  
sed that there was commandement giuen through  
the Scottish campe, that euerie man should be readie  
with his armor and weapon to follow the standard  
of Dowglas at a certeine houre the same night,  
but whether they intended to go, it was unknowne,  
saue onelie amongst the captiues. Whereupon the  
English doubting least the Scots minded to giue  
them a camisado that night, placed themselves in  
order of battell, and so stood till the next morning  
readie to haue receiued them, if they had come. The  
Scots also made great fires within their campe,  
that they might see about them. In the breake of the  
day, there were two Scottish trumpeters taken by  
the English scouts, the which being brought before  
the king, declared that the Scottish armie was bro-  
ken vp and returned, and further shewed how they  
were appointed thus to declare vnto him, hauing  
suffered themselves to be taken for the same intent.  
As soone as the Englishmen were aduertised that  
the Scots were thus departed, they hastied to the  
place where they had lien incamped, in hope to haue  
found some riches, which for hast they had left be-  
hind them: but at their comming thither, they found  
nothing, but 200000 paires of hieland shooes, which  
are made of the græne hides of beasts untanned.  
Also they found three hundred hides of savage beasts  
set vpon stakes in stead of caldrons, therein to  
seeth their meat. Moreover, they had left behind  
them five hundred dead carcasses of beasts & sheepe,

which for that they could not dye them away, they  
killed, to the end the Englishmen should haue no  
gaine by them. There were likewise found five Eng-  
lishmen with their legs broken, & bound naked vnto  
trees, which were quicklie loosed and committed  
to the cure of surgeons. The enimies being thus de-  
parted, king Edward by aduise of his counsell brake  
vp his campe, and returned to London, supposing  
it but lost labour to trauell his people anie further at  
that time.

In this yeare died Walter Stewart, father to  
Robert Stewart, that was after king of Scot-  
land. And in this yeare following, or rather the same  
yeare, R. Elizabeth mother to David Bruce the  
prince deceased, and was buried in Dunfermling  
in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour 1328. In  
the same yeare, king Robert won the castell of Rox-  
ham, and shortly after besieged the castell of Aln-  
wikke, where were slaine William de Spoytatte  
knight, John Clapauen, and Malisus de Dunbar,  
with diuerse other of the Scottish nobilitie. In the  
end of the same yeare, there were ambassadors sent  
from king Edward into Scotland for the conclusion  
of a peace, which was accorded in this wise: that  
R. Edward should renounce all his right & claime  
which he had or might haue to the crowne of Scot-  
land, in declaring it free as it was in time of king  
Alexander the third, vnder these conditions, that  
Northumberland should be admitted for the mar-  
ches of Scotland on the east part, and Cumberland  
on the west. For the which renuntiation thus to be  
made, and for the damages done to England by the  
Scots, it was couenanted that king Robert should  
pay to king Edward thirtie thousand marks ster-  
ling. And for the more suretie and ratification of  
this small agreement and peace betwixt the two na-  
tions, it was concluded that Jane the sister of king  
Edward should be coupled in marriage with David  
Bruce the prince of Scotland.

All which articles were put in writing, wherevnto  
all the seals of the great lords within both the  
realms were set in most substantiall wise. The so-  
lemnization of the marriage before remembred was  
kept at Berwikke within a while after, on the eigh-  
teenth day of Julie, in the presence of a great num-  
ber of the nobilitie, both of England and Scotland.  
King Robert liued not past twelue moneths after  
this marriage, departing out of this life at Cardus  
the seventh day of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord  
1329. In the latter end of his daies, he was grie-  
uoullie vexed with a leprosie, which thus finally  
made an end of him, in the twentieth fourth yeare of  
his reigne, being one of the most valiant princes  
knownen in anie part of the whole world in those his  
daies, hauing felt in his time the force of either for-  
tune: for in the beginning of his reigne, such storms  
of aduersitie surrounded him on each side, that if  
his constant manhood had not bene the greater, it  
might haue brought him in despaire of all recou-  
rie: for beside sundrie discomforts, which he recei-  
ued at the hands of the enimies, with losse of all his  
brethren (his brother Edward onlie excepted) the  
most part of all the lords of Scotland were against  
him, and aided his aduersaries to the uttermost of  
his power: yet he nothing discouraged herewith,  
ceased not to imploy all industrious means to de-  
liuer his countrie from the yoke of seruile bondage  
(which he beleued would succeed by the government  
of the English kings) till at length (as it were in  
despite of all former chances) he attained the effect of  
his whole endeavors, so much the more to his praise,  
as he had found the hinderance and difficultie great  
in bringing the same fullie to passe.

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Edward, mar-  
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Bruce prince  
of Scotland.

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The heralds  
advised the  
queen.

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amongst his owne people, but also amongst stran-  
gers, inasmuch that his due praise was not wait-  
ing, no not even amongst and in the midst of his  
verie enemies. For (as it is said) on a time it chanc-  
ed that king Edward the third, sitting at a banquet  
amongst his nobles, fell in talke with them of war-  
like enterprises, and of such notable capitans as had  
excelled in knowledge in that behalfe. At length, af-  
ter much reasoning to and fro, he proponed this  
question to the king of heralds, that as then stood by,  
commanding him to declare which were the three  
most worthe & valiant capitans that he had knowne  
in all his daies. The herald advising with himselfe of  
this matter, staied a space, in which means while all  
the companie were quiet, longing to heare his an-  
swere therein, both for that they knew his skill was  
such as was able best to give sentence in such a mat-  
ter; and againe, for that manie of them thought he  
would have numbred some of those that were there  
present amongst those three. But the herald did not  
onelic know all the noble men within the realme of  
England, but also all such strangers as had in anie  
wise excelled in partiall prowesse, having all their  
acts and valiant doings in fresh memorie, and there-  
upon boldlie uttered his mind as followeth.

The first, most worthe and valiant chieftaine, (said  
he) that hath lived in these our daies, was Henrie  
the emperor: for he subdued three kings and three  
realmes, and maintained his imperiall estate and  
prosperous felicitie to his liues end. The second, was  
sir Giles of Argentine, who in three sundrie battels  
against the Saracens got the victorie, & due two of  
their principall capitans with his owne hands. The  
third (if under your graces correction I may praise  
the enimie) I must iudge to be Robert Bruce king  
of Scotland: whom the herald had no sooner named,  
but all those that were present, with scornfull laugh-  
ter began to laugh at the heralds presumption, for  
that he durst so malapertlie in the kings presence  
honor the enimie with so high praise. At length, at  
the heralds request, the king commanded them to be  
still. The herald then began againe thus: I beseech  
your highnesse (said he) if I have ought offered, to  
take my words in good part: for I have bene ever  
of this opinion, that the truth should in euerie case  
be uttered, receiued, and allowed in your presence;  
namelie, where your highnesse commandeth anie  
man to declare the same. This one thing therefore I  
shall desire you to consider, that if a man must  
needs be vanquished, it is lesse dishonor to be van-  
quished of him that is knowne for a right valiant  
personage, than of him that is but a coward. Howe-  
ouer, to shew plainelie unto your grace, how much  
I esteeme the valiance of king Robert (whome I  
perceiue some here may not abide to haue numbred  
with the two former most valiant capitans) if truth  
might appeare, I durst be bold to preferre him with  
god cause before them both: for the valiant acts at-  
tributed by Henrie the emperor may be ascribed  
rather to the wisdom of his counsellors, than to  
his owne valiantnesse and prudence: but contrari-  
lie, king Robert being confined out of his countrie,  
and destitute of friends and all conuenient aid, re-  
couered the realme of Scotland, by his singular  
manhood, out of the hands of your noble father, and  
established it with such tranquillitie, that he appea-  
red moze terrible to his enemies of England, than  
euer they had bene afore to his subiects of Scot-  
land. These or the like words uttered by the he-  
rald, were well allowed of the king; and stopped the  
mouths of them that took the matter so strange-  
lie at the first.

But now to retorne to the purpose. King Robert  
a litle before the time of his death, called together

into the chamber where he laye, the chiefe pères of  
his realme, and there in presence of them all, com-  
mitted vnto them the gouernment of his sonne Da-  
uid, a child as then not past seuen yeres of age. He  
also aduised them of sundrie things touching the rule  
of the realme after his decease, which he perceiued  
was at hand. And first he counselled them, that in no  
wise they should at anie time make an absolute lord  
ouer the Isles; because the people of the same are of  
nature backward, and some seduced and brought to  
moue rebellion against the king, into the which be-  
ing once fallen, they are not easilie reduced to their  
due obedience againe, by reason their countreies are  
of such strength, that they cannot be approached but by  
sea; as inuironed with the same. Secondarilie, he ad-  
uised them neuer to appoint anie set battell with the  
Englishmen, nor to leaue the realme vpon the  
chance of one field: but rather to resist and keepe  
them off from indamaging their countreie, by often  
slauing; & cutting them off at straits & places  
of aduantage, to the intent that if the Scots be dis-  
comfited, they may haue some power yet reserved to  
make new resistance. Thirdlie, he forbade them in a-  
nie wise to make any long peace with England; for  
naturallie men war dull and slouthfull by long rest  
and quietnes, so that after long peace, through lacke  
of vse and exercise of armes, men are not able to  
sustaine anie great paines or trauell.

Howeuer, he alledged, how the Englishmen should  
continue in peace no longer than there waited o-  
portunitie and conuenient occasion for them to at-  
tempt the warres: and therefore he iudged it best,  
that the Scots should neuer conclude anie perpetu-  
all peace with them, nor take anie truce longer than  
for three or foure yeres at the most. He willed them  
further, to consider one thing, that when their appea-  
red least occasion of warres with England; then  
they ought to be most circumspect, least peraduen-  
ture their enemies should come at vnwares, and find  
them vnprouided for timely resistance. Herevnto  
he desired them, that after his decease, they should  
chose some one of the most worthe capitans within  
the whole realme, to beare his heart vnto Ierusa-  
lem, and there to see it buried within the temple, be-  
fore the holie sepulchre of our Lord. For if he had  
not bene for a long space hindered by vngent hui-  
nesse of warres at home, and lastlie preuented by  
death, he had vowed to haue passed with an armie  
into the holie land, in defense of the christian faith, a-  
gainst the Turkes and Saracens.

Herevpon when he was dead, the lords by one as-  
sent, appointed sir James Doughtie to take this  
enterprise in hand, who willingly obetied their order,  
as he that had euer during the life of king Robert,  
serued most faithfully the bodie wherein the same  
heart was inclosed, & for this cause the Doughties  
beare the bloudie heart in their armes. The com-  
mendations of which king Robert, Buchanan setteth  
forth (to comprehend manie things in few words) to  
be: that he was euerie way a most worthe person,  
and that there were few to be found (from the for-  
mer brookall daies) equall vnto him in all kinds of  
vertue. For as he was in battell most valiant, so  
was he in peace most temperate & iust. And though  
his vndoubted good successe and perpetuall course of  
victories (after that fortune was once satisfied or ex-  
ceeded with his misfortunes) were verie great,  
yet he seemed to Buchanan, to be farre more woun-  
derfull in his aduerser fortune: whose valure of mind  
was such, that it could not be broken (no not so much  
as weakened) by so manie evils as happened vnto  
him at one time: whose singular constancie appea-  
red by the captiuitie of his wife, and the death of his  
valiant brethren. And besides that, his friends were at

The aduise  
giuen by king  
Robert vnto  
his nobles be-  
fore his de-  
cease.

His desire to  
haue his heart  
borne to the  
holie sepulchre

The cause  
why the Dow-  
glasses beare  
the bloudie  
heart

Fr. Thin.

There is no  
hodie but hath  
his shadow,  
no cole but  
hath his  
pucke.

at one time bered with all kind of calamities, and they which escaped death, were banished with the losse of their substance: he himselfe was not onely spoiled of all his patrimonie, but of the kingdome also, by the mightiest king of that age Edward the first, king of England, a man most readie in counsell, and of dispatch of his affaires as well in warre as peace. Yea, so farre was this Wale oppressed at one time with all these kinds of evils, that he was diuened into extreme pouertie. In all which misfortunes he neuer doubted of the recoverie of the kingdome, neither did he say anie thing unbefaming the noble mind of a king: for he offered no violent hands to himselfe; as did the late Cato and Marcus Brutus, neither with Marius did he pursue his enemies with continuall hatred. For when he had recovered his former estate, he solued with them that most occasioned his labour and trouble, that he rather remembered himselfe to be a king over them, and not an enemy unto them. To conclude, he did not so forsake himselfe towards his end (when a grieuous disease added troubles to age) but that he confirmed and established the present estate of the kingdome, and provided for the quiet of posteritie, whereby his subjects did not so much lament his death, as that they were depprived of so iust a king and goodlie father.)

Sir James Dowglas then chosen as most worthy to passe with king Roberts heart unto the holy land, closed the same in a case of gold, imbalmed with sweet spices, & right pretious ointments. And herewith hauing in his companie a number of nobles, and gentlemen, amongst whom sir William Sinclair and sir Robert Logan were chiefe, he passed forth till he came to the citie of Jerusalem, where he buried the heart aforesaid, with all reuerence and solemnitie that he might deuise. This done, he reposed with such number as he had brought thither with him, unto such other christian princes as at the same time were gathered with great puissance, from sundrie parts of christendome to war with the Turks, and there in companie with them, he did so noble service against the common enemies of our religion, that by his often victories he won great honor to the christian name. At length, hauing accomplished his charge to those parties, with no lesse fame and glorie than princelie magnificence, he toke the seas to haue returned home into Scotland: but by force of contrarie winds he was diuened on the coast of Spaine, landing there vpon the borders of Granada, where at the same time he found the king of Aragon; ready to make warres against the Saracens that inhabited in those parties.

The Dowglas, to make his manhood and prowess the more knowne in all parts where he came, offered the king of Aragon to serue under him in those warres against the infidels, and so fought at sundrie times in his support against the enemies, with prosperous successe, till at length hauing to much confidence in fortunes fauour (which hath brought so manie noble men to their deaths) he waxed negligent, and toke small regard of dangers that might inue, so that in the end he was inclosed by an ambush laid for him by the enemies, and there slaine amongst them, with all such as he had about him. This was the end of that noble Dowglas, one of the most valiant knights that lived in his daies. He had gotten the victorie 7 sundrie times in fight against the Englishmen, and 13 times against the Turkes, at it is written at length (saith Bellenden) in Scotch chronicon. He might haue bene right necessarie for the defence of Scotland, if his change had bene to haue returned home in safetie. He ended his life in maner (as is before mentioned) on the 26 day of August, in the yere of Grace 1330.

But now to proceed in order with the historie, we shall note, that after the decease of king Robert, his sonne David, a child scarce seven yeres of age, was proclaimed king, and afterwards crowned at Stone, the 23 day of Nouember, in the yere of our Lord 1331. During the time of his minority, earle Thomas Randall was ordeined gouernor of the realme, who for the space of foure yeres in the latter end of king Roberts reigne, had the whole administration of things committed to his charge by the same king, for that by reason of sicknesse he was not able to attend the same himselfe. This earle Thomas then being elected gouernor by the generall consent of all the nobles of the realme, considered with himselfe, how necessarie it was for the people to continue in peace, till they had somewhat recovered their hindrance & losses chanced to them by the former wars. He addressed therefore certeine ambassadours inambatlie after the death of king Robert, unto the king of England, to require a new confirmation of the peace betwixt both the realmes for a season. These ambassadours found the king of England easie enough to be intreated for the grant of their sute, so that a generall truce was taken for the space of three yeres.

In that meane time, earle Thomas applied his whole studie for the maintenance of iustice and equitie through the whole realme, not omitting yet to appoint order, that men should be provided of armor and weapon for defense of the countrey, if neede shoulde so required. [Wherefore when he was going to Aidone (a towne in Galloway) word was brought to him, that there was a strong assemble of theues in that countrey, besetting the high waies, and spoiling the passengers: whereupon sending forth a companie of his followers, he apprehended and hanged them all, not fauouring anie vnder pretext of denotion or religion. For one of them latelie come from Rome (and safe as he supposed by the charter of the popes pardon) was also apprehended and executed by appointment of this Randall, saing, that the pardon of the fault belonged to the pope, but the punishment thereof belonged to the king.]

Moreover, for the better pprose of exercising iustice amongst them that coueted to liue by truth, and to haue more readie occasion to punish others that ment the contrarie, he commanded the saddles and bydles, with all other such instruments and stuffe as pertained to husbandrie, should be left abroad both day and night without the doores: and if it chanced that anie of them were stolen or taken awaie, the thiriffe of the shire should either cause the same to be restored againe, or else to paie for it on his owne purse. Finally, such punishment was exercised against theues in all places, that both theft and pilfering were quite suppressed, and the realme brought to more tranquillitie than ever it was in anie kings daies before. Anie insolent and misruled persons were tamed by his seuer chastisement and iustice. Also that vertue might be cherished within the realme, he commanded that no vagabund nor idle person should be receiued into anie towne or place, except they had some craft or science wherewith to get their liuings. By this meane he purged the realme of Scotland of manie idle & slothfull rogues and vagabunds.

It is said, that during the time whilst such streit punishment was exercised against offenders, by the ministers of the lawes thereto by him authorized and assigned: it fortuned that a carle of the countrey, because he durst not steale other mens goods, stole his owne plow irons, that he might haue the value of them recompensed to him by the thiriffe: neuertheless, such earnest diligence was vsed in the search

Hyperbolicall  
commendations.

The valian-  
cie of James  
Dowglas  
shewd against  
the Turkes.

James Dow-  
glas commeth  
on land in  
Spaine.

James Dow-  
glas slaine by  
the Saracens  
in Spaine.

How often  
James Dow-  
glas had got  
the victorie.

David.

1331.

Earle Tho-  
mas Randall  
gouernor of  
Scotland.

Embassadours  
sent into  
England.

Truce for  
three yeres.

Fr. Thin.  
Buchanan.

I meane to  
haue iustice  
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Edwards  
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uine earle  
Thomas (as  
the Scots do  
write.) But  
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of large lan-  
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ady to bring  
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conempt.

Somebe sent  
into Scotland  
to poison the  
gouernor.  
The streit in-  
strument to  
bring such a  
thing to passe.

David.

1331.

Carle Thomas  
gouverneur of  
Scotland.

Embassador  
sent into  
England.

A truce for  
three yerres

Fr. Thin.  
Buchanan.

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and trial, who had the ploto irons, that finallye the  
truth came to light, whereupon for his craftie false-  
hood the partie gillie was hanged, as he had well be-  
served. The gouernour himselfe, for that he saw how  
hard it was to reduce them that had bene brought  
vp in slothfull loitering, vnto honest exercise, held  
euer about him a gard of warlike persons, that he  
might the more easilie oppresse all stubbozne offen-  
dors, which would not submit themselves to his com-  
mandements. Those that appeared before him, vpon  
summons giuen, had fauourable iustice, temper-  
red with much mercie ministred vnto them.

Others that refused to obeie, were pursued with  
his gard, and hanged euer as they were taken: as it  
happened on a time at Haddington, where therscoe  
cruell and naughtie disposed persons being gathered  
together, robbed and spoiled the people on each side:  
and for that they regarded not, but rather misused a  
pursuant, whom he sent vnto them, they were all ta-  
ken incontinentlie by his foresaid gard, which follo-  
wed the said pursuant at the heeles, and without re-  
sist hanged them vpon gibbets to giue example to  
others. Thorough such rigorous iustice, no rebel-  
lion was heard of within the realme of Scotland  
manie yerres after, so that such tranquillitie folowed,  
that not onelie theues and loitering lubbers were  
daunted, but the realme also aduanced in wealth and  
riches, to the great terror of all the foes and enemies  
thereof. King Edward aduertised of this great fe-  
licitie chanced to the Scots by this meanes, began  
to enuie the same, and imagined with himselfe, that  
if earle Thomas, the author of the same felicitie  
were dispatched out of the way, it should not onelie  
impeach the proceeding of so great wealth to the  
Scots, but also make for the suertie of the realme of  
England: for the singular manhood and high pro-  
wesse of this earle was by him and other his nobles  
loze suspected.

He thought good therefore to attempt the thing by  
sleight, which might not be done by force, that after-  
wards the realme of Scotland might be the more  
infiebled, and as it were made open to receiue dis-  
pleasure at his hands. For king David was young,  
and manie of his nobles bare small god will ei-  
ther towards him, or his house, for the slaughter of  
their fathers and friends in the blacke parlement.  
Whereupon he deuised, which way he might best de-  
stroye earle Thomas, the onlie confounder of all his  
imagined hope, as to atchieue anie luckie enterpryse  
against the Scots. At length he deuised to dispatch  
him by poison: and after he had long debated by  
whome he might worke that feat: finallye he found  
none so fit for his purpose, as a monke of the order  
and facultie of those, that wandering from place to  
place, can with dissembling visage say that thing  
with mouth, which they neuer thought in heart: for  
oftentimes men of that order, put no difference be-  
twixt shame and honestie, cloking their execrable  
wickednesse vnder the feined shadow of their hypo-  
critical cotwiles.

This monke, fullie instructed in that therabout  
he was sent, came into Scotland, and feinting him-  
selfe to be a physician, got credit within a while a-  
mongst the people, to be a man of most excellent  
knowledge, for he had a companion with him, that  
being made priuie to the matter, set forth his cun-  
ning and practise to the uttermost, declaring what  
notable and most desperat cures he had taken in  
hand, and made the patients perfectlie whole of the  
same, where all other had quite giuen them ouer:  
namelie he bured it abroad, that for healing of the  
stone and grauell, his like was not to be found in all  
christendome, as euidentlie had appeared by cures  
which he had shewed vpon sundrie noble men, both

in England and France. This he spake, for that it  
was knowne, how the lord gouernour was sore vexed  
with that disease, hoping by this meanes to haue  
him in cure, that he might thereby the more easilie  
worke his diuelish enterprife.

And euen according to his desire it came to passe:  
for being taken for such a man as he was named to  
be, he was sent for to the gouernour, and comming  
before him, he handeled the matter so with words,  
that the gouernour was contented he should take  
him in hand, which he did with such wicked intention,  
that perswading him to keepe such diet as he prefer-  
red, and herewith to take such stirrups & other things  
as he would giue him, at length he most traitorous-  
lie poisoned him in deed. The venem was of such  
mixture, as would not flea him out of hand, but by  
little and little waste his entrails, that the monke  
might haue leasure to escape home into England,  
per it were perceiued what he had done. He there-  
fore after he had ministred his wicked poison, found  
meanes to conueie himselfe out of the waite, and re-  
turned most speedilie into England, informing king  
Edward how he had delt. The gouernour feeling him-  
selfe tormented with the disease, and worke in his sto-  
mach and wombe, and hearing that the monke was  
gone, and minded not to returne to him againe, he  
began to doubt the matter, and shortly after learned  
by physicians that he was poisoned, and that the ve-  
nem had taken such hold within his bowels, that it  
was not possible to remoue it.

In the meane time was king Edward come with  
an armie to the borders, purposing to invade Scot-  
land, for that he thought how the gouernour was ei-  
ther dead, or at the verie point of death, and therefore  
he was in hope, that comming in time of the trouble  
vpon his death into Scotland, he should find occasion  
to atchieue some enterprife, highlie to his aduantage.  
But the gouernour aduertised hereof, raised a pow-  
er, and though he were not able either to ride or go,  
yet he caused himselfe to be caried forth in an horse-  
litter. King Edward hearing that the gouernour  
was comming towards him with an armie, & that  
himselfe in person quite contrarie to his expectation,  
he sent an herald vnto him for meane of communi-  
cation of some peace, as was outwardlie pretended,  
though nothing else was ment but that he should ef-  
pie how all things in the Scottish campe stood. The  
gouernour hearing of this heralds comming, arrai-  
ed himselfe in his best apparell, that it might appeere  
he was rather recovered of his infirmite, than o-  
therwise weak and feeble thorough his disease, and  
then causing the herald to be brought before him,  
where he was set in a chaire, to heare what his mes--  
sage was, which consisting in certeine demands not  
greatlie agreeable to reason, the gouernour with bold  
countenance answered, that he trusted within short  
time to make it knowne, what right the English-  
men had to moue such unreasonable request, and  
thus dispatching the herald, he gaue him all such go-  
geous and rich apparell as he ware at the same time  
when he thus talked with him.

King Edward at the returne of the herald, not  
perceiuing otherwise by his report, but that the go-  
uernour was in health, he returned immediatlie with  
his armie into England, and licencing euerie man  
to depart to his home, laid hands on the monke, and  
as one that had dissembled with his prince (for so he  
tooke it) caused him to be burnt for his vntruth. Thus  
was the wretch righteously recompensed, as he had  
most iustlie deserved. In the meane time, the gou-  
ernour returning homewards, through force of the ve-  
nem still increasing, decayed at Spilceburgh, and  
was buried at Dunfermling, in the yere of our re-  
demption 1331. He left behind him two sonnes,  
Thomas

The gouernour  
is poisoned.

The monke  
feith.

Edward  
his purpose to  
invade Scot-  
land.

The gouernour  
in an  
horse-litter is  
caried forth  
to encounter  
the English-  
men.

An herald  
sent to the go-  
uernour.

The gouernour  
answers to the herald.

The monke  
is burnt.

Fr. Thin.  
Buchanan.  
1331.

Thomas and John, worthy such a father, they bring persons of great valure, and friends to their native countrie.]

After his deceasse, by common consent of the three estates of the realme in counsell assembled, Patrike earle of March, and David earle of Mar were chosen governors, the first (that is to say, the earle of March) had the charge of that part of the realme which lieth on the south side of the Forth, and the other (that is to say, the earle of Mar) was appointed to gouerne all that on the north side. Shortly after rose great trouble in Scotland by meanes of Edward Balioll, the son of John Balioll before remembred, as thus:

It chanced there was one William Loxton, a gentleman borne, but spotted with vile conditions as adulterie, and diuerse other, for the which being vnder censures of the church by the officiall of Glasgow he took at length the same officiall as he was going towards the towne of Aire, and held him in captiuitie, till he had paid two hundred pounds for his deliuerance. But this iniurie remained not long unpunished: for sir James Douglas, before his passage to the holie land, would not suffer him to rest, till he had constrained him to flee into England for his more safeguard.

At his coming into England, he met with Dauid Cumyn earle of Atholl, and manie other Scots gentlemen, which were banished in times past by king Robert, for that they assisted the king of England against him. These persons being driven out of the realme, and confederat altogether in one band, remained in England long time after, ever trusting to some occasion offered, whereby they might one day returne againe into their owne native countrie. And now, hearing that earle Thomas Randall the gouernour was deceased, this William Loxton in name of them all was sent ouer into France to perswade Edward Balioll to attempt the recoverye of the crowne and realme of Scotland, as the rightfull heritage of his father, and descended vnto him as lawfull and rightfull heire. Though the Balioll had no regard to make anie claime at all to the crowne of Scotland before this time, yet through the pitie persuasions of the earnest messenger, declaring how easie a matter it were for him to achieve, considering the aid which he should haue in England, both at the kings hands, and also by the Scotsmen which remained there in exile, by whose means he might assure himselfe of support inough within Scotland it selfe, after he was once entered: finally he concluded to passe ouer into England, to proue what purchase he might make there.

At his coming thither, he made sute to the king, to aid him in his righteous quarrell towards the attaining of the crowne of Scotland, which if he might bring to passe with prosperous successe, he promised to hold the same of him and his successors as superiours thereof. King Edward gladdie vpon that condition, condescended to his request, notwithstanding the alliance contracted with king Dauid, by the marriage of him with his sister. Wherevnto he appointed forth six thousand men well apparelled and araided for the warre, to passe by sea with the Balioll, and other the confederats into Scotland, trusting that vpon their arrivall there, they should find no small number of friends to assist them. For beside the Balioll, there was the lord Henrie Beaumont, a Frenchman, who had married the earle of Buchananes daughter and heire: also the earles of Atholl, Angus [the lords Perth and Wake, Richard Ralph, Henrie Ferrers, John Downhaile] & other Scottish lords such as were banished Scotland, when king Robert le Bruce recovered it out of the Englishmens hands. These were appointed to go with the

Balioll to assist him in that enterpryse: and likewise the lord Stafford, and diuerse other English capitaine, wherevpon when all their prouision was once ready, with the number appointed them by king Edward, and a few others, they got them a shipboard, and sailing forth by the coast till they entered into the Forth, at length they came on land nere the towne of Kingorne, and shortly after, incounting with Alexander Seton, they slew him, and put his folkes to flight.

Balioll beinge ioyfull of this happy successe came with his people to Perth, otherwise called St. Johns towne, whereof the earles of Mar and March beinge aduertised, they raised two mightie armies, and hasted toward the enemies, not as though they should haue to do with men of warre, but to chastise a number of thieves and robbers, that were come out of England. Yet at length they concluded to ioyne both together in Strathern, that they might together set vpon their enemies both at once. The Balioll seeinge the matter brought so far forth, that no feare of heady nor starting hole by flight might auail him, boldly came forward, and pitched downe his tents at Dunblane nere to the water of Erne, trusting that if his armie would stand to it, and fight with manlike constancie, he should slewe his enemies well inough, notwithstanding their huge number. The same night came the earle of Mar with his power, and encamped with the same within sight of the English armie, but the earle of March lodged about foure miles from thence, at Whithardour.

The Scots that were with the earle of Mar, hauing knowledge of the small number of their enemies, made no accounts of them, so that they neither took heed to their watch, nor to anie other order for defense of themselves, but fell to singing, banishing, & telling of good things, in most dissolute manner. The Balioll taking occasion hereof, determined to assault them the same night in their campe, and therevpon raising his people to make them ready to accomplish that enterpryse, in the dead of the night he issued forth of his campe, and coming vnto the water of Erne, passed the same by the ford, where one Andrew Murray of Tullibard had pight a flake of set purpose, in midst of the streame, to slewe them the waie. Thus hauing got all his armie ouer the water, without anie noise or din, so secretlie as might be deuised, he entered the campe of his enemies, and brake through till he came to the tent of the earle of Mar, the Scots generall, before he was once descried. Here at the first was the earle himselfe slaine, lying fast asleepe in his bed, & after with huge noise they set vpon the whole campe, murdering the Scots as then layd in slepe without all defense. And therevpon followed so cruell slaughter, that nothing was heard but grunting and groining of people, as they lay on heapes ready to die, weltering together in their owne blood. And if it had not bene that Edward Balioll had caused ech of his men to wrap a white cloth about his arme, no man might haue knowne (by reason of the darknesse of the night) his friend from his fo.

The Englishmen were so earnestlie bent to the slaughter of Scots, that they might not be filled with the blood, and murder of them, so that they slew none whome they might ouertake. There were slaine of nobles and gentlemen, to the number of three thousand, beside innumerable of the commons. A certaine number of the Scots that escaped out of the place, closed theiues together, and in purpoise to be reuenged on the Englishmen for the death of their fellowes, returned vpon them againe, and were slaine themselves euerie mothers sonne. The chieffest nobles that were slaine at this battell, were these,

Two gouernours chosen to rule Scotland.

Cumyn Loxton.

Scottish lords banished into England.

Cumyn Loxton sent vnto Edward Balioll.

Edward Balioll cometh into England.

The promise of the Balioll to King Edward. Edward doth agree to aid the Balioll. The English writers speake but of two thousand, or 2500, at the most. Ric. Southwell.

Fr. Thin.

Two gouernours chosen to rule Scotland.

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Fr. Thin.

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Ri. Southwell.  
Crab, a pirat  
taken.

was also taken beside the gouernor, a notable pirat named Crab, who before that time had done manie displeasures to the Englishmen both by sea and land: and now because his countreimen would not ransom him, but to his further grieve had slaine his sonne within Berwikke, he became the king of Englands man, and did the Scots more damage afterwards, than euer he had done to the Englishmen before. The gouernor at length was ransomed for a great summe of gold.

William  
Dowglas of  
Liddesdale  
taken prisoner.

About the same time William Dowglas of Liddesdale named for his singular manhood, the flower of chualtrie, fought with the Englishmen in Annandale, where himselfe was taken, and his people discomfited. Both these noble men thus taken prisoners, were detained in captiuitie more than a twelue moneths space, & then ransomed for a great summe of gold. This William Dowglas was sonne to sir James Dowglas, of whom so often mention is made heretofore. The realme of Scotland being thus diuided in two parts, the one assailing the Balioll, and the other continuing in their allegiance to the king David: Edward king of England iudged the time to serue well for his purpose to make conquest on the Scots, and hereupon gathering a mightie armie both of Englishmen and strangers, as well such as were subiects to him as other, whome he retained out of Flandre, Anjou, and Flanders, he came with the same to subdue (as he outwardlie pretended) onelie such Scots as would not yeld themselves to the Balioll. The Scots perceiuing themselves thus ouerset with enemies on each side, sent John Randall earle of Murray into France vnto king Dauid, that by his means they might purchase some aid of the French king to defend the realme from the force of the enemies. In the meane time the king of England besieged Berwikke both by sea and land, notwithstanding such as were within it defended the towne so manfully that he got but small gaines by assaults; by reason whereof the siege continued for the space of foure moneths: during which time manie issues and skirmishes were made betwixt the Scots and Englishmen, whereat manie proper feats of armes were achieved with variable fortune.

Buchanan.

William Seiton bassard sonne to the captaine of the towne was taken prisoner, and his bassard brother, as he assailed the English ships one night ouerfiercelie, was drowned by mischance in the sea. At length, when they within the towne began to want vittels, the captaine sir Alexander Seiton sent vnto king Edward, promising that if he would grant a truce for the space of 6 daies, if no succour came in the meane time to resist his siege, the towne should be deliuered into his hands at the end of that terme; and for the assurance thereof, he was contented that his eldest sonne and heire Thomas Seiton should remaine with the said king in hostage. Whilist things passed thus at Berwikke, the nobles of Scotland by common consent chose Archemald Dowglas to be gouernor in place of Andrew Murray. This Archemald Dowglas raising a mightie armie of Scottishmen entered with the same into the borders of England, so to withdraue king Edward from the siege of Berwikke to defend his owne lands from burning and spolling. But king Edward aduertised hereof, deuised another shift; for immediatlie sending a messenger to sir Alexander Seiton captaine of the towne, he certified him plainelie, that unless he rendered the towne forthwith into his hands, both his sonnes which he had with him, the one as hostage, and the other as prisoner, should be without further delay hanged on a gibbet there in sight afore his owne face.

Archemald  
Dowglas  
chosen gouernor  
in place of  
Andrew  
Murray.

Sir Alexander  
Seiton  
captaine of  
Berwikke.

Sir Alexander Seiton hereto answered, that as yet the terme of the truce was not expired, & therefore desired the king either to obserue the couenant, or else to deliuer the pledges, that he might be at his advantage: but king Edward (as saith the Scottish chronicle) immediatlie caused a paire of gallows to be raised before the towne, and both the sonnes of sir Alexander to be led thither, to suffer on the same without further respit. Sir Alexander Seiton beholding that pitifull sight, and weeing with himselfe, that he might saue the liues of those innocent creatures, if he would, was brought into great perplexitie of mind: the naturall affection and compassion which he bare towards his sonnes mouing him to haue rendered the towne on the one side, and the dutie which he promised to his king and countrie restraining him from all such resolution on the other. But in the end, the tender regard he had to saue the liues of his sonnes, had ouercome him, and caused him to haue rendered the towne into the enemies hand, had not his wife and mother to his said sonnes, exhorted him most earnestlie to the contrarie, alleging that such reproch and dishonour should rebound vnto them, and their posteritie, if through their fault the towne were traitorously deliuered into the enemies hand, that from thenceforth they should be infamed for euer: and as for the death of their sonnes, it was not to be counted a losse, for by this kind of death, they should win immortall name, & leaue to their parents the high honoz and renowne of faithfull & loiall subiects. Againe they were yong enough to beget and bring forth new children, where they should be neuer able to recouer honoz once lost; if by deliuering the towne into the enemies hands, they should seeme to betraie their countrie, & falsifie their faith to their naturall prince and soueraigne.

With such & manie other the like words, his noble & worthy ladie perswaded hir husband to restraie his inward grieve, and brought him with right sorrowfull and heauie chere vnto his chamber, that through commiseration had of his sonnes, he should commit nothing either against his honoz or weale of the towne. In the meane time, his two sonnes were put to death, ending their liues (saith Hector Boetius) with most honoz, for the righteous quarell of their countrie: [at what time R. Edward remoued his campe to Halidon hill.] Archemald Dowglas the gouernor, being at that present entered into Rothumberland with his armie, hearing that king Edward had thus cruellie put to death those two yong gentlemen, came the third day after with all his power, and pitched downe his tents not far from R. Edwards armie, fullie resolved to giue him battell, as well to reuenge the displeasure for the death of the said gentlemen, as to deliuer the towne of Berwikke from further danger of the enemies force.

Yet were there sundrie prudent counsellors in the Scottish armie, that for diuers respects aduised him in no wise to fight with the enemies at that present, considering the huge number of practised soldiers which they had amongst them, and the want of skilfull warriors on his side, hauing few with him saue yongmen, and such as lacked experience in the wars; for that they had bene but little trained therein. Notwithstanding, he himselfe was of contrarie opinion, iudging that the good willes and desire which his people had to fight with the Englishmen, should supplie their lacke of skill: and thereupon determining to trie the chance of battell with them, commanded his armie to refresh themselves with meat, drinke, and sleepe for that night, and to provide themselves readie for battell on the next morning. In the breake of the day he arrayed his people in order of battell. The vanguard was giuen

The appointment  
of the  
Scottish  
battell.

The policie of  
the English  
armie.

Sir Alexander  
Seiton  
doubt  
whether  
to fight.

The manly  
courage of  
Alexander  
Seiton's  
wife.

The Scottish  
armie  
put to  
flight.

The great  
laughter of  
Scots.

The number  
of Scots  
slaine at  
Halidon  
hill.

Sir Alexander  
Seiton  
remoued  
his  
campe  
to  
Halidon  
hill.

1333. H.B.  
Buchanan.

Seiton.

Archemald  
Dowglas  
purposely  
giue  
battell.

The towne of  
Berwikke  
relied to R.  
Edward on  
St. Margarets  
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The appoint-  
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date.

The policy of  
the English  
arm.

The Scottish  
arm: put to  
flight.

The great  
laughter of  
James.

The number  
of Scots  
slain at Hal-  
liddon hill.

1113. H. B.  
Buchanan.

Finis.

The tower of  
Berwick  
rebuild to Ed-  
ward on  
the day, as  
at Southwell.

men to Hugh, lord Rosse, having with him Kenneth earle of Southerland, Simon and John Fraser, and John Spurrey lieutenant to the earle of Spurrey, who as then was sore tormented with a grievous maladie or sicknesse. The second battell was committed to the gouernance of Alexander Lindsay, with whom were joined Alexander Gordon, Kenneth Graham, and Robert Kenneth. In the third battell was the gouernor himselfe, accompanied with James, John, and Alane Stewards, the sons of Walter great Steward of Scotland.

On the other part, the Englishmen were not thing slow to come forward to encounter the Scots, but at the first to take the vantage of the ground; they gaue somewhat backe, withdrawing to the side of an hill, which they hauing once got, boldlie turned themselves to the Scots that pursued them ouer rashlie, in hope that the victorie had bene already theirs: but being here fiercelie receiued by the Englishmen, and beaten downe in heaps on each side, though they enforced themselves with all their might to be reuenged both for old and new iniuries which they had receiued, and so sue no small number of the enimies; yet in the end was the Scottish armie put to flight, and more slaughter made in the chase, than was afore in the battell: for one wing of the Englishmen making forwards to get before the Scots, so stopped their passage, that they were slaine miserably on each side, as they had bene inclosed within a toile or deere-stall. There were but few in number that were taken prisoners, those on the next day were beheaded by commandement of king Edward, except a small number which were kept secret by some of the Englishmen for profit of their ranfome. There were slaine on that day of the battell, to the number of fourtene thousand men, amongst whom were these as principall: Archibald Douglas the gouernour, John Steward, James Steward, and Alane Steward, the sonnes of Walter Steward; the earle of Rosse, the earle of Southerland, Alexander Bruce earle of Carrick, Andrew, James, and Simon Fraser. This battell was fought on Spagdale day, in the yeare of Grace, 1333.

¶ That this number and therewith manie mo do abound by one yeare, Wil. Harison doth gather together by the \*fertes, because Adam Meremouth saith, that Spagdale day fell on the monday this yeare, and that the morrow after being tuesday, Berwick was surrendered. But for so much as the same Meremouth maie be perhaps deceived, or mistaken herein: I haue here thought good (as in other places) to note in the margin the yeare, according to the account of Hector Boetius, speciallie in this place, the rather because he agreeth with Richard Southwell, Robert Auesburie, and other of our English writers, concerning this yeare in which this battell was fought: but where the same Boetius saith, that it was fought on Spagdale day, R. Southwell, Robert Auesburie, Thomas Walf. and diuers other affirme, that it was fought the ninthenth of Julie being saint Margarets euen. But now to proceed. The place where this battell was stricken, is called Hallidon hill.

Immediatlie vpon this overthrow of the Scottish power, Alexander Seton and Patrike Dunbar captains of Berwick, despairing of all support, yielded the towne to king Edward, with condition to haue their liues and goods saued, and to become subiects to king Edward. Here vpon, when they had receiued their othes, Patrike Dunbar was commanded by king Edward, to build up againe the castell of Dunbar vpon his owne costs and charges, for that he had throwen it downe, when he saw he

was not able to defend it against the English power comming toward him. R. Edward accomplishing his desire, returned backe into England, leaving behind him with the Balioll, manie great lordes of England (amongst whom for chiefe was Richard Talbot) that vsing the aduise and counsell of them he might rule the realme of Scotland as should be thought expedient. Edward Balioll here vpon went thorough all the bounds of Scotland, placing garri- sons of Englishmen in most part of all the strengths and castles of the realme, for he had them all at his commandement, sue of them onelie excepted, which were kept by such Scottishmen, as would not re- nounce their allegiance promised to king David. For Dunbraton was kept by Malcolme Fleming of Cumrinald, Lochleuin by Alane of Wepont, the castell of Biddrummie by Christine Bruce, and Arghart by Robert Lauder, the pisle of Loudopin, a strong thing of so small a compasse, was in the keeping of one John Thomson [who were sup- ported with monie by Philip the French king] These captiues would by no means neither yeld them- selves nor their fortresses to Edward Balioll, but defend them to the uttermost for the behoue of their souereigne lord and maister king David.

In the meane time, Philip king of France la- boured to the pope, that he might by his authoritie cause the Englishmen to surceasse from further bering the Scots, by their cruell inuasions made into their cuntry: but when the popes ambassa- dors came about this matter into England, they were so little regarded, that they could not get li- cence to declare that message, and so were they glad to returne without doing aiiie thing in the matter whereabout they were sent. Shortly after was a parlement called at Perth, where Edward Balioll was confirmed king of Scotland, a great number of the nobles promising there by solenne othes, neuer to remoue aiiie rebellion against him in times to come. In the meane time rose great alteration betwixt Henrie Beaumont, and Alexander Pow- bray for certeine lands in Buchquhan [which Ed- ward the first had giuen John Powbray, brother of this Alexander.] Henrie Beaumont claimed those lands by the right of his wife, that was daughter to the said Alexander, but the Powbray claimed them as heire to his brother.

After long contention, Powbray had the lands adiudged to him by sentence of the Balioll, by rea- son whereof, David Cumin earle of Atholl, and Ri- chard Talbot, fauouring the cause of Henrie Beaumont, began to practise such conspiracies against the Balioll, that to auoid further danger, he was glad to repeale the former sentence by him giuen on the behalfe of Alexander Powbray, and by new sen- tence adiudged the lands vnto Henrie Beaumont, for that (as was alledged) he had married the inheri- tor thereof, which sentence he was constrained to change (saith Buchanan) by this means. \* Balioll (fa- uouring Alexander) and hauing adiudged the mat- ter on his side, so offended the minds of the aduersa- ries, that they feared not openly to complaine of the iniurie. But when they perceiued that they nothing posited therein by their speeches, they all departed from the court to their owne possessions, of which fac- tion Talbot, whilst he goeth into England, was ta- ken and carried to Dunbraton: Beaumont doth strengthen Duncard a strong castell of Buchquhan, and not onelie maketh the land whereof the conten- tion was, but also the whole countrey adjoining, to be subiect to his gouernement. Cumin (returning to the part of David Bruce) goeth into Atholl (whereof he was earle) and sensing the places of strength thereabouts, armeth himselfe to withstand all force,

Richard Tal-  
bot.

All the for-  
tresses of  
Scotland in  
Baliolls  
hands, sue  
onelie except-  
ed.

Fr. Thin.

The popes  
ambassadors  
not regarded.

A parlement  
at Perth.

Strife betwixt  
Powbray &  
Beaumont.  
Fr. Thin.

1334.  
Fr. Thin.  
John Maior.

if anie be prepared against him. Balioll fearing the conspiracie of these great men, chaungeth his iudgement, and awardeth the lands (whereof the contention grew) to Beaumont, and reconciled Cummin vnto him, by the gift of many rich possessions, that then belonged to Robert Steward, which shortly after was king of Scotland.

Thus through puissance of the parties, the truth in deciding the controuersie, might not onlie not haue place, but Balioll was also driuen to that extremitie, that he must haue one of them (with his faction) to be his enemies. For now Alexander, stroken with this iniurie (to haue the iudgement giuen before for him thus to be renoued) forsaking the Balioll, ioined him selfe with Andrew Murray gouernor of Scotland (for David Bruce) hauing a little before ransomed himselfe, with a great masse of monie out of the Englishmens hands. These things (although done at severall times) we haue ioined together, least by often repeating of them in other places, the course of the historie might be broken: for (vpon this) Andrew Murray besieged Beaumont in the castell of Dongard, the inheritance of his wife, where he surrendered the same; vpon condition that he might freely repaire into England: at what time also Richard Talbot (being beyond the mounteins, in the inheritance of his wife the daughter of John Cummin of Scotland (for now manie English nobles possessed great reuenues in Scotland by marriages) hearing of these newes, that Balioll was forsaken by the earle of Atholl and Beaumont, would haue gone into England, but was taken in Lownes. This yere the earle of March holding on the part of the king of England, came to him to Berwick castell vpon Tyne, who returning homeward, was grievously wounded of the people of Northumberland, for couetousnes, to haue robbed him of such monie as H. Edward had liberallie bestowed vpon him.)

1334.  
Scala chron.

Scala chron.  
John Maior.

Scala chron.

The castles of Rothsaie and Dunnone besieged to the Balioll.  
Fr. Thin.

Robert Steward.

Fr. Thin.

Lochleuin besieged.

Not long after this, Edward Balioll came to Rainfrew, and there receiuing the people into his obedience, had the keyes of the castell of Rothsaie and Dunnone, brought vnto him by Sir Alane Aile Shiriffe of Wate [at what time the king gaue to him the keeping of the castell of Rothsaie, hauing before made him Shiriffe.] Thus did the Balioll increase in puissance, by such confluence of people as daily submitted themselves vnto him, & he enriched them liberallie with lands and goods still as they came to him, thereby to win their good wills. He sought by all meanes possible to haue gotten Robert Steward into his hands, as the person whome he knew to haue most right, next vnto king David to the crowne of Scotland: but through the diligent foresight of his friends, this Robert Steward being about the age of fiftene yeres, was conueied [with bote and horse, by the helpe of William Harriot and John Gilbert] to the castell of Dunbreton, where he was iustlie receiued by Malcolme Fleming the capteine.

The Balioll being soze offended, that such castles as were kept by his enemies, were so great an impediment to his interpyses, by succouring and relieving his aduersaries to make warres against him, he got together an armie, and the next yere laid siege to the castell of Lochleuin: but perceiuing that this castell might not be wone without long siege, he appointed Sir John Striueling to continue the siege with a great power of men, vntill the castell were yielded. There were left also with him, Michael Harriot, David Wemmis, and Richard Palenill, with diuerse other. These capteins aduising the place and site of the castell, lodged themselves within the churchyard of saint Herse, beside Rainfrew, making bastilles and other defenses within the same, for their

more safeguard. Within the castell were two valiant capteins to defend it, the one named Alane Wepont and James Lambie, citizens of saint Andrews.

The enemies assailed all the meanes that might be deuised to haue wone this castell, but all was in vaine. At length, they deuised a subtil sleight, where by to compasse their intent, on this wise. They went about to dam vp the mouth of the river where it issueth out of the Loch, with earth, trees, & stoncs, that the water being so kept in, might rise to such an height, that it should ouerflow the castell, and so drowne all the people within it. And to cause the Loch to swell more speedilie, they turned the course of diuerse riuers and brookes in the countrie thereabouts, and brought them into the same Loch. It chanced at the same time, that Sir John Striueling capteine of the siege, with a great part of the armie, went vnto Dunfirmling for deuotion sake, to visit the shrine of saint Margaret, sometime quene of Scotland. Whereof Alane Wepont then capteine of the castell, hauing vnderstanding, about midnight prepared three botes, and taking certeine soldiers with him, rowed forth to the head of the dam or water, and there, with such engins as he had deuised for the purpose, assailed to boare through and make a hole in the banke or rampire that kept by the water, which when they had brought to passe, they returned quicklie againe to the castell.

The water hauing once gotten an issue, within a while ware the hole so large, that entering with more violence, it finallie brake downe the banke, and rushed forth with such an huge streame, that it bare downe all afoze it, drowning by the bastils and tents of them that lay at siege there, and caried the same with men and all downe into the deepe sea, they were so suddenlie taken, yer they could make anie shift to escape. Alane Wepont, when the water was fallen to the old marke, issued forth of the castell, & setting vpon those that had escaped the danger of the water, due part of them, and put the remnant to flight. John Striueling hearing the mischief that had happened to his folks, returned to the siege, and made a bolv neuer to depart from thence, till he had taken the castell, and slaine all them within it. But yet, after he had laine there a long time, and saw it was not possible to win that fortreffe, he was constrained to raise his siege, and to go his wayes, after he had lost thereat no small number of his people. This siege of Lochleuin chanced in the Lent season, in the yere 1335.

In the yere following, king Edward prepared an armie both by sea and land, to enter into Scotland. He sent by sea 70 ships well and sufficientlie decked for the warres, to enter by the Forth: but by a soze tempest manie of those vessels perished betwixt Inchkeith and the Forth land. He himselfe hauing the Balioll in his compaignie, with fiftie thousand men, came by land vnto Glascolw, and perceiving there was little for him to do, for that no rebellion greatlie anie where appeared, he returned backe againe into England with the Balioll, and left David Cummin earle of Atholl gouernor in his come, to subdue the residue of the rebels, and to win those strengths, which as yet were defended against him. David Cummin left thus to be gouernor in Scotland, toke vpon him the rule in name both of the king of England, and also of the Balioll, and seized into his hands all those lands in Murray and Buchquhane, which pertained to Robert Steward, confiscating all the goods of such the inhabitants, as would not be sworne vnto him. [Who notwithstanding that he was of such great authoritie in Scotland, of credit with both kings, Edward of England, & Edward of Scotland, and of exceeding great possessions of his

Alane Wepont and James Lambie capteins of the castell.

Alane Wepont drowne the castell.

The castell of Dunnone taken.  
Fr. Thin.

The Shiriffe of Wate slaine.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.  
Buchanan.  
John Maior.

A newlement of tribute.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Murray re-lumeth foray of France.

Fr. Thin.  
Counties reduced to the obedience of king David.  
Fr. Thin.

1336

H. Edward invaded Scotland both by sea and land.

The earle of Atholl forth into the mounteins.

He submitted himselfe.

David Cummin earle of Atholl gouernor of the Scots land.

Fr. Thin.  
Buchanan.

Sir William Douglas, and Andrew Murray ransomed.

his drowne to him toytin and of would Bruce alwaie Inc semble bell of Dunn which John monie gile. this p numb that it such hi laid so [with there they d (called to be not fa thirist put th ners. bert gran Bute from felici the & ard, men Car ior c nant to hi A ned he v Ste said frien cam and redi tim old to c lwei for Ath par the tim len ant loz rec tru lig as of Li ho ad pa bu

his home, would yet neuer stirpe anie superiouritie to him himselfe in stile, but passed all the grants and writings in the name of Edward king of England, and of Balioll king of Scots. At what time none would publike proteste him a subiect to David Bruce, but boies, who in their plaies & games would alwaies call their king, David Bruce.]

Incontinentlie hereupon, Robert Stewart assembled his friends by the helpe of Dungall Campbell of Lochgubow, and suddenlie toke the castell of Dunnone, sleaing all the Englishmen and other, which were found therein. [Which Campbell (as saith John Maior) came with 400 men, and by the testimonye of Buch, was a man of great power in Ar-gile.] The commons of Bute and Arrane, glad of this prosperous beginning, assembled together to the number of foure hundred persons, and set forward, that they might come to support Robert Stewart in such his late begun enterprises: and being incoun-tered by the waie by Alane Lile thirriste of Bute, they laid so lustlie about them, that they slue the thirriste, [with John Gilbert capteine of the castle of Bute] there in the field, & discomfited all his people [which they did after this manner. These people of Bute, (called the seruants of Batodanus) seeing such sturs to be made by Alane Lile, ran to a heape of stones not farre from them, and with great force pelting the thirriste, they in the end killed him with stones, and put the rest to flight.] Diuerse of them taken pri-soners, were brought awaie, and presented vnto Robert Stewart, who in recompense of this seruice, granted sundrie priuileges vnto the inhabitants of Bute and Arrane: as among other things, to be free from paying tribute for their cozne and graine. Such felicities succeding one another, caused manie of the Scots to ioine themselues with Robert Stewart, in hope to recouer the realme out of the English mens hands. Amongst other, Thomas Bruce earle of Carriketh, and William Canther [whome John Maior calleth Carrucher, & Buchanan Carruder of An-nandale] with a number of the commons came vnto him.

About the same time, the earle of Murray returned forth of France, and landed at Donbizon, where he was most ioyfullie receiued by the said Robert Stewart. Shortly after the said Stewart, and the said earle, hauing with them a great power of their friends and allies [as Godfrie Kosse, and others] came into Liddel-dale, Kanfrew, Kile, Cunningham and Aire, which together with Ros and Murray, they reduced to the obedience of king David. [At which time (as saith Buchanan) did Kanfraie come to his old lords the Stewards.] The earle of Murray also, to reuenge the iniuries done by the earle of Atholl, went vnto Aberdeen, and there learning where he sojourned, made thither with all speed: but the earle of Atholl vnderstanding how all the countrie toke part with his aduersaries, fled into the mounteins, where he sustained his life with hearbs and roots for a time, and durst not come forth to shew his head. At length, when he saw no waie to escape, he came forth, and in most humble wise submitted himselfe to the lords that defended the part of king David. They receiuing him vpon his submission, sware him to be true vnto king David, and exhorting him to be as diligent in reconciling the people vnto king David, as he had bene afore to subdue them to the obedience of the Balioll, they suffered him to depart.

About the same time, sir William Dowieglasse of Liddel-dale, and Andrew Murray, were ransomed home out of England, for a great summe of monie, after they had bene kept there by the space of thre yerres in captiuitie. At their comming to Oden-burgh, they found the lords assembled in counsell, at

the which John Randolph earle of Murray, and Robert Stewart, with generall voices were elected gouernours. Manie Scottishmen at this time resolued from the king of England, submitting themselves to king David, as Alexander Ramsay, a verie skillfull warriour, Laurence Dheson, John Herring, and John Haliburton knights, with diuerse other.

\* After this, John Randolph, and Robert Stewart, were sent into the north parts with a strong armie, gathered of such as were wearied by the English gouernement, whereat David Cumin (being feared with the sudden assemblee) fled for his safetie, whome they egerlie pursued, and taking him (being then beset in a narrow streit, and oppressed with penurie of all things) they compelled him to yeld (without anie more circumstances) to their faction, who then swearing fealtie to David Bruce, was permitted to depart vpon his promise: wherevnto they gaue such faith, that they left him deputie for them. At what time he did not faintlie dissemble the fauouring & defending of the part of Bruce. In the meane time, Randolph returned into Louthian, and ioined himselfe with his old friend William Dowieglasse latelie returned out of England, & now with great slaughters of his enemies egerlie reuenged the long losshomesse of his imprisonment: to whome also to make their partie the stronger, came Andrew Murray, which was taken at Bokesborow. Wherefore these gouernours sufficientlie garbed with the nobilitie, appointed a parlement at Perth, in the kalends of Aprill. Whither when the nobles came, there could not be anie thing performed, by reason of the secret hartburning harbored in the bosoms of William Dowieglasse, and David Cumin earle of Atholl: the cause whereof was pretended to be, in that Dowieglasse did obiect vnto Cumin, that it was by his meanes, that he was no longer deliuered out of prison from the English: amongst which nobilitie, Stewart fauored Cumin, and almost all the other toke part with Dowieglasse. Which dissention amongst the nobilitie, was occasioned for suspect which they had of the Cumins comming to that place with so great a traine: for he brought thither such number of his friends and followers, that he was a terrore to all the rest of the assemblee, to the increase of which suspicion, they further ioined a conceit they had of Cumins great and changeable wit, his aspiring mind, and certeine rumors spred abroad of the comming of the English, with whome no man did doubt, but that the earle of Atholl would ioine for his defence.)

Edward king of England vnderstanding the rebellion of the Scots, determined to assaile them both by sea and land: and so prouiding a nauie of an hundred and foure score ships, sent the same well bittellied and manned to saile into the Forth, the which being there arriued, burnt and spoiled the towne on both sides that riuer, but returning backe into England, they lost manie of their vessels by a tempest. King Edward himselfe, together with Edward Balioll entered by land, with an armie of fiftie thousand men, leading the same to the towne of Perth, otherwise called saint Johns towne, and there lodged in campe, abiding for the comming of the earle of Atholl, who as then being solicited thereto by the king of Englands agents, was ready to turne againe incontinentlie to his side [who after accorde, dinglie, with Godfrie of Kosse, & Alexander Dowieglasse, with other, came to the king of England.]

The same time, whilst the king of England lay thus at Perth, the earle of Hamur (whom the Scottish writers wronglie name the duke of Gelderland) came into England with an armie, and purposing to passe thorough Scotland vnto the place where king Edward lay in campe, to come to his aid, was discomfited

The earle of Murray and Robert Stewart elected gouernours.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

Heister Boet. saith it was holden at Darke.

Ye may read moze of this matter in the historie of England. A nauie sent into Scotland. Shipwacke.

R. Edward inuadeth the Scots by land.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

Not the duke of Gelderland but the earle of Hamur, named Guy.

nt Alane Wey and James Lambie captiues of Lochgubow.

nt A deuile to dzowne the castell.

The castell of Dunnone taken.

Whithirriste of Bute slain.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. John Maior.

Incontinentlie.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Murray returned forth of France.

Fr. Thin. Countiees reduced to the obedience of king David.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Atholl fled into the mounteins.

Whithirriste of Bute slain.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

1335.

R. Edward inuadeth Scotland both by sea and land.

David Cumin earle of Atholl gouernor of the Scottish land.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

John Fourdon.

William Dow  
glaile com-  
meth to the  
succour of the  
Scots.David de Ma-  
nand a Sco-  
tish knight.

Hyperbole.

A woman of  
manlike force  
and stature.The earle of  
Murray is  
taken prisonerThe earle of  
Atholl reuo-  
ling to the  
Balioll is ef-  
fones establi-  
shed govern-  
or. The king of  
England re-  
turneth home  
taking the  
Balioll with  
him.

consisted on the Burrowe more, beside Edinburgh, by the power of the governours, and others, which were there assembled against him. There died manie on both parts in the fight (as John Fourdon twiteth) for the strangers fought verie valiantlie: insomuch that if William Dowglaile, with diuerse other, had not come downe from Picland hills to the aid of the Scots, whilst they were thus fighting, the strangers that day had wonne the victorie. But now discouraged with the sudden comming of this fresh aid to their aduersaries, they began to giue place, and drew towards Edinburgh: neuertheless keeping them- selves in order of battell, they fought still: and at length comming to Edinburgh, they were driuen by thorough the friers street, and so by an other street, called saint Marie Wind, where one sir David de Manand, a verie valiant knight chanced to be wounded by one of the enemies, by reason whereof he was so kindled in wrathfull desire to be reuenged, that with an are which he had in his hand, he gaue his aduersarie (that had hurt him) such a blow on the shoulder, that he claue him downe together with his horse, that the are staid not till it light vpon the verie hard pauement, so as the print of that violent stroke remained to be seene a long time after in one of the stones of the same pauement.

The strangers still retiring, and manfullie defending themselves, at length got to the hill where Edinburgh castle standeth, and there flue their horses, making as it were a rampier of their carcasses, so to defend themselves from the force of their enemies: but being inuironed by the Scots on ech side all that night, and hauing neither meate nor drinke where with to susteine their languishing bodies, the which beside hunger and thirst, were sore tormented with cold also, and want of conuenient lodging, they peeled themselves the next day, with condition to haue their liues saued. When the spoile of the field (where they first ioined) was gathered, amongst the dead bodies there was found a woman of an huge stature, who in the beginning of the battell slept forth before hir companie, and incountering in singular fight with an esquire of Scotland, named Richard Shaw, she ouerthrew him, and afterwards beating downe hir enemies on ech side, long it was per the might he ouerthystone, which chanced not before she was inuironed about on ech side with hir enemies.

The earle of Hamure hauing yielded himselfe into the hands of the governours, was verie courteously vsed, the earle of Murray not onelie rendering vnto him all his goods, but also granting him licence to depart: and for his more suertie, he went himselfe in person with him to the borders, to see him safe deliuered out of all dangers. But by an ambush that lay in wait for the earle of Murray, he was taken prisoner, and brought to king Edward. David Cumin earle of Atholl, hearing that the earle of Murray one of the governours was thus taken, supposing king Edwards part to be much advanced thereby, came streightwaies vnto Perth, and gaue his faith effsones vnto Edward Balioll, and was againe established by him gouernour of the realme of Scotland, as he was before. The king of England, hauing in the meane time gotten the towne of Perth, returned into England, and toke the Balioll with him, for doubt least when he had recovered the whole gouernement of the realme, he should shrinke awaie from him. The earle of Atholl hauing now regained his former authoritie, began to exercise great crueltie against all those that were enemies to the Balioll.

The nobles of the contrarie faction (as Patrike Dumbard earle of March, Andrew Murray, & William Dowglaile, with other) toke great despite ther-

at, and raising an armie to restraints his insalent doings, came towards him, whereof he being aduertised (as then lieng at siege before the castle of Kilbrumme) rose and met them in the fields within the forrest of Kilblaine, where he gaue them a sore battell, and had gone awaie with the victorie, had not John Crag capteine of Kilbrumme sallied forth of the castle with three hundred fresh men, and comming to the succour of his friends, renewed the battell in such earnest wise, that the aduersaries thereby were discomfited, earle David their chiefeine being slaine in the field, with Walter Bide, Robert Cumin, and a great number of other, both gentlemen and commons. Sir Thomas Cumin was taken prisoner, & beheaded the next day, being yettwentys day. For the battell before mentioned was fought the last day of December (as Fourdon noteth.) Who further saith, that the earle of Atholl had with him three thousand men against his aduersaries, which were not past eleuen hundred.

\* This David earle of Atholl was verie instant & graedie of gouernment, who if he had brought all the Scots to haue taken king Edwards part, would out of doubt, haue afterward contended with king Edward, and inuaded the kingdome of Scotland by violence; he did most grieuouslie oppresse the gilllesse and poore people, and wickedlie ordered all things after his own fantasie, without reason. Cumin earle of Atholl was slaine on this wise: Andrew Murray was chosen gouernour in place of the earle of Murray, taken (as before is said) by the Englishmen. This Andrew Murray in the beginning of his new office, laid siege to the castle of Couper, with a mightie power of men, but hearing that the Cumins made foule worke in the north parts of the realme, against such as fauoured not the English part, he left that siege, and went against them, with whome incountering in battell, he ouerthrew their armie, and put them all to flight.

At this bickering were slaine two of the Cumins, Robert and William, Thomas Caldar, and diuerse other valiant men, though enemies for the time vnto the gouernour. This victorie reduced all the north parts of Scotland vnto the obedience of king David. Few Englishmen after the same abode within the north bounds of Scotland, except those that were within the castle of Dungard in Buchubane. At length this castle was wone, & all that kept it slaine, except Henrie Beaumont the capteine, who being sworne neuer to returne againe into Scotland, was licensed by the gouernour to depart into England without anie interruption. After this, the gouernour came to the castle of Lochindorze, and laid siege to it, where within was the countesse of Atholl, the wife of the late slaine earle David. This woman hauing knowledge aforehand, that hir house should be besieged, had sent vnto the king of England and to Edward Balioll for succours.

The king of England now doubting least all the strengths in Scotland, kept by such as were his friends, would be lost without recouerie, if the same were not the soner rescued, he raised an armie of fortie thousand men, and entering therewith into Scotland, came to the castle of Lochindorze asforesaid. The Scots that lay there at siege, vpon knowledge had of his comming towards them, brake vp, and departed from thence. Here vpon, when he had refreshed the hold with new men, munition, and vittels, he toke the countesse forth with him, and passed with bloudie sword thorough Murray, euen to Elghine, and returning by Par, burnt the towne of Aberdeen. When he went to Strueling, where he strongly repaired the castle: from whence he toke his iourne to Bothenill, and there also in winter he made the castle

The earle of  
Atholl is  
slaine.

Fourdon.

Fr. Thin.  
John Major.  
5. cap. 14.Andrew  
Murray chosen  
gouernour.The coming  
out to fight.The north  
parts of Scot-  
land reduced  
to the obedi-  
ence of king  
David.The castle of  
Dungard  
wone.The castle of  
Lochindorze  
besieged.The king of  
England com-  
meth to raise  
the siege of  
Lochindorze.The towne of  
Aberdeen burn-  
ed by the  
Englishmen.  
Fr. Thin.  
Scala chron.The towne of  
Perth newlie  
burned.

My crueltie.

The earle of  
Atholl  
burned his  
house at El-  
ghine.The towne of  
Aberdeen  
burned by the  
Englishmen.  
Fr. Thin.  
Scala chron.The towne of  
Aberdeen  
burned by the  
Englishmen.  
Fr. Thin.  
Scala chron.

He stronger, in which he placed a valiant garrison: to this fort the lord Berkeleye conveyed bittels from Edinburgh, and in one night discomfited William Douglas that lay in wait to intercept him. After which, king Edward did shortly lose all the said castles, which he had before with so great care fortified. His name being on the sea at the same time, entered into the Forth, and spoiling (as other had done afore time) the church of saint Colme, felt reuenge thereof shortly after: for that ship (as they tell the tale) wherein saint Colmes goods (for so they call them) were laden, ranke to the bottome of the sea, without force of any tempest, or other apparant occasion.

The king of England at his coming to Perth, forth of the north parts of Scotland, and finding the towne unfortified, caused the same to be newlie fenced with wals and bulwarks, at the charges and onerous expences of these six abbeyes, Aberbrothoke, Couper, Lundoxis, Balmerinock, Dunfermling, & saint Andrewes. Henrie Beaumont also, who contrarie to his oth before taken, was now returned with king Edward into Scotland, was made capteine of saint Andrewes. Also Henrie Ferrar was made capteine of the castle of Lucrece, William Montacute of Striueling, William Felton of Rockburgh, and the keeping of the towne of Perth was committed vnto one Thomas Wylzed. Whylest king Edward ordered things in Scotland after this manner, his brother (surnamed by the Scottish writers Eltham) came vnto him at Perth, who in the west parts of Scotland had exercised much crueltie, as well against the enemies of the Englishmen, as against those that were fauourers and friends vnto them, in so much that passing through Gallabry, Carrike, Bile, and Cunningham, he put all to the ster and sword that came in his waies. He burned the church of saint Bute, and a thousand persons within it, which were fled thither for safegard of their liues. At his coming to Perth, he found the king his brother within the church there, who being sore offended with him for his misordered doings, verie sharpe reposed him for the same: and for so much as he answered him somewhat forwardly, he plucked forth his sword, and there thrust him through the bodie, euen before the altar of saint John, wishing that all such might perish on the same wise, as put no difference betwixt friend and foe, place hallowed and unhallowed, as being no reason, that the church should be any more refuge for him, than he had made it for other.

It may be, that king Edward due some other man in this sort, as the Scots here do write: but for the earle of Cornewall that was brother to king Edward, and surnamed John of Eltham, because he was borne at Eltham, it is nothing true that he was so made awaie, for he died of a naturall infirmite, as by our English writers it manifestly appereth. But now to proceed with the historie, as we find it written. Such things accomplished in Scotland (as before ye haue heard) king Edward returned into England, & left the Balliol behind him with a great power of men at Perth. About the same time, Henrie Beaumont due all such Scots as he might lay hands on, that had bene at the battell of Bannockburn, where his cosine David Cumyn was slaine. Poreuer now, after that king Edward was returned into England, Andrew Murray came forth of the mountains, into the which he was before withdraten to eschue the furie of the Englishmen, and by the assistance of sundrie of the nobles of Scotland, he won the castle of Kinclevin, and raised it to the earth. Shortly after he came into Bernes, and there took the castle of Kilmessie, and likewise raised the same.

Then passing forward, he burned Burnnoter.

On the other part, the Englishmen made no lesse spoile and destruction on each side where they came, so that the Bernes, Angus, Stermond, and Colvick through spoile, murther, & other disgraces, chancing by continuall warre, were left in manner waste and desolat. At length, this Andrew Murray assembling a great power, with support of them of Murray, Mar, and Buchquhan, fought with his enemies at Bannockburn in Angus, where he obtained the victorie with huge slaughter of Englishmen, and other his aduersaries. In this battell was slaine Henrie Mountfort, who latelie before had bene sent by king Edward into Scotland to support the Balliol, besides foure thousand others, the most part gentlemen: so that this ouerthrow was verie displeasing to the king of England, hauing his side sore weakened thereby. After the gaine of this victorie, Andrew Murray passed thorough Fife & Angus, ouerthrowing the castle of Lucrece, with all the other strengths of Fife, the castle of Couper onelie excepted.

Andrew Murray gardian of the Scots (and sir David Bruce) did much harme in the countrie of Carleill, from whence he went to besiege the castle of Edinburgh (as yet in the hands of the English) whose intent coming to the knowledge of the marchers of England, they hastened to repaire to raise the same siege of Edinburgh, and to rescue their countrymen within the towne. By meanes whereof, the Scots removed and came to Clerkington, and the English came to Brethetowne not farre distant; betwene whome there was a great fight, and manie slaine on both sides. But the victorie inclining (with out any great conquest) to neither partie, both armies parted: for the English went ouer Tweed, and the Scots feining that they would go into England, lodged themselves at Calutshill. So that king Edward hearing of such prosperous successe chancing to his aduersaries, sent incontinentlie two capteins with two armies into Scotland, to the support of the Balliol.

William Calbois a man of notable prowes, hauing the conduct of the one of these armies, was encountered by William Keith, and after the discomfiture of his people, being taken prisoner, was kept in captiuitie till he paid two thousand marks for his ransom. The other was led by Richard Mountfort with whome Laurence Preston and Robert Gordon met, and giuing him battell, due the same Richard with the most part of all his companie. About the same time sir William Montacute earle of Salisbury, together with the earle of Arundell came into Scotland with a great power of men, and besieged the castle of Dunbar, lying at the same for the space of 22 weeks. At which battell also was king Edward the earle of Gloucester, the lords Persie and Petill, being in the yeare 1337, as saith Scala chron. Within the said castell was the countesse hir selfe, surnamed blacke Agnes of Dunbar, who shewed such manlie defense, that no gaine was to be got any waies forth at hir hands, so that in the end they were constrained to raise their siege, and to depart without speed of their purpose. It is said, that this countesse vied manie pleasant words in taunting and taunting at the enemies doings, thereby the more to encourage hir souldiers.

One day it chanced that the Englishmen had devised an engine called a sow, vnder the pentile of a rouert wherof they might approach safelie to the wals: the beholding this engine, merlie said, that vnlesse the Englishmen kept their tow the better, they would make hir to cast hir pigs: and so the after deuised it. In the yeare next after this siege, there was such a dearth thorough all the boundes of Scotland,

The calamitie chancing to sundrie countreies of Scotland thorough continuall wars. The victorie of Andrew Murray gotten at Bannockburn.

The castle of Lucrece ouerthrowne. Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

Two armies sent into Scotland.

William Calbois, or rather Calbois is taken prisoner.

Richard Mountfort or Montacute is slaine. The castle of Dunbar is besieged by the earles of Salisbury and Arundell. Fr. Thin.

1337. Blacke Agnes of Dunbar.

An engine called a sow.

A great dearth and all-

downhill the batt not of om-bat- chp- ing Cu- nen ken- res- ight Who him- dy

The earle of Atholl is slaine.

Fourdon.

Fr. Thin. John Major. 5. cap. 14.

Andrew Murray chosen gouernour.

The Cumyn put to flight.

The north parts of Scotland reduced to the obedience of king David. The castle of Douglass wonne.

The castle of Lochmowrie besieged.

The king of England cometh to raise the siege of Lochmowrie.

The towne of Aberdeen burned by the Englishmen. Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

William of Perth newlie fortified.

Merlie.

Edward burnt his brother Eltham.

Edward of a naturall infirmite, as by the English writers it appereth.

Andrew Murray cometh forth of the mountains. Beaumont raised the castle of Kinclevin.

of a death in  
Scotland.

Fr. Thin.  
Scala chron.

The castell  
of Couper  
left void.

The castell  
of Louthian in  
the hands of  
the English-  
men.

The death of  
Andrew Murray the  
governor.  
1338.

Clutdall re-  
covered out of  
the English  
mens hands  
by William  
Dowglas.

Fr. Thin.  
Io. Maior. lib. 5.  
cap. 5.

land, with such mortallitie of people, as a greater had not lightlie bene sene nor heard of. The cause of which mortallitie proceeded (as was thought) for that the ground lay untilld and not occupied, by reason of the continuall warres before passed. [The marchers of England (that were left behind the lordes that went into Scotland) were discomfited at Berkefen: where Robert Paners was taken, with manie other prisoners, beside a multitude that were slaine, by reason of certeine displeasing words amongst them, which caused that they brake order, divided themselves, and fought in an inconuenient place.]

All the souldiers that kept the castell of Couper, for lacke of vittels left the house void, and coming to the sea side, hired a ship to haue passed into England, but through negligence of the maister mariner, they fell vpon a sand-bed, and so were cast away. About the same time the most part of all the strengths and fortresses in Louthian were kept by Englishmen.

The towne of Edinburgh was stuffed with a great number of souldiers, both Englishmen and Scots. Amongest whome there was a Scot of a right stout stomach named Robert Bendergest; he, for that it was perceiued he loved but little the English nation, was euill intreated and vsed amongst them, in so much that on a day, hauing his head broken by the marshall named Thomas Ianatoun, he ceased not to seeke some meane to be reuenged, till he brought his purpose to passe, so that shortly after he slue the said marshall, and after ward to auoid the danger of death due for that fact, he got away, and came to William Dowglas, whome he perswaded with all diligence to passe vnto Edinburgh, where he might find his enemies at some great aduantage, by reason of the slothfull negligence as then growne amongst them. William Dowglas following this aduertisement, came secretly on a night vnto the foresaid towne, and slue foure hundred Englishmen sleeping in sleepe and drunkenesse, before they were able to make anie resistance.

Not long after, Andrew Murray the governor of Scotland deceased, to the great damage of the common-wealth, and was buried in Rosmarkie, in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour 1338. It came well to passe for Scotland, that about the same time the king of England entering into wars against France, was constrained to cease his purpose of the conquest which he minded to make in Scotland, the which must needs haue come to full effect, if he had followed his former purpose and intent. But to proceed, after the deceasse of Andrew Murray the governor, Robert Steward took all the charge on him for the government of the realme, till king David returned home out of France, and began to rule all things himselfe. Clutdall also was recovered out of the Englishmens hands, with diuers other places, about this time, by the high prowes and manlie valiance of William Dowglas and other Scottish capteins; and therefore in the reward of the good seruice shewed by the same William in conquest of that countrie, he inioied the same afterward as his rightfull inheritance. [Henrie earle of Lancaster and Derby, hearing of the valure of these two worthy capteins, William Dowglas, and Alexander Ramsie, earnestlie desired to see them, and to trie their strengths in iustling. Where, vpon, there was a day appointed therefore at Berkefen, by all the said parties, where they met with their complices provided accordingly. At what time a certeine Englishman asked Peter Crame, if he would not refuse to iust with him, to whome he answered, that he accepted the challenge, but willed him first to dine well, because he should that night sup in paradise. Which fell out accordingly, for in run-

ning together the Englishman was slain. The king of England moued with high displeasure at these doings, sent a right baliat knight named Sir Thomas Berkele with a great power of men into Scotland. Against whome came William Dowglas, and Robert Steward the gouernor, and gaue him battell at Blackebozne, where the Scots were discomfited and so beaten downe, that few of them escaped, which were not either slaine or taken. Notwithstanding the two capteins saued themselves by flight.

Not long after, William Dowglas fought with his enemies at the Cragings, where hauing not past fortie men in his companie, he discomfited Sir John Strueling, who had with him nere hand fure hundred Englishmen and Scots, that took his part in the king of Englands quarrell. In the yeare following, the same William Dowglas won the castell of Hermitage, & slue all them that were found within it. In the yeare next after, he fought five times in one day with Sir Laurence Abernethie, principall capteine vnder the Balioll, and being put to the woyle at foure of those times, at the fifth he banquished his enemies, and took prisoner their capteine the said Sir Laurence, who was sent to the castell of Dunbretton, there to remaine in safe keeping for a time. For these and such worthy enterprises hardlie atchieued, this William Dowglas was much commended, and within a few daies after the taking of the said Sir Laurence Abernethie, he was sent by the gouernor the said Robert Steward into France, as ambassado: to king Dauid, for the dispatch of certeine weightie matters touching the state of the realme.

In the meane time, Robert Steward the gouernor raised a mightie armie, and came with the same vnto the towne of Perth, planting a strong siege round about it; for diuiding his host into foure parts, he lodged them with their capteins in foure seuerall places. The first consisting for the most part of westerne Scots, he gouerned himselfe; the second he committed to Patrike Dunbar earle of March, the third to William earle of Ross, and the fourth, to Spaurice of Howbray lord of Clideldale. These lay thus at siege of this towne for the space of ten weekes. And though sundrie times they gaue alarmes and assaults to it, yet was it so stoutlie defended by Englishmen and other within, that the Scots for a long time lost more than they won. At length when they were in maner past all hope to get the towne, & readie to haue departed from it, William Dowglas arrived in the late, bringing with him out of France in five ships, both men of war, and also munition of armour, artillerie, and weapons, which serued the Scottishmen in that season greatly to purpose.

Amongest other, there were two knights of the familie of Cateigalard, and two esquires, Giles de la Hois, and John de Bzele; also a noble pirat, named Hugh Handpyle, who had the charge ouer the foresaid five ships. [While Edward the third was at the siege of Turnete, the earls of March and Somerset made a rode into Scotland, and were discomfited by Thomas Greie the elder, Robert Paners, John Copeland, with the garrison of Robbozow, then in the hands of the English, but after wonne by the Scots, on Easter day, at the vertie house of the resurrection; the gouernement where of seemed to be fatal, because all the capteins of this towne died of euill deaths, amongst whome was Alexander Ramsie the capteine heretofore that died with hunger, being put in prison for vertie ennis that William Dowglas bare vnto him.] About the same time, one William Bullocke had taken estones

Sir Thomas  
Berkele.

The battell  
of Blacke-  
bozne.

John Fourdo

Sir John  
Strueling  
discomfited.

The castell  
of Hermitage  
won.

Sir Laurence  
Abernethie  
taken pris-  
oner.

Sir William  
Dowglas  
sent into  
France.

1339.

The towne  
of Perth be-  
sieged.

There was  
also in that  
armie be-  
side other  
nobles  
men William  
Berkele of  
Glen.

William  
Dowglas  
returned out  
of France.

John Fourdo

Fr. Thin.  
1340.  
Scala chron.

John Fourdo

the castell of Couper to the king of Englands use, but by perswasion of this William Douglas, he rendered it by againe, and departed with bag and baggage. Those Scots that had served under him likewise, were content to forsake the king of Englands wages, and to serve William Douglas, who led them forthwith to the siege of Perth, the which town he besieged his coming was reported into the governours hands, by Thomas Aithed the capteine, in the third moneth after it was first besieged, & in the yeare after our redemption 1341.

Among other exploits attempted at this siege after the coming of the lord William Douglas, the Frenchman Hugh de Waple, taking upon him on a day to assault the towne with his ships, and to give an assault thereto, he lost the chiefest booke he had, although afterwards when the towne was now rendered, the lord William Douglas sent the same ship to be to him againe, whereas, and with great thanks and high praise towards him, as well to him as to the other of the Frenchmen, he sent them backe into France, greatlie to their pleasure and contentation, although in their returne, as they passed out of Dunblie, first, they escaped verie hardlie from the thicke [the wind] after the siege of Turneis, king Edward went to Melrose, but from thence riding through part of the forest of Strike, in a tempestuous time, he came backe againe to Melrose, where Harry earle of Lancaster, met with William Douglas (by covenant) in the kings sight, king Edward taking a truce, departed from Melrose, half overcome with melancholie against those that first moved him to this journey, not succeeding as they hoped and desired that it should have done.]

In the same yeare (as some do write) or according unto other in the yeare following, there was such a miserable dearth, both through England and Scotland, that the people were driven to eat the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, and such like unclean kinds of meats, to susteine their languishing lives withall, yea, in some that (as is said) there was a Scottish man, an vplandish fellow named Crittlocke, spared not to slea children, and to kill women, on whose flesh he fed, as if he had bene a Wolfe. Perth being once deliuered (as before is said) to the governour, he went with his armie to Striurling, and besieging the castell, had it rendered unto him the eight day after his coming thither, on these conditions, that Thomas Foulkie the capteine, with his wife and children might safely passe into England, without fraud or guile of anie impeachment [of which castell (as saith Buchanan) Maurice the sonne of Andrew Murray was made capteine.] Edward Balioll, by such good and prosperous successe, as did thus daile fall vnto his enemies, to avoid further danger, after off removing from place to place, at length he was constrained to sitte into England lest he should have fallen into his aduersaries hands.

Not long after, the castell of Edenburgh was waite by policie on this wise. William Douglas having acquaintance with one Walter Towlers, [whom Buchanan called William Cur a merchant] caused him to provide a ship, and to arrive therewith in the Forth, feining as though he were a merchant, and to offer wines to sell vnto the garison that kept Edenburgh castell. This Towlers according to instructions thus given him, provided him of all things necessarie for the purpose, & so coming into the Forth with his ship, came on land himselfe, and brought with him into Edenburgh two punchions of wine, which he offered to sell vnto the steward of household to the capteine of the castell, who falling at a price with him, appointed that he should

bring them earlie in the morning vp to the castell, that they might be received in. Towlers hiring a cart ouer night, came with the punchions vp to the castell gate, earlie vpon the breake of the day in the next morning, and hauing the gates opened, entered with his cart, and being come within the gates with it, he plucked forth a wedge or pin deuised of purpose, and immediatlie therewith the cart with the punchions fell downe, so stopping the entrie of the gates, that in no wise they might be shut or closed againe.

The Douglasse having in his companie William Bullocke, Walter Fraser, and John Sandlands, right valiant knights, with diuerse other hardie and bold personages, laie in covert not far from the castell, & hauing knowledge giuen him by sound of home, or other wise, when to come forth, he hastied thereupon with all diligence vnto the gates, and finding them thus open, first due the porters, and after into the castell, withur a while had dispatched all them within, and so became maisters of that fortress, within the which for capteine they left one William Douglas, the bastard brother of the other William Douglas, by whose conduct chiefie, both this enterpryse and diuers other were luckilie achieved. Thus was the realme of Scotland clearelie recondered out of the enemies hands the Englishmen, and all other that took part with the Balioll, constrained to avoid out of all the parts and bounds thereof. The castell of Edenburgh was thus recovered by the Scots in the yeare last before remembred, to wit, 1341.

The same yeare, or in the next ensuing, the second of June, king David with his wife quene Jane, and sundrie nobles both french and Scottish, came safely through the seas, and arrived in Innerbernie, from whence with no small triumph they were conueied vnto Perth. About the same time, Alexander Ramsay of Dalehouse, one of the most valiant capteins knowne in those daies, gathering a great powder of men, entered into England, and hauing knowledge that the Englishmen were assembled, in purpose to giue him battell, laid an ambush for them, and training them within danger thereof, by such a fierce and new onset as he gaue vpon them, he put them out of order, and chased them most eagerly, killing and slaying a great number of them at his pleasure. Amongst the prisoners that were taken, the earle of Salisburie (as the Scottish historie saith) was one, and the capteine of Rokeburgh another.

Sir Alexander Ramsay, perceiuing that the most part of the garison of Rokeburgh were either slaine, or taken in this last conflict, together with their capteine, came hastily thither, and giuing a right fierce assault thereto, by fine force took it. Wherefore king David in recompense of his valiance thus declared in his seruice, gaue vnto him the keeping of this castell, together with the shirfwike of Cluidale. Whereat William Douglasse took such displeasure, that seeking to be reuenged, he found means to apprehend this Alexander Ramsay within the church of Batwike, and put him in prison within the castell of Hermitage, where he remained in great miserie and lacke of food till he died. [About which time by the said kind of death (as saith Buchanan) was William Bullocke slaine, by David Berkelie. The death of which two did draw Scotland into manie factions, and filled it with seditions.]

King David was sore moued herewith, purposing to see such punishment done vpon William Douglasse for that rebellious attempt, as might serue for an example to all other how they went about anie the like offense. Nevertheless, the Douglasse kept him out of the way amongst the mountains

1341. H.B.  
1342. Jo. Ma.  
King David returned into Scotland.

Alexander Ramsay returned into England.

This Ramsay was renowned, that euery noble man was glad to haue his sonne and kinsman to serue vnder him.

The castell of Rokeburgh waite by Alexander Ramsay.

Alexander Ramsay taken by William Douglas, & imprisoned.  
Fr. Thin.

Sir Thomas Berkelie.

The battell of Blacke. 1341.

The towne of Perth besieged.  
1341.  
John Fourdon.

Sir John Striurling discomfited.

The castell of Hermitage waite.

1341.

Sir Lawrence Abernethie taken prisoner.

Fr. Thin.

Sir William Douglas sent into France.

1339.  
The towne of Perth besieged.

John Berkelie.

There was also in that armie beside other noble men William Berth of Galesdon.

Children slain.  
The castell of Striurling rendered.

William Douglas returned out of France.

John Kingbie.

Fr. Thin.

Edward Balioll with his army into England.

John Fourdon.

The castell of Edenburgh waite.  
Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.  
1340.  
Scala chron.

2. policie.

teins and other desert places, till finally Robert Stewart and other nobles purchased his pardon, so that at length he came into favor againe, and had all his lands and livings restored unto him, as well in Auldale as elsewhere.

The earle of  
Salisbury  
exchanged for  
the earle of  
Murray.

Froisard.

1342.

A parliament  
at Perth.

The bounte-  
ous liberaltie  
of King David.  
This Hugh  
was grand-  
father to He-  
ctor Boetius.

King David  
invaeth For-  
thumberland.

Fr. Thin.

King David  
the second  
time invaeth  
the English  
borders.

Five Scottish  
knights ta-  
ken prisoners

King David  
the third time  
invaeth  
England.  
Foule wea-  
ther.

Calis be-  
sieged.

Ambassadors  
sent to French  
king into  
Scotland.

Some after the earle of Salisbury was taken by sir Alexander Ramsay (as is said) he was exchanged for the earle of Murray, that had bene holden manie yeres before as prisoner in England. But it should appeare by other writers, that the earle of Salisbury was not taken at that time in the borders of Scotland (as before is supposed) but in the borders of France, where he was in the wars which king Edward the same time made against the Frenchmen; & now was exchanged for the earle of Murray. But howsoever it was, king David after the realm of Scotland was once brought into a quiet estate from the former trouble of war, he called a parliament at the towne of Perth, where he rewarded verie liberallie all such as had either done any notable service themselves, or had lost any of their friends or parents in defense & recoverie of the realm out of his adversaries hands. Among other, Hugh Boece had in recompense of his fathers slaughter at Duplin, the inheritance of a ladie of the baronie of Balwid given him in marriage, which baronie is yet possessed by the heires of the said Hugh.

Shortlie after upon the breaking up of this parliament, king David raised a mightie armie, and entered with the same into Forthumberland; but committing the whole charge to John Randolph erle of Murray as lieutenant generall, he would not that any of his owne banners should be spied and bozne in all that voiage [although himselfe were there in person, serving secretlie, and would not be knowne in this iourne.] The most part of all Forthumberland was burnt and spoiled, for they remained there a moneth before they returned, concealing about with them great riches, which they got abroad in all places where they came. Shortlie after, he came with a new armie into England, causing his own standard to be carried afore him at that time, as he that toke upon him the whole governance of that enterprise himselfe. The Englishmen withdrawing all their goods into strengths, minded not to give the Scots any set batell, but to take them euer at some advantage, if they straid abroad any where unwarlike to fetch in booties. Neither were they altogether disappointed of their hoped prey, for 5 Scottish knights, whose names were Stewart, Eglington, Craggie, Woid, and Fullarton, pursuing their enemies on a time over fiercelie, were taken prisoners, and after redeemed for great summes of monie. At length, king David perceiving that he wasted but time, returned into Scotland. But not long after he went againe into England, in which iourne his people were so beaten with vehement stormes of raine and haile, that they had much adoe to save themselves from perishing through the unmeasurable force of that so rigorous weather.

On the other side, the Englishmen that were gathered to resist against him, were in semblable manner nere hand destroyed with the like rage of tempest. Hereupon king David, to the end that his enterprise should not seeme altogether to want effect, overthrew sundrie strong houses on the English borders, and so returned home without other damage either done or received. About the same time did Edward king of England besiege the towne of Calis. The French king therfore drifing all waies possible whereby to save that towne, and to cause his adversarie to raise his siege, sent ambassadors into Scotland, to require king David, that with an armie he would enter into England, and do what da-

mage he might unto the Englishmen, to trie if by that means king Edward could be constrained to leave his siege; and to returne home for defense of his owne countrie and subjects. In the meane time also (as I find in the Scottish chronicles) king Edward addressed his orators into Scotland, offering unto king David, upon condition that peace might be had, to deliver into his hands not onlie the towne of Berwick, but also Edward Balliol his old adversarie, for whose cause the warre had so long continued betwixt them.

These offers being proponed in counsell, though some of the wisest gave advise that in no condition they ought to be refused; yet the king himselfe (for love that he had to the French king with whom he had bene brought up) and other of the nobles having young heads, upon desire to be revenged of the Englishmen by practise of warres (whereunto they were inclined) would needs consent to the French kings chargeable request, & refuse the king of Englands benefittall offers. Whereupon an armie was leved, and solemn proclamation made, that all such as were able and fit to beare armour, should meet the king at a certaine day and place, which was to them in the same proclamation assigned. The earle of Ross therfore came with his people unto Perth, and there made his musters before the king: but in the night following he slew the lord of the Isles, with seven of his kinsmen as they were in their beds, and thereupon fled, and got him with all speed againe into Ross [whereby the armie was greatlie diminished, when the friends of both parts fearing civil warres amongst the families departed home.]

King David, though he was sore displeased here-with, and desired most earnestlie to have punished that heinous act; yet because he would not hinder his iourne, he let passe the punishment thereof, till more convenient opportunitie might serve thereto. [Notwithstanding that William Dowglas of Libedale did earnestlie persuade him,] at that time to leade the iourne, and first to punish these turmoils at home, whereby all things might be quieted in his absence. At his coming to the borders, and before he entered into England, he made manie knights, to stirre them the rather to do ballantlie; but first he created William Dowglas an earle, which William was sonne to Archibald Dowglas, slaine before at Halidon hill. There was undoubtedly a mightie power of the Scots assembled at that present; inasmuch as there was of earles, lords, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of two thousand men of armes; and of such armed men as they called hoblers, set forth by the burrowes and good townes twentie thousand; beside the archers and other footmen; so that they were at the least fortie thousand men in all, or (as some writers affirme) three score thousand.

King David with that his puissant armie, the first of October entered Forthumberland, and coming to a fortrell not farre off from the borders called Libell, they laie round about that place for the space of three daies, without giving thereto any assault; but the fourth day they assailed it right fiercelie, and in the end entered by fine force, leaving the more part of all those which they found within the house. The capitaine sir Walter Selbie was taken alive, but immediatlie by king David his commandement, had his head stricken off, and was not permitted to have so much time as to make his confession, which he instantlie desired to have done, but it would not be granted. From thence the armie removed, and went unto the abbie of Laverock, which they spoiled; and that done they departed, and passing by Batward castell, and the towne of Kildruth, kept on

Archibald Balliol from the king of England into Scotland

The king of Englands offers.

The Scots ready to beate the French king himselve

An armie leved to invade England.

The lord of the Isles slain by the earle of Ross.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

William Dowglas created earle of Dowglas.

Ri. Southwell. Two thousand men of armes, & 2000 hoblers.

The earle Dowglas killed.

King David invaeth England.

The lord of Libell.

Sir Walter Selbie beheaded by the Scots.

Laverock.

King David lodged in the arms of Southampton.

The abbie of Durham spoiled.

The earle of Northumbria lieutenant of the North.

Libell.

The appointing of the Scottish bi.

Fr. Thin.

The earle Dowglas killed.

King David invaeth England.

The lord of Libell.

Sir Walter Selbie beheaded by the Scots.

Laverock.

on till they came vnto the p[er]loze of Berham, whiche they sacked; but the towne was saued from fire by commandement of king Dauid, who in this iourne appointed to p[re]serue foure townes onelie from burning; to wit, Berham aforesaid, Corbridge, Darlington, and Durham, to the end he might in them lay up such store of vittels, as he should promise abroad in the countrie, wherewith to susteine his armie during the time of his abiding in those parties.

From Berham, where he laie three daies, he marched to Chchester, waisting and spoiling the countrie on each hand, and after turned towards the wood of Beaurepaire; and comming thither, lodged himselfe in the manour, and set his people abroad into the countrie to fetch in booties, & to burne by the townes and houses in all places where they came. The spoile, waste, destruction, and slaughter which the Scots practised with fire and sword, was wonderfull to heare, and incredible almost to be told, they spared neither yong nor old, church nor chapell: religious houses as well as other were consumed to ashes. The abbey of Durham, and all places thereabout (as the Scottish writers affirme) were spoiled and miserablie sacked, although it was said king Dauid was admonished in a dreame, that he should in anie wise abstaine from violating the gods and lands pertaining to saint Cuthbert.

The earle of Northumberland lieutenant of the North under king Edward, to resist these iniuries, raised a great power of men, and ioining the same with such bands of old soldiers as king Edward had latelie sent ouer out of France for that purpose, first dispatched an herald at armes vnto king Dauid, requiring him to staie from further inuading the countrie, and to returne into Scotland, till some reasonable order for a small peace might be agreed vpon betwixt him and the king his master: otherwise he should be sure to haue battell to the vtterance within three daies after. King Dauid contemning this message, required his folks to make them readie to receiue their enemies if they came to assaile them, and on the next morrow, he diuided his armie into three battels. In the first was Robert Stewart prince of Scotland, and Barrike Dunbar earle of March: in the second were appointed John earle of Murray, and William earle of Douglas: in the third was the king himselfe, with all the residue of the nobles. [Contrarie to the which Buchanan placeth Douglas in the first, the king in the middle, and Stewart in the third.]

In the morning earlie before the battell, the earle of Douglas departed from the armie to deserue the English host, and to vnderstand their force and order (if it were possible:) but entring somewhat betwixt lic within danger of his enemies, he was chased, and that to such disadvantage, that he lost fiftie, or rather fure hundred (as some booke haue) of yong gentlemen, and such other light horsemen as he toke forth with him, escaping verie narrowlie himselfe also from being taken at the chace. In the meane season, the English host diuided likewise into three battels, approached forward, and came within sight of the Scottish armie. Whereupon Dauid Graham with a wing of fure hundred horsemen, well appointed gaue a full charge on the skirts of the English archers, thinking to haue distressed them: but he was so sharpelie receiued and beaten with arrowes, that losing a great number of his men, he was constrained to flee backe to the maine battell, and that not without great danger of being taken in his flight by such as followed him.

These two discomfures notwithstanding, the Scots rushed fiercelie vpon their enemies, & fought with great maner a long season; but in the end,

Robert Stewart, and the earle of March, perceiving their people partlie to shrinke backe, caused the retreat to be sounded, in hope to saue their men by withdrawing into some safer place: but this flying backe of the earle of March and Robert Stewart, brought the discomfite vpon all the residue of the Scots. For that battell of Englishmen that was first matched with them, came now with such violence vpon the maine battell where king Dauid fought, that within a short while after, the same was vtterlie discomfited and put to flight. In this businesse king Dauid himselfe did in euery point plaie the part of a most valiant chieftaine, encouraging his people as well with words as notable examples to doe their indentures. Neither would he stie after hee saw himselfe destitute of all conuenient aid, but still continued in earnest fight, desiring nothing so much (as should appeare) as death, for that he thought nothing moze displeasing than life, after the slaughter of so manie of his nobles and liege people.

At length hauing his weapons stricken out of his hands, one John Copland came vnto him, and willed him to yeld; but he with one of his fists gaue this Copland such a blow on the mouth, that by force of the gantlet he strake out two of his teeth before he did yeld vnto him. Which Copland is misnamed by John Maior, and not onelie called Comptant, but also reported by him to be a Gascoigne, whereas it is euident by our histories, that he was named Copland, and a mere Englishman. But to our purpose. The Scots that fought in the reuerward had no better successe than the other: for that battell was also broken & put to flight, with great slaughter as well of the nobles, as other commons, besides those that were taken. There were slaine in this dolorous conflict, the earle of Murray, the earle of Stratherne, the countable, the marshall, the chamberleine and chancelor of Scotland, with a great number of other nobles and commons [with Maurice Murray]. There were taken with the king fure earles, that is to say, Douglas, Fife, Sutherland, Wigton, and Spenteith [the earle of March & the Seneschall fled, but after the earle of March being taken, was with the earle of Spenteith (as saith Scala chron.) by stone and hanged at London.] And besides other great riches lost in this field, the holie crosse (as they call it) of holie rood house, was found vpon king Dauid, who bare it about him, in trust that by vertue thereof he should be truinible: but he was spoiled both of that and all other his iewels which were found vpon him at the same time. This battell was stricken nere vnto Durham, the 17 day of October, in the yere 1346. What countries and places the Englishmen got after this victorie, ye may read in the English history.

In the yere following, the Balioll, with the earle of Northumberland made a road into Louthian, and Cliddefdale, bringing a great bootie of goods and cattell out of those countries into Galloway, in which countrie the Balioll abode a long time after. At length, the Scots recouering themselves with much paine, after the slaughter of so manie of their nobles and commons, beside the discomfite for the taking of their king, chose and appointed Robert Stewart as gouernour to haue the rule of the realme. About the same time, William Douglas the sonne of Archembald Douglas, that was brother vnto godd Sir James Douglas, who (as before is said) was slaine in Spaine, returned forth of France, and by support of his friends chased the Englishmen out of Douglasdale, Tindale, Twidale, Etrick forest, & Tweedale. John Copland capitaine of Roxburgh, to resist such enterprises, gathered a number of men,

A. J. and

The cause of the overthrow

The Scots discomfited.

King Dauid his balance.

King Dauid taken by John Copland.

1346. Scala. chron. Nobles slaine in this battell. Fr. Thin. Prisoners taken.

Fr. Thin.

The Balioll lodged in Galloway.

Robert Stewart gouernour of Scotland.

Countries recovered out of the Englishmens hands.

Embassadours from the king of England into Scotland

The king of England offers.

The Scots ready to helpe the French, hinder their neighbors the English.

An armie raised to invade England.

The lord of the Isles slain by the earle of Ross.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

William Douglas created earle of Douglas.

Ri. Southwell Two thousand men of armes, 10000 hoblers.

King Dauid taken at the chace.

The fort of Liddell.

Sir Walter Selbie beheaded by the Scots.

Lanercroft.

pt

John Cop-  
land chased.

1349.

The second  
pestilence that  
was heard of  
in Scotland.  
Sir David  
Berklie slain

and came forth against his enemies, but receiving the overthrow, he was chased into Hokerburgh againe, with losse of diuerse of his men.

In the yere next following, which was from the incarnation 1349, there came such a pestilence thorough all parts of Scotland, so vehement and contagious, that it slue nere hand the third part of all the people. This was the second time that the pestilence was knowne or heard of to haue come in Scotland. The same yere, or (as other booke haue) the yere next ensuing, one John saint Spigheill slue sir David Berklie knight at Aberdeen, in the night season, by procurement of sir William Dowglas of Liddesdale, as then prisoner in England with the earle of Dowglas, both of them being taken at Durham field. The occasion was, for that this sir David Berklie had aforetime slaine one John Dowglas, brother to the said sir William, and father to sir James Dowglas of Walketh.

1352. I. Ma.  
Sir William  
Dowglas  
slaine.

1354.

1355.

Sir Eugenie  
de Garente-  
ris a French-  
man, arrived  
in Scotland.

Fortie thou-  
sand crownes.

The earle of  
March and  
William Dow-  
glas enter in  
to England  
with an army.  
William Ham-  
ley of the Dale  
housie.

The English-  
men intrap-  
ped.  
Put to flight.

Prisoners ta-  
ken.

Fr. Thin.  
Scala chron.

1355.

In the yere following, was the same sir William Dowglas, being latelie before ransomed out of England, slaine, as he was hunting in Strike forest, by his coline and godsonne William earle of Dowglas, in reuenge of the slaughter of Alexander Hamley, and other old grudges. Thus was the house of the Dowglases divided amongst themselves, pursuing each other manie yeres together with great unkindnesse, unnatural enimitie and slaughter. In the yere next following, which was 1355, shortly after Easter, there arrived in Scotland a noble knight named sir Eugenie de Garente, with a companie of Frenchmen, though few in number, yet valiant and verie skillfull warriors, which were sent thither by John king of France, that succeeded his father king Philip of Valois, latelie before deceased, and deliuered unto the gouernor and other nobles of the realme of Scotland, forty thousand crownes of the sunne, to be imployed about the leuieng of an armie against the Englishmen, that they might be constrained the sooner to with- draw their powers out of France.

This monie was receiued, though a small part thereof came to the hands of the soldiers or men of warre of Scotland, for the lords and nobles kept it safe inough to their owne vse. Yet neuertheless, the earle of March, and William Dowglas, gather their people, and passe forth with the same to the borders, and entering into England, appoint William Hamley of the Dalehouse, to ride before with a number of light horsemen, to the end, that if the Englishmen did assemble and come forth too strong against him, he might retire backe to the maine battell, where they lay in couert, at a place called Pistbet more. This Hamley doing as he was commanded, made a great forraie thorough the countrie, and hauing got together a great bootie of cattell, with draw with the same homewards: but being sharpe- ly pursued by the Englishmen, in hope to recouer their goods, he fled amaine, and they following eger- lie in the chase, were vpon the Scottish armie before they were aware. The Scottishmen, and those few Frenchmen that were there, set vpon the English- men fiercelie, and finally put them to flight, though not without some slaughter on their part: for there were slaine of Scots sir John Holieburton, and sir James Turnebull knights. These were taken pri- soners of Englishmen, sir Thomas Greie, and his sonne, with John Darcas, and manie other Eng- lishmen.

\* The taking of which Greie is reported by others to haue bene after this manner. The lords Perrie and Deuill, guardians of the English marches, toke truce with the lord William Dowglas, at the time that he conquered the lands which the Englishmen

had woone of the Scots. But Patrick earle of March (being in confederacie with Garente) would not by anie persuation consent to that league: whereupon (with a number of others) he made a road to the castle of Roxham, ambushing themselves vpon the Scottish side of the riuer of Tweed, sending ouer a banneret with his ensigne, and 400 men to for- rage & spoile the countrie, who gathering the preyes, drawe them in despite alongst the castle: whereupon Thomas Greie, capteine of Roxham (sonne to Tho- mas Greie, that had bene three times by the Scots besieged in the said castle of Roxham, in the reigne of king Edward the second) seeing the commons of England thus robbed (and deeming it his part to de- fend his countrie, friends, and their substance) issued forth of Roxham with few men more than fiftie of the garrison of the castle, and a few of the common people vnerpert in matters of war; who (not know- ing of the secret ambush of the band which Patrick had laied in wait behind Tweed) issued forth to fol- low and recouer the prey: but being so farre gone in chase of the enemie, as that he could not returne in safetie (because he was beset before and behind with the 400 on the one side, & the ambush laied by Tweed on the other side) the said Greie and his companie (finding none other remedie but to hazard the suc- cesse) forsoke their horses, and on foot (standing to the extremitie) with a wonderfull courage set vpon the Scots, whereof more were killed than of the Eng- lish, but the Scots comming so sore on the English (not able to resist) they began to flee, at that time Thomas Greie (as before is declared) was taken prisoner.

The earles of March, and Dowglas, after the obtaining of this victorie, came suddenly in the night season vnto the towne of Bertwike, and raising by ladders to the wals, wan the towne, but not without losse of diuerse Scottish gentlemen, as Thomas Hans, Andrew Scot of Walverie, John Gordon, William Sinclair, Thomas Preston, and Alexander Spowbate knights. Of English were slaine Alexander Ogill capteine of the towne, Thomas Perrie brother to the earle of Northumberland, and Edward Greie, with others. Eugenie de Garente with his Frenchmen did verie valiantlie beate himselfe in this enterpryse, whome Robert Stewart the gouernour rewarding with great gifts, sent backe into France, commending him by letters vnto the French king, as he that had done his dutie in euerie behalfe verie thonghly. The castle of Ber- twike, notwithstanding that the towne was thus woone, held forth the Scots and Frenchmen, by reason whereof when an armie of Englishmen came to the succours thereof, they raced the wals, and burnt the houses of the towne, and so departed.

\* The tidings wherof were brought to king Edward at the verie instant of his landing from Callis into England, for which cause he taried at his parle- ment appointed at London but thre daies, and with all speed came to Bertwike, where he entered the cas- tle; wher at the burgeses amazed, treated with him, and thereupon the towne of Bertwike was redeliue- red (against the minds of the Scots) to king Edward. As Edward himselfe being come to the rescue and recouerie of Bertwike, and hauing receiued the towne, and finding it so defaced, toke order for the repairing thereof againe, went to Roxburgh, and there receiued of the Balioll a full resignation of all his pretended right to the crowne of Scotland. For there the 26 of Januarie, the said Balioll hauing resigned (as before) all his title to king Edward, al- ledged these causes: first, in consideration that the Scots were full of rebellion; also, because he had no heire, nor anie verie neere of his linage; and so that he

Berwick  
towne.

Whitcliffe  
army.

1355.

The burnt  
ambassadors.

Salisbury re-  
covered.

The battell  
of Portiers.

The French  
king John ta-  
ken prisoner.

Berwick  
repaired &  
gaine by king  
Edward.  
The Balioll  
religiously  
right.  
Fr. Thin.  
Scala chron.

Perrie  
Dowglas  
prisoners

Robert poli-  
ce.

he was of k. Edwards blod of England, he knew not where to bestow it better than upon him. This Balioll is by no autho<sup>r</sup> (as Lesleus saith) placed in the catalog of the kings, as well for that he bound himselfe (by homage) to the gouernement of England with an oth, against the gouernement & maiestie of Scotland: as for that being a tyrant, & by force invading the crowne, he continued not long in the same. In truth, I suppose he held it not verie long, and that in continuall warre. But yet for that which I can see, he was crowned king at Scone, 1332, as Lesleus himselfe, Buchanan, and all other autho<sup>r</sup>s do agree. Beside, he gouerned by him & his agents untill the yeere of 1342, at what time he yelded his crowne to king Edward of England; which was the full part of ten yeares, after which againe he recovered a good part of England. Wherefore it seemeth strange to me, that Rosse will not allow him a place in the catalog of kings, since Buchan. maketh him the nintie fourth king, and so placeth him under that title, and maketh David Bruce (who was crowned before Balioll, and gouerned after Baliols departing Scotland) the 98 king, naming also Robert (who succeeded after Bruce) the hundred king in order of gouernement; in such sort, that both these wytyng at one time (but with diuers affections) cannot agree on the number of their kings: one receiuing, & the other reiecting him to be placed in the catalog of their kings. After this, king Edward passing forth to Hadington, spoiled and wasted the countrie by the way on each hand as he marched forward; and for displeasure that his nauie on the sea (after the souldiers and mariners had bene on land, and burned the church of our ladie in those parts called Whitekirk) had with force of a rigorous tempest bene fore shaken, and manie of the ships lost and drowned together with men and all, he fell into such a rage, that he caused all the buildings in those parts to be burnt and spoiled, as well abbies as all other churches and religious houses, as though he minded (say the Scottish wyters) to make warre both against God and all his saints. These things chanced in the yeare 1355, after our common account, about the feast of the Purification of our ladie, & by reason the Englishmen did so much hurt at that time in those parts by fire, they called it euer after. The burnt Candlemas.

Shortlie after that king Edward was returned into England, William Douglas of Piddesdale recovered out of the English mens possession the lands of Galloway, & the lands of Wyndale were in like maner recovered by one Airpatricke. In the same yeere on the 20 day of October, was the battell of Poitiers fought, where Edward prince of Wales, otherwile named the Blache prince, ouerthrew the armie of France, and toke king John prisoner, with his yongest sonne Philip, and a great number of other of the French nobilitie besides. There was at this battell with king John, the earle William Douglas, & to the number of three thousand Scots, having diuers knights and gentlemen to their capteins, of whome there died in the same battell Andrew Steward, Robert Gordon, Andrew Holieburton, and Andrew Claus, knights. The earle of Douglas escaped with life and untaken, but Archembald Douglas, son to sir James Douglas slain in Spaine, was taken prisoner; albeit his taker suffered him to depart for a small ranfome, by reason that William Ramsay of Colliestie, who was also taken with him, made semblance as though the same Archembald Douglas had bene some poore slave, causing him to pull off his boots, and to do other such drudging seruice, as fell not for the estate of a man of any estimation or honestie, to the

end it should not be knowne what he was.

Thus the king of England at one time having twi<sup>l</sup>rt them at meate in the feast of Christmasse, making (as the vse is) amongst the Englishmen in that season a great banquet. And this he did (as is reported) to the intent that the maner thereof might be bytuted abroad to his high praise & glorious fame. King David within certeine yeares after was conueied by the earle of Northampton unto Berwik, where the most part of all the nobles of Scotland assembled together to consult with him touching some agrement to be had for his ranfome: but because they could grow to no certeine point therein, he was brought backe againe to London, and there remained in prison as before. In the meane time, Roger Airpatricke was slaine by James Lindseie, in a castell where the said James dwelled, and receiued the said Roger as his ghest. This Lindseie fled upon the fact committed; but yet being apprehended and brought to the gouerno<sup>r</sup> Robert Steward, he suffered death for that offense.

Shortlie after, that is to wit at Michaelmasse next ensuing, after king David had bene at Berwik, there was an agrement made for his ranfome, whereupon being deliuered, he returned into Scotland, in the eleuenth yeare after his taking at Durham field. It was agreed that there should be paid for his ranfome one hundred thousand marks sterling, at sundrie daies of payment, as was accorded betwixt them. After he had bene 11 yeares in England, in which place also Froissard setteth downe that he paid but 50000 marks English. And Scala Chron. saith, that at the feast of S. Michael, David king of Scots was deliuered for 100000 marks of silver: for which, his hostages came to Berwik, being the countie of Southerland, and his sonne that was bozne of the sister of king David; Thomas Senescall that was named in Scotland earle of Angus; Thomas Demurise baron of Boshuill, and other twentie sons of noble men in Scotland.

Truce also was taken for the space of fourtene yeares betwixt both realmes, and diuers nobles of Scotland were appointed to lie as hostages in England, till the monie were paid, as is before mentio<sup>n</sup>ed [of which pledges (as saith Lesleus) most died in England, by means wherof, the king was deliuered of a great part of his ranfome.] k. David was also bound by couenant of agrement to race certeine castells within Scotland, which seemed most noisome to the English borders: which couenant he performed. For upon his returne into Scotland, he east downe the castells of Dalwhinton, Dunfreis, Dornotowne, and Durisbere. He also called a parliament, wherein he enacted sundrie things for the punishment of them that fled from him at Durham field: and first for that his cosine Robert Steward was one of them, being through means thereof a great cause of the ouerthrow, he procured that the act (by which the crowne was appointed for want of issue of his bodie lawfullie begotten, to descend vnto the said Robert Steward) was utterly renoked and disannulled, and John Southerland the sonne of Jane his yongest sister, appointed heire apparent in place of the said Robert. And all the lords of Scotland were sworn to obserue and kepe this ordinance.

The earle of Southerland, father to the said John, in hope that his sonne should intoy the crowne, gaue away the most part of his lands, diuiding the same amongst his friends, as to the Haies, the Sinclares, the Ogilbies, and Gordons: but he was neuertheless deceived of his hope. For shortlie after his son being one of them that was giuen in pledge to remaine in England, till the monie for the kings ranfome

Two kings prisoners in England at one time.

Roger Airpatricke slaine.

King David is deliuered.

1357.  
Fr. Thin.  
Scala chron.

Truce for 14 yeares.

Fr. Thin.

Castells razed.

A parliament. Robert Steward disinherited of the crowne. John Southerland made heire apparent.

The death of John Southerland.

Al. ij.

some

Robert Ste-  
ward againe  
ordained heire  
apparent.  
(The contri-  
bution of the  
clergie.

1363.

Fr.Thin.  
Buchanan.

A demand  
proponed to  
the lords of  
Scotland.

Fr.Thin.

1357.  
(Their an-  
swer.

1357

Quene  
Janes death.  
Fr.Thin.

John Maior li.  
5. cap. 22.

Ouid.

King David  
marrieth Mar-  
garet Logie.

He repenteth  
his marriage.

He banisheth  
hir.

She complai-  
neth to the  
pope.

Sentence gi-  
uen on hir  
part.  
She depa-  
reth this  
way.

some was paid, died there of the pestilence, in such  
sort as the most part of the other pledges likewise  
did. And shortly after his deceasse, Robert Ste-  
ward was reconciled to the kings favor, and orde-  
ned heire apparant to the crowne in semblable ma-  
ner as he was before. The cleargie of Scotland  
condescended to giue the tenth pennie of all their  
fruits & reuenues towards the paiement of the kings  
ransome [which the pope caused the clergie to giue.]  
Not long after, king David called an other coun-  
cell, wherein (according to his promise made to the  
king of England before his deliuerance) he moued  
the lords and barons of Scotland in a matter where-  
of he wished not to haue of them anie towardlie an-  
swer, and that was this: Whether they could be  
contented, that after his deceasse, the crowne of  
Scotland should be transferred vnto the king of  
Englands sonne, and to his lawfull betres: [Which  
thing John Maior assigneth to the yeare 1363, who  
also saith, that it was this parlement (as he hath red)  
and done by the perswasion of Jane the quene, for-  
getting that he said before, that she died in the yeare  
1357.]

The lords hearing that was proponed vnto them,  
answered without anie long studie, that so long as  
anie of them were able to beare armour or weapon,  
they would neuer consent thereto. King David right  
sofull to heare them at this point, thought himsele  
discharged, for that he was not bound to labor fur-  
ther in this sute, because his promise made to the  
king of England touching this point, onelie was,  
that if the Scottish lords would agree, then he should  
intail the crowne to his sonne. In the yeare next  
following, which was from the incarnation 1357,  
quene Jane the wife of David went into Eng-  
land to see hir brother king Edward, & died there be-  
fore she returned (leaving no issue behind hir) [at  
Hertford in the yeare of our redemption (as saith  
Io. Maior) 1362, and was buried (as saith Sea. chro.)  
in the greie friers in London beside hir mother.  
This woman doth the said Maior commend for a  
most rare person, in that she neuer forsooke hir  
husband in his banishment into France, & in the time  
of his imprisonment in England; for which cause she  
deserueth as great praise as Penelope, although in  
hir life she intoyed small worldlie pleasure, hauing  
had hir bodie dedicated to the mariage bed. For

*Si nihil infausti durus tulisset Vlyses,  
Penelope felix, sed sine laude foret.*

According to which, it might haue bene said of  
this woman, that she might haue bene counted hap-  
pie, if hir husband had neuer bene oppressed with  
these manie disgraces of fortune; but then she should  
neuer haue bene extolled with that commendation,  
which now to the worlds end she hath amongst the  
wisest.]

David, after hir deceasse, married a yong lu-  
die gentlewoman named Margaret Logie, daugh-  
ter to sir John Logie knight, but within three mo-  
neths after he repented him, for that he had mar-  
ried himselfe with one of so meane parentage, to the  
disparagement of his blood. Whereupon he banished  
both hir, and all other that had counselled him to ma-  
rie hir, confining them for euer out of all the parts  
of his dominions. She hir selfe went vnto Auig-  
non, where as then the pope with all his consistorie  
remained, and entering hir plaint there in the court,  
followed the same with such diligence, that in the  
end sentence was giuen on hir side (that is to say)  
that king David should receiue hir againe into his  
compartie, and to accept and vse hir as his full and  
lawfull wife. Thus should the realme of Scotland  
haue run in trouble and danger of interdiction, had  
she not departed out of this life by the way in retur-

ning homewards. Charles the first surnamed the  
wise, being king of France (supported by the aies of  
Scots) prepared an expedition into the holie land, in  
which sortie, when a greuous contention fell among  
the French and English, the last were overcome by  
the first through the singular manhood of the Scots.  
Which benefit Charles not forgetting, erected an or-  
der of an hundred archers to be about his person,  
and by office to keepe watch and ward for him (in the  
night) within his court gates: which (vpon this oc-  
casion) is obserued with great solemnitie, euen in  
this our age. David in the meane time repaired  
sundry places and strengths of his realme, & built a  
tower in Edinburgh castell, bearing the name after  
him euen vnto this day, called Davids tower. About  
this time (or rather more trulie as others haue  
before this written in the yeare of Christ 1356, or  
shortly after the deliuerie of David Bruce from  
captiuitie as the third sort do say) William Dow-  
glas being about to go on pilgrimage beyond the  
seas (at such time as king John was preparing his  
host against the Blaque prince) went with John  
vnto the foresaid battell, being honored by his hands  
with the title of knight: but after, hauing ma-  
nie of his men slaine, and being inforced to forsake  
the field, he returned home into Scotland. Will-  
iam Dowglas shortly after, vpon the deliuerie of  
David Bruce from the captiuitie of England, was  
created earle of Dowglas. Much about which  
at the selfe same time, the said king of Scots ad-  
uanced William Ramseie to the earldome of Fife,  
by the means of the wife of the said Ramseie, whom  
the king intirelie loued (as the report went.) The  
right of which countie king David affirmed to be  
iustlie in him (so that he might liberallie giue it) as  
trulie vested in his possession by the forfeiture which  
Duncan sometime countie of Fife had done in David  
Robert Bruces daies; in murdering of an elquier  
called Michaele Beton, whome he miserable slue  
in a riuer for extreme displeasure. Therefore this  
William Ramseie surmized that Duncan (to ob-  
teine pardon for his offense) did by indenture make  
Robert Bruce David Bruce his heire in reuerfion,  
if he died without issue male. Yet had this Duncan a  
daughter (by his wife the countesse of Gloucester,  
and daughter to the king of England) which was  
entertained in England, and should haue bene sold  
to Robert the seneschall of Scotland. But she (ra-  
ther respecting the satisfieng of hir loue, than the bo-  
noy of hir estate, rather choosing to be a kings wife,  
than an earles ladie) toke to husband one William  
Felson, a knight in Northumberland, which (at the  
said time when William Ramseie was made earle  
of Fife) challenged that earldome in the right of his  
wife, daughter and heire to the said Duncan earle  
of Fife. But for anie thing that I can yet see, the  
said Ramseie went away with the honor thereof.  
After this appeasing of certeine rebels that sought  
to trouble the quiet state of the realme, he purposed  
to haue gone to Jerusalem: but hauing promised  
all things necessarie for such a iourne, he fell sicke  
of a burning feauer, and died within the castell of  
Edinburgh in the thirtie ninth yeare of his reigne,  
and fortie seventh of his age, which was from the in-  
carnation 1370, his bodie lieth in Holie rood house,  
where it was buried in the yeare aforesaid.

\* During the time that this David Bruce was  
prisoner in England, he did so earnestlie set his lo-  
uing affection vpon Katharine Portimer, a damsell  
of London (by reason of familiar acquaintance with  
hir) that he could not forbear hir companie, but (as  
it seemeth) brought hir also into Scotland with him;  
whereat the lords disdaining, and highlie offended  
with the king therefore, procured one Richard de  
Bull,

Fr.Thin.  
Lelieu. l. 2.  
pag. 216.

Davids tow-  
er built.  
Fr.Thin.

Scala chro-  
n. Of this man  
Dowglas  
and his be-  
ne in France.  
English chro-  
nicles do not  
report.

William Do-  
uglas  
earle.

Scala chro-  
n. William Do-  
uglas made  
earle of Fife.

William earl  
of Dowglas  
claimeth the  
crowne.

Buchanan.

Fr.Thin.

He resigneth  
his right to  
the Stewards

Robert.  
Robert St-  
ward is cr-  
ned king of  
Scotland.  
1370

Fr.Thin.  
Scala chro-  
n.

Fr.Thin.  
Scala chro-  
n.

The first  
king of the  
Stewards  
the crown  
Fr.Thin.

Fr. Thin.  
Lectus lib. 7.  
pag. 256.

Dull, a ballet of Scotland (in feining some matter unto hir from the king, as being sent in message by him) to find meanes to rid hir out of life, which he did so courtlie, and handeled the matter so cunninglie, that he suddentlie murdered hir riding from Melros to Seltrée. Whereupon, the king conceiuing great dolor (not daring to seeke reuenge thereof, for doubt of the nobilitie) caused hir to be honorable buried at Melroth, not ceassing (as farre as in him lay) after hir death, to manifest the singular loue he bare unto hir in hir life.)

Sumdrie maruellous things were sene in the daies of this king Dauid, within the bounds of Albion. In the 16 yere of his reigne, crows, rauens, and pies, in the winter season brought forth their brood, and ceased in the summer and springtime, contrary to their kind. All the yewes in the countrie the same yere were barren, and brought no lambes. There was such plentie of mice and rats both in houses, and abroad in the fields, that they might not be destroyed. In the 27 yere of his reigne, the rivers and other waters rose on such heighth through abundance of rain that fell in the latter end of harvest, that breaking forth of their common chanelles, with their violent streame manie houses & towncs were bozne downe and destroyed. About this time liued diuerse clerks, in that age counted notable, as John Duns, of the order of saint Francis, Richard Middleton, and William Ocham, with others.

King Dauid being thus dead and buried, the nobles assembled at Lithquo, about the election of him that should succede in his place. The greater part of the nobilitie, and such as were of the fonder iudgement, agreed upon Robert Stewart; but William earle of Douglas claimed to be preferred by right of Edward Balioll, and of the Cambrin, which right he pretended to haue receiued of them both, and there ought to be no doubt (as he alledged) but that the crowne appertained by iust title unto them, as all the world knew, and therefore sith he had both their rights, he maintained that he was true and vndoubted inheritor to the crowne. It appeared that the said earle Douglas purposed to usurpe the crowne by force, if he might not haue it by friendlie and quiet meanes: but nevertheless he was disappointed of his purpose, by reason that George earle of March, and John Dunbar earle of Murray, with the lord Erskine (which three were captiues of Dunbarton, Sterling, and Edinburgh) and others (of whose friendlie furtherance he thought himselfe assured) gaue their voices with the Stewart, assisting his side to their uttermost powers. The Douglas perceiuing hereby that he should not be able to mainteine his quarrell, resigned thereupon his pretended title, which in effect was of no importance, nor worth the discussing.

When was Robert Stewart conueid to Scone, and there crowned with great solemnitie, and was called Robert the second. This came to passe in the 47 yere of his age, on our ladie day in Lent, called the Annuntiation, being the yere of Christ 1370. Moreover, that the firmer amitie & friendship might continue and be nourished betwixt this king Robert and his subiect the earle of Douglas aforesaid, it was accorded that Eufemie eldest daughter to king Robert, should be giuen in mariage to James sonne to the earle of Douglas aforesaid. & Thus ye may perceiue how the Stewards came to the crowne, whose succession haue inioied the same to our time: queene Marie mother to Charles James that now that now reigneth, being the eight person from this Robert, that thus first attained unto it [of whose first originall and descent you shall see before in the life of Duncan.

He had to wife at the time of his attaining to the crowne, Eufemie daughter to Hugh earle of Ross, by whome he had two sonnes, Walter and Dauid. But before he was married to hir, he kept one Elizabeth Pure in place of his wife, and had by hir three sonnes, John, Robert, and Alexander, with diuerse daughters, of the which one was married to John Dunbar erle of Murray, and another to John Leon lord of Clames. The earldome of Murray continued in possession of the Dunbars onelie during the life of this earle John & his sonne, in whom the succession failed touching the name of the Dunbars, in the inioieng of that earldome: for leauing a daughter behind him that was married to the Douglas, the same Douglas came by that means to the said earldome of Murray. King Robert after his coronation made sumdrie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Amongst other, James Lindsay of Glenelke was made earle of Crawford. His wife queene Eufemie decaised the third yere after hir husband attained the crowne, and then incontinentlie he married Elizabeth Pure (or More, daughter to sir Adam Pure knight) his old lemman, to the end the children which he had by hir might be made legitimate by vertue of the matrimonie subsequent. [Although before he had procured this Elizabeth to be giuen in matrimonie to one Gifford a noble man in Louthian, which also died (as fortune serued) when Eufemie first wife of the said Robert died, whereby they (being now both at libertie) might renew their owne old loue, and in wedlocke possesse that which before they inioied in adulterie.]

Not long after, by authoritie of a parlement assembled, he made his eldest sonne John, begotten on Elizabeth Pure aforesaid, earle of Carrick: his second sonne begotten on hir, earle of Penteth and Fife: and his third sonne Alexander, begotten like wife on the same mother, he created earle of Buchanane, and lord of Badenoch. [Besides which he had also two daughters by hir.] His eldest sonne Walter, begotten on Eufemie his first wife, was made earle of Atholl, and lord of Brechin: his second sonne Dauid, begotten on the same Eufemie, was made earle of Strathern. The said Walter procured the slaughter of James the first, for that he pretended a right to the crowne, as after shall appeare. Shortly after, he called an other parlement at Perth, where it was ordeined, that after the death of king Robert, the crowne should descend unto John his eldest sonne, and to his issue male; and for default thereof, unto Robert his second sonne, and to his heires male; and for default of such heires, to Alexander his third sonne, and to his heires male; and in default of them, to remaine to his sonne Walter, begotten on Eufemie his wife, & to the heires male of his bodie begotten: and if such succession failed, then it should descend unto his youngest sonne Dauid the earle of Strathern, and to his heires generally either male or female. And all the nobles of the realme were sworn to performe this new ordinance touching the succession of the crowne, and that in most solemn manner.

About this time, the borderers, which are men eternally desirous of warres and trouble, to the end they may applie their market, whereby they most chieslie liue, that is to say, reise and spoile of their neighbors goods, through enuie of long peace and quietnesse, upon a quarrell picked, sue certeine of the household seruants of George earle of Dunbar at the faire of Roxburgh, which as then the Englishmen held. Earle George soe offended herewith, sent an herald unto the earle of Northumberland, warden of the English marches, requiring that such as had committed the slaughter might be deliuered to re-

A. liij.

Elizabeth  
Pure king  
Roberts  
concubine.

How the  
Douglas  
came by the  
earldome of  
Murray.

Eufemie the  
queene de-  
caised.

Fr. Thin.  
Elizabeth the  
Pure married  
to king Ro-  
bert.  
Fr. Thin.

The prefer-  
ment of the  
kings sonnes  
to dignitie.

Fr. Thin.

In act for suc-  
cession of the  
crowne.

The border-  
ers desirous  
of warre.

Roxburgh  
faire.

Dauid's tomb  
er built.  
Fr. Thin.

Scala chron.  
Of this man  
Douglas  
and his death  
in France, it  
English chro-  
nicles do all  
report.

William Dou-  
glas made  
earle.

Scala chron.  
William Bal-  
lioll made ear-  
le of Fife.

Strange  
ambassadors.

How barren

great rain.

John Duns.

The assemble  
of the lords  
for the election  
of a new king.

William earle  
of Douglas  
claimed the  
crowne.

Buchanan.

Fr. Thin.

He resigneth  
his right to  
the Stewart.

Robert.  
Robert Ste-  
ward is crow-  
ned king of  
Scotland.  
1370.

The death of  
king Dauid.

1370

Fr. Thin.  
Scala chron.

The first com-  
ing of the  
Stewards to  
the crowne.  
Fr. Thin.

celue according to that they had deserued: but when he could get nought but dilatorie answers, full of derision rather than importing anie true meaning, he passed ouer his displeasure till more opportunitie of time might serue. In the yeres following, against the next faire to be holden at Forburgh aforesaid, the said earle of March, with his brother the earle of Murray gathered a power of men secretlie together, and comming to the said towne, took it, slue all the Englishmen found within it, put their goods to the sacke, and after set the towne on fire, and so departed.

Hereupon the Englishmen shortly after enter with an armie into Scotland, burning and doing much hurt vpon the lands of sir John Gordon, for that they ioined to the earle of Marches lands. Sir John Gordon verie desirous to reuenge this iniurie, came into England with an armie, and getting together a great bottie of cattell, returned therewith homewards, but being incountered by the way at a place called Carran or Carram, by John Lilborne and other Englishmen, there was a fere fight betwixt them, the victorie for a time shewing it selfe so variable and vncertaine, that sir John Gordon was sore wounded, and the Scots were fife times that day had in chafe, and as oft got the like advantage of their enemies. In the end the Englishmen were clearelie discomfited, and their capteine sir John Lilborne, with his brother and diuerse other brought prisoners into Scotland [the manner whereof John Maior condemneth and laith the fault of breach in earle Dowglas.]

To reuenge these displeasures, Henrie Perseie earle of Northumberland entered into Scotland with seven thousand men, & comming vnto Duns, there pitched downe his tents; but the night following came the herds and other people of the countrie, hauing prepared certeine bagges made and sewed together, of drie leather like to bladders, into the which they had put small peble stones, & running by & downe about the place where the Englishmen were incamped, made such a noise with those bags full of stones, that the Englishmens horses breaking their halters and bridles wherewith they were tied, ran from their maisters and keepers, and were scattered so abroad in the countrie, that the Scottishmen got hold of them, and so in the morning the Englishmen that had watched all night (for doubt to haue bene assailed by their enemies) perceiving themselves set on foot, returned home without anie further attempt.

In the meane time, Thomas Musgraue capteine of Berwick, comming to the succours of the earle of Northumberland, chanced to meet with sir John Gordon vpon the way, by whom he was taken, and lead into Scotland as his prisoner. Neither had the Scots the better thus onelie on the east marches, but also on the west, where sir Jo. Johnston had sundrie skirmishes with the Englishmen, and went euer a waite with the upper hand. [All which before vntill the death of Cusmie the queene] Buchanan appointeth to the first two yeres of the king, before the death of the queene. About this time, pope Gregorie the 11 sent a legat from Auignon to king Robert, forbidding him in any wise to meddle with the goods pertaining to the church, after the decease of anie bishop, person, or vicar. [About this time hapened the death of Edward the third, king of England. And Charles the fift king of France sent ambassadoers into Scotland, to renew the old leage betwene the two nations, and to persuaade him to warre vpon England, to the end the warres might thereby be withdraue out of France: which was performed accordinglie.]

On the 22 day of October, in the yere 1378, David Stewart was borne, which afterwards was made duke of Rothsaie, and on saint Andrews day next following, towne of Berwick was taken by sir John Gordon, and sir 02 seven other knights, but it was not long kept: for a number of English men entring by a posterne of the castell, recovered the towne easilie againe out of the Scottishmens hands. After this, William earle of Dowglas came with twentie thousand men to the faire of Pennire within England, and spoiled all the goods found as then in the same faire, and so returned with great riches into Scotland: but the Scottishmen inalie reioised at this gain, for with such cloth & other wares as they bought a waite with them from the foresaid faire, they drew into the countrie such a violent and sore pestilence, that the third part of all the people (where it came) died thereof. This was the third time that the pestilence was knotone to haue done anie great hurt in Scotland, being in the yere after the incarnation 1380.

The Englishmen [with the number of 1500, vnder the conduct (as saith Buchanan) of Talbot] to reuenge the displeasure done by the erle of Dowglas at Pennire, raised a great armie, and came with the same ouer Sulway, and inuading the Scottish borders on that side most cruellie, spared neither fire nor sword. In the meane time, the Scots gathered to the number of fife hundred men, & stood in a street till the Englishmen should come and passe by them, and then with such huge noise and clamor they set on the Englishmen, that in giuing backe there was foure hundred of them slaine, and a great number of the residue for half drowned in the water of Sulway, and hereby was all the bottie of cattell & goods recovered againe by the Scots, and the most part of it restored to the owners. Charles the first as then French king, hearing of such prosperous aduenture, daillie chancing to the Scots, sent ouer his ambassadoers vnto king Robert, exhorting him to follow his good fortune, and occasion thus offered to reuenge old iniuries against the Englishmen, now that their hearts seemed to faile them through losses sustained diuerse waies of late at the Scottish mens hands. An other cause of their message was also (as the Scots do wisse) to renew the old leage & band betwixt Scotland and France, which being done in solemne wise according to the manner, they returned into France, & with them went ambassadoers from king Robert vnto their master the said k. Charles, Walter Wardlaw, cardinall & bishop of Glascolw, with manie other noble men, who in like manner there renewed the same leage & bond of friendship, to the high contentation of both the princes. This was in the eleuenth yere of king Robert his reigne.

In which yere John Lion chancelloz of Scotland was slaine by James Lindesay, earle of Crawford. This John Lion grew into so high fauour with king Robert, that he gaue to him his daughter the ladie Elizabeth in marriage, with diuerse possessions and lands, called Glamis. Of him the surname of the Lions is descended: and in memorie thereof, they beare in their armes the lion & lillies, with the tresse in forme and fashion as the king of Scotland beareth his, saue that their lions are placed in a blacke field. The cause why the earle of Crawford thus slue the chancelloz, was onelie vpon enuie and spite, for that after he had married the kings daughter, he attained to such estimation and authoritie, that he might do all things with the king, according to his owne will and pleasure. For this offense the earle of Crawford remained in exile certeine yeres after, and durst not returne home, till finally through earnest sute made to

1370.  
Buchanan.  
The true  
violated.

Forburgh  
surprised by  
the earle of  
March.

The English  
men inuade  
Scotland.

The English  
men discom-  
fited.  
Sir John  
Lilborne  
taken.  
Fr. Thin.

Henrie Per-  
seie earle of No-  
rthumberland.

A policie to  
afright horses

Tho. Mus-  
graue capteine  
of Berwick  
taken prisoner

Fr. Thin.

A legat from  
the pope.

Fr. Thin.  
1375.  
Buchanan.

1378.

Berwick ta-  
ken by Sir

Recovered a-  
gaue out of  
their hands.

1380.

The first  
of Pennire.

The third  
time that the  
pestilence came  
into Scot-  
land.

1380.

Fr. Thin.

The English  
men made  
the Scottish  
borders.

Englishmen  
slaine and  
drowned.

1388

Ambassadoers  
sent to the  
king.

1381. Le-  
Anno Reg. 11

The renewing  
of the leage  
betwixt Scot-  
land and  
France.

The chancel-  
loz of Scot-  
land slaine.

John Fo-

Emile & Scott.

The earle of  
Crawford in  
exile.

was perdo  
bigger.

Anno reg.  
1382. lo. 1

1381  
English  
baldboys  
into Scot-  
land.  
Fr. Thin.

3 ruce ti

Rebellion  
England

Jack Sh

The tru  
pred.  
The gar  
of Lochm  
Anno reg  
1381. Ic

The ear  
Lochm  
remored  
the Sci

John Fo

Sir ro  
fether

Buchar

to the king by the earles of Dologlasse and Sparch, his pardon was begged, and then at length he was reconciled to the kings favour.

In the meane time, Edward king of England, the third of that name, departed this life, and Richard of Burdeaur, sonne to the blacke prince Edward, that was sonne to the said king Edward, succeeded, in the fourth yere of whose reigne, being after the birth of our Saviour 1381, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, with other English lords, came into Scotland in ambassage [to whom were appointed James earle of Dologlasse, and John Dunbar earle of Murray] to treat for the appeasing of the discord as then continuing betwixt the two realmes: and in the end the matter was so handled, that a truce was concluded to indure for thre yeres. As the said duke was returning homewards, he was informed of the rebellion and insurrection made by the commons of England against the nobles, having one Jacke Strain and others to their captains, wherupon doubting to passe thorough his owne countrie till things were better appeased, he returned into Scotland, and was conveyed by William earle of Dologlasse, and Archembald Dologlas lord of Galloway, to holie rood house beside Edinburgh, where he remained till he heard that the rebels were suppressed, and their captains slaine or taken, and put to execution.

As soon as the truce was expired, Archembald Dologlasse lord of Galloway, displeased in his mind that the Englishmen lieng in garison within the castell of Lochmaben, did daile barrie and rob the villages and countrie townes of Galloway and Arnanale, raised a great power by support of the earls James of Dologlasse, and George of Sparch, and therewith laid a strong siege unto the said castell of Lochmaben, & having lien there at the space of nine daies, they fought with a number of Englishmen that came out of Carleill to rescue this castell, whom having put to flight, they gaue therewith also a sharpe assault to the castell, and put them within in such feare, that sir William Fetherston then capitaine thereof, and the residue consented to yeld the house unto the Scots even the same day without more ado, upon condition they might depart with their goods in safetie into England.

But Fourdon writing of the winning of this castell, speaketh not of anie overthrow given to those that should come from Carleill, in manner as other write. For thus he saith. When Archembald Dologlasse had got knowledge that the same castell was utterly unprouided both of men and vittels necessarie for the defense thereof, he assembled an armie together, with the helpe of the earles of Dologlasse and Dunbar, who joining with him, inuironed the castell about with a strong siege, so that no succour could enter to the reliefe of them within at anie hand. Whereupon the capitaine sir William Fetherston knight, sent letters unto the lord wardens of the English marches, requiring aid, and letting them to understand in what danger he stood for lacke of men and vittels. The wardens wrote to him againe, that he should do his best for eight daies to hold out; and if no succour came within that terme, then to do as he should see cause. Whereupon sir William Fetherston requiring a truce of the Scottish lords for the space of those eight daies, within which terme if no succour came to remoue their siege, he would yeld the castell unto them, the liues and goods of them within saved. This was granted, and the Scots ceased further to annoy them within by assaults: and when the ninth day was come, and no aid from England appeared, they received the castell into their possession, according to the covenant. And so the Scots having

thus wonne the castell of Lochmaben, rased it quite downe to the earth.

King Richard hearing that the Scots had attained this enterpryse, appointed the baron of Graustocke with a certaine number of men to go with vittels and munition unto Roxburgh, for doubt least if the Scots came to lay siege to that fortresse, and finding it unprouided, they might peraduenture bring it into further danger than would lightlie be remedied. As this baron was come within a mile of Roxburgh, he was taken by the earle of Sparch, and brought to Dunbar with all his prouision. The king of England being informed also of this mishap, appointed two armies, one by sea, and another by land, to invade the Scots; the duke of Lancaster having the generall charge and conduct of them both, who giuing order to them that should passe by sea that they should enter themselves by land, and waisting the countreies of Sparch and Lothian, came to Edinburgh, and toke the towne. But whereas his souldiers would haue spoiled and burned it, he compounded with the inhabitants for a summe of monie, and so returned without doing anie more damage.

His nauie being as then arrived in the Forth, sailed behind, & first burning the abbey of saint Colmes Inch, a number of the souldiers with their captives landed in Fife, and spoiled diuerse townes and villages there: but in the end, Thomas and Nicholas Erskines being brethren, Alexander Lindsey, and William Cunningham of Kilmauris, set upon them, and slew the most part of them, so that few in number escaped againe to their ships, being pursued hard to the water side. The same yere the earle of Dologlasse recovered all the strengths of Cumbdale out of the Englishmens hands, which they had held euer since the battell of Durham unto those daies. This earle of Dologlasse, one of the most valiant personages in those his daies, within the whole realme of Scotland, died within his castell of Dologlasse, shortly after he had attained this enterpryse, and was buried in the abbey of Melrose.

After his deceasse, his sonne James, (as saith Buchanan) William succeeded in the earldome of Dologlasse, a verie fierce and hardie knight, the which shortly after appointed by the king to haue the guiding of an armie, he passed with the same into England, and burnt the countrie so farre as Fletham castell. But being countermanded home, he returned and came unto Perth, where he found the lord John de Harcourt, admerall of France, and earle of Valentinois, who about the same time was arrived in Scotland with two hundred and forty ships well and perfectly furnished for the warres, and in them two thousand and five hundred armed men, diuerse of them being lords and barons, besides gentlemen and others. Also there was amongst them 400 haggbutters (as Bellenden saith) and two hundred with crobowes: the residue bare pikcs, halberts, and such like weapons. They were paid their wages for one whole yere aforehand, and had brought vittels with them to serue them as long. They had brought also with them foure hundred paire of white curets, foure hundred halfe long swords, & fiftie thousand franks, to be giuen among the nobles of Scotland, accordingly as king Robert should appoint and thinke expedient.

The admerall and other the nobles of France, being thus come into Scotland to make warres on the Englishmen, were highlie feared by the king and lords of the realme, as then present with him; and when the earle of Dologlasse was once come, by common consent of them all there assembled together in counsell, it was ordeined that an armie should be raised with all speed, that joining with these French

The baron of Graustocke taken.

Anno reg 15. 1383. l. Ma.

An armie by sea and another by land, prepared against the Scots.

The duke of Lancaster cometh with an armie to Edinburgh.

The Englishmen discomfited in Fife. The strength of Cumbdale recovered.

The earle of Dologlas deceased.

James earle of Dologlasse.

The Scots invade Fletchambersland.

1385. John de Harcourt admerall of France.

200. Buchanan. 25 barons, 800 men of armes or knights. I. Fourdon. I doubt whether there were any haggbutters bled in those daies, though guns were some what before that time.

1378.

Berwick taken by Scots.

Recovered againe out of their hands.

1380.

The fauce of Denmire.

The third time that the pestilence came into Scotland.

1380.

Fr. Thun.

The Englishmen invade the Scottish borders.

Englishmen slaine and drowned.

Embassadors to the French king.

1381. l. c.

Anno Reg. 11. The renning of the league betwixt Scotland and France.

The chancellor of Scotland slaine.

Ennise & Spite.

The earle of Crawford in exile.

perpardon is given.

Anno reg. 12. 1381. l. Ma.

English ambassadors sent into Scotland.

Truce taken.

Rebellion in England.

Jacke Strain.

The truce expired. The garison of Lochmaben Anno reg. 14. 1381. l. Ma.

1384.

The castell of Lochmaben rendered to the Scots.

John Fourdon.

Sir William Fetherston.

Buchanan.

The earle of Fife.  
An armie of Scots and Frenchmen enter into England.  
Castels won.

Frenchmen they might passe immediatlie into England. The earle of Fife sonne to king Robert was appointed to be generall of this armie, hauing with him the earles of Dowglas, and March, Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, and diuerse other of the Scottish nobilitie. This armie when they were all together, amounted to the number of fiftie thousand men, the which entring into England, toke the castels of Marke, Foud, and Cornwell. After this, by robbing and spoiling the countrie betwixt Berwik and Bewcastle, they did much hurt in all parts where they came; but through continuall raine which fell as then in great abundance, they were constrained to returne into Scotland, where they pitched downe their field néere to the castell of Rochelburgh, purposing to haue assailed the winning thereof: but forsomuch as they could not agree in whose name it should be kept if it were wonne, they left that enterprize. For the Frenchmen required that if they won it, that then it might be kept by them, in the name and to the behoofe of the French king, whereunto the Scots would not agree.

The Frenchmen & Scots cannot agree.

They invade Cumberland.

Yet after this, the Frenchmen withing to accomplish some other enterprize, went to the west borders, where ioining with Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, they passed ouer Sullway lands; and so entering into Cumberland, did wonderfull much hurt in that countrie. At length they determined to lay siege vnto Carlisle, but being called from thence they returned into Scotland, and then (as some authors write) and not before, they laid siege to Rochelburgh, and raised from thence within eight daies after, by reason of the variance before alledged. At Allhallowentide next ensuing, the Frenchmen returned into France, hauing indured no small trauell and paines, since their first comming forth of their countrie. After they were gotten a shipboard to returne homewards, the Scots againe enter into England with an armie, remaining there for the space of two moneths (as the Scottish writers say.) And in the meane time king Richard assembled a mightie power, and inuading Scotland, passed through the Pers and Louthian, putting all the towne, countie, and houses vnto utter ruine, as in the English historie more plainlie may appere.

The Frenchmen returne into France.

King Richard inuadeth Scotland.

1387.

In the yeere next ensuing, Walter Wardlaw bishop of Glasgow and cardinall, departed this life. Also within a while after that king Richard was returned backe into England, Robert Stewart earle of Fife, with James earle of Dowglas, Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, entred into England with an armie of thirtie thousand men, comming so secretlie thorough the water of Sullway, that they came to Coker mouth in such speedie wise vpon the sudden, that the people had not leasure to conueie away their goods: so that the Scots remaining there for the space of thre daies, got a rich bottie together, and returned with the same thorough the countie of Westmerland and Northumberland safe, and without incounter againe into Scotland. Amongest certeine other things, found in rifeling and ransacking of houses in this iourne, there was a charter found of certeine lands given by king Athelstane, in this forme: I king Athelstane giues to Paullane, Odham and Rodham, als guid aud als faire, alsoer yay mine waire, and yarto witnesse Mauld my wife. By tenure of which deed it may appere, that our ancestors gaue more credit to the true meaning of a few words barelie expessed in their writings, than that there needed so long processe and circumstance as is now used with long studie of perming, nothing being thought sufficient to assure the parties of their couenanted bargaines, and concluded agreements.

An armie of thirtie thousand Scots inuaded England by the west marches. Coker mouth taken vpon the sudden.

The forme of an old deed of gift.

The true meaning of men in old time.

In this last iourne against the Englishmen, William Dowglas bassard sonne to Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, wan great fame and honor for his high prowes and noble baliance, shewed as well in certeine approches made vnto Carlisle, as in diuerse other skirmishes elsewhere. The king also herevpon began to fauour him in such wise, that he thought him worthy of some high advancement; and therevpon gaue him his daughter in marriage, named Giles, a ladie of such excellent beautie, as his match in those daies was not to be found: [with whom for his dowrie, he gaue the lands of Riddesdale.] He begat on his daughter, which was after married to the earle of Orkenie. This William Dowglas (as Iohn Fourdon noteth) was of a blackish or swart colour, not overcharged with flesh; but big of bone, a mightie personage, vpright and tall, valiant, courteous, amiable, full of liberalitie, merrie, faithfull, and pleasant in companie, but herewith he was of such strength, that whomsoever he stroke either with mace, sword, or speare, downe he went were he neuer so well armed. At one time (as the same Fourdon saith) he hauing with him but eight hundred, fought against thre thousand Englishmen, of whom two hundred he slue in the field, & brought slue hundred prisoners with him into Scotland.

In the yeere 1388, Robert earle of Fife, and Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, entered with a proud armie into England, and in the meane time came sundrie Irishmen by sea to the coasts of Galloway, and landing in diuerse places, fetched auaie great botties of cattell, and other goods of the inhabitants: whereof William Dowglas, sonne of the said Archembald being informed, got a conuenient power of men together, by support of his brother in law, Robert earle of Fife, and by licence of the king passed ouer with the same, shipped in certeine vessels into Ireland, where being got on land, he laid siege to the towne of Carlingford. The townefemen doubting to be taken by assault, purchased a truce for certeine daies, promising to giue a great summe of monie to haue their towne saued: but in the meane time, they assembled the number of eight hundred men, through helpe of an other towne not farre off, called Dundaik, and ioining with them, they diuided themselves into two parts. One part set vpon Robert Stewart of Derrisdeer, who hauing the conduct of the earle of Fifes men, was gone abroad into the countrie to fetch in some prey: and the other part assailed William Dowglas, that lay still afoze the towne.

Nevertheless, the said Robert and William received the enemies with such manhood, that they put them in both places to flight, and immediatlie after gaue assault to the towne, and entring the same perforce, put all the goods found therein to the sacke, and then set it on fier, and burned it to ashes. This done, they toke thre score ships which they found in diuerse hauens and craks there on that coast, and fraughting fiftene of them with such spoile as they had got, they burned the residue, and then returning homewards, spoiled the Ile of Man by the way as they passed. Shortlie after their returne home, the king of England sent an armie into Scotland, which did much hurt in the Pers, in burning and ouerthrowing diuerse towne and houses. King Robert being certified hereof, as then remaining in the north parts of Scotland, assembled the nobles of his realme at Aberdeen: and there by all their aduises it was concluded, that the whole puissance of the realme should be raised with all speed, to reuenge those iniuries done by the Englishmen. Herevpon were two armies assembled, the one, wherein were fiftene thousand men, was committed to the gouernance of the earle of

William Dowglas  
glas fought  
for his high  
prowesse.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

Cumber  
mailed  
for the  
land law

Cent  
of the  
men  
of  
glas.  
The  
of  
the  
Engl  
as  
fere

1388.

Irishmen  
fetch prey  
in  
Galloway.  
William Dow  
glas inuadeth  
Ireland with  
fue hundred  
men, as Iohn  
Fourdon saith.  
Carlingford  
besieged.

The craftie  
dealing of the  
townefemen.

The Irish  
men assaile the  
Scots in  
seuerall places.

The  
Dow  
Stewart  
run to  
the  
Ireland  
before  
the  
siege

Do not  
run to  
Caber

The Irish  
men put to  
flight.

Carlingford  
towne by as  
saile.

Fruit  
wher  
from  
they  
fly

The Ile of  
Man spoiled.

Englishmen  
burne in the  
Pers.

Do not  
run to  
Caber

Two armies  
of Scottish  
men assembled

of Hise, hauing with him the earle of Menteith, Archibald Dowglas lord of Galloway, and Alexander Lindsete of Walscop. The other conteneing like number of men, was appointed to the guiding of the earles of Dowglas and March, hauing with them James Lindsete earle of Crawford, John Dunbar earle of Murray, and the lord Hare the constable of Scotland, with diuerse other of the nobilitie [both which faith Froissard] amounted to the number of 40000 men.]

These two armies parting in sunder at Jedworth, the earle of Hise with his people entered into Cumberland by the west marches, and the earles of Dowglas and March with theirs, entered on the other side into Northumberland, passing thorough the countrie, spoiling and waiking the same, till as farre as Durham; and on the other part, the earle of Hise spared neither fier nor sword, all the way as he passed. At length both these armies met together about a ten miles from Helwcastle. Here the earle of Dowglas chose forth ten thousand of the most able men that could be found amongst all the numbers, with the which he went to Helwcastle, to trie if by any means he might take the towne. There was gathered into Helwcastle before his coming thither, the most part of all the chosen men from North to the borders, with the earle of Northumberland, who by reason of extreme age was not able to furre abroad (any thing to purpose) himselfe, but he had with him two of his owne sonnes, the one named Henrie, and the other Rafe, verie forward and lustie gentlemen. This Henrie being the elder, was surnamed for his often pricking, Henrie Hotspur, as one that seldome times rested, if there were any seruice to be done abroad.

The earle of Dowglas comming to Helwcastle, incamped with his people on that side the towne towards Scotland, and viewed the towne earnestlie, which way he might best come to give assault to win it. Henrie Persie desirous to shew some proofe of his singular manhood, wherein he greatly trusted, required to fight with the earle of Dowglas man to man; which request the earle granting, together they ran, mounted on two great courters with sharpe ground speares at the vfferance. The earle of Dowglas in this encounter bare himselfe so well, that in the end he droue the Persie out of his saddle. The Englishmen that stood without the gates, made to the rescue, recovered him on foot, and brought him forthwith backe into the towne. Incontinentlie herupon, the earle of Dowglas caused the assault to be given, and filling the ditches with hate and sagots, came with ladders to the wals: but the Englishmen so well defended themselves, that the Scots were beaten backe, not without great losse and slaughter of their people.

Froissard making mention of this enterprize thus made by the Scots, varieth somewhat from the Scottish writers in this place: for he speaketh nothing that the Dowglas and the Persie should thus run together on horsebacke (as before is specified) but that in giuing assault to the towne, it chanced, that as the Englishmen defended their barriers without the gate, the Dowglas fortuned to be matched hand to hand with Henrie Persie, and there by force plucked the Persies staffe from him, and in returning boisted it vp on height, saying, he would carrie the same for his sake into Scotland: and the next day after, he raised his campe and departed homewards towards the borders, & comming to a place called Wetherborne, about twelue or fouretene miles from Helwcastle, pitched downe his tents there, that his soldiers might take some rest, & refresh themselves after their great trauell, for they had not rested of all

the day nor night before, nor to any purpose, since their first entering into England.

In the meane time the English power was high: lie increased at Helwcastle, for a great number of the countrie came, and entered into the towne the same night that followed the day of the assault. Henrie Persie then perceiuing his number sufficient to fight with Dowglas, set them in order of battell, & determined to issue forth vpon the Scots, and to giue them an encounter: but when he understood that they were gone homewards, he followed them with all speed, for he would by no means that they should passe into Scotland without battell, trusting to recover the dishonour which he had sustained by losing his staffe at the barriers before the gate of Helwcastle. Earle Dowglas aduertised that the enemies were comming to giue him battell, exhorted his people with few words to remember their wonted manhood, that by gaining the victorie, they might win euermore fame and honour, with safeguard to themselves and their countrie. The Persie likewise for his part, encouraged his men, willing them to fight manfully in reuenge of their iniuries done to them and their friends by the Scots, and herewith commanding the trumpets to sound, he gaue the onset fiercelie.

Here both the armies joining together, a right terrible encounter ensued: but because the night was at hand, before they began to ioin, though want of light to see what was to do, they were seuered in sunder for that time; but remembering that the morrow would shortly rise, they determined so soon as the began to giue light, to renew the battell againe. As soone therefore as the morrow began to appeare, they ioined againe with more malice than before. The Englishmen fought so egerlie, that putting the Scots backe, and causing them to giue ground, they had wone the Scottish standards, and so by all likelihood got the vpper hand, had not Patrike Hepborne with his sonne, & such other of his companie as attended him, come to the rescue, by whome the fight was begun afresh. Here with also came the earle of Dowglas, and with a great mace in his hand laid such sore strokes round about him, that none came within his reach, but downe he went.

The said Dowglas the younger, hauing with him Robert & Simon Glendoure, was (all which notwithstanding) most grievously wounded, whom his friends (comming about to succor) found then cast vpon the ground, next vnto whome lay one named Hart most miserably wounded also. At what time a priest (which by faithfullie assisted this Dowglas in all distresse) did (not the bodie being faint and decayed) defend the same from other hurt of the aduersarie. Dowglas lieng in this estate, his next friends (John Lindsete, John and Walter Seintclere) came vnto him, demanding how he did. To whome he stoutly answered (as one whome the presence of death nothing dismayed) that he was verie well; for said he, I do not now die in my bed (by sluggish destinie) but in the field, as almost all my ancestors haue done. Wherefore, this shall be the last thing that I will require of you: first to keepe my death most secret, secondlie that you suffer not my standard to be shroune downe, and lastlie that you reuenge my death; the which if I may before hand by your promise hope to be performed, I shall with more patience indure all other things. Whereupon they first seuered his bodie that it should not be knowen; then they erected his standard, crying (as the manner is) A Dowglas a Dowglas. At which voice, there was so great a concourse of people, & such a full assault vpon the enemies, that forthwith they drave them from the place of the battell. For at the very

The English power increased.

Henrie Persie followed the Scots.

The Dowglas exhorted his men to fight manfully.

The Persie with comfortable words encouraged his men.

The onset is giuen.

They were seuered by coming on of the night.

The battell is renewed.

Patrike Hepborne reueth the Scots at point to be overcome. The battell of the earle of Dowglas.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

This priest was William archdeacon of Aberdeen, as faith Io. Maior lib. 6. cap. 3. & Lessius lib. 7. pa. 263. callth him William Lundie archdeacon of saint Andrewes, himselfe man to Dowglas. This Dowglas was hurt in the shoulder in the lower part of his breast, and in the thigh with several arrows, and had a deable blow on his head being vncovered. Io. Maior lib. 6. cap. 3.

name

William Dowglas honored for his high prowess.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

Cumberland made. Northumberland was invaded.

Northumberland was chosen with the earle of Dowglas. The army of the Englishmen at Helwcastle.

1388.

Irishmen fetch priests to Galloway. William Dowglas invaded Ireland with five hundred men, as John Fourdon, saith. Carlisle was besieged.

The craftie dealing of the townsmen.

The Irishmen assault the Scots in the seuerall places.

The Irishmen put to flight.

Carlisle was wonne by assault.

The fire of Spanishe.

Englishmen burne in the Myres.

Two armies of Scottishmen assembled.

Dowglas incamped at Wetherborne.

**The English  
men put to  
flight.**

**Rafe and  
Henrie Per-  
sie taken pri-  
soners.**

Fr.Thin.

Other persons taken.

**The number  
of prisoners  
taken.**

Fr. Thin.  
There were  
slaine but  
fue hundzed  
Englishmen  
as Hector Bo-  
carius saith.  
The death of  
James earle  
of Dowglass.

See more  
of this matter  
in England.

Archembald  
Dowglas  
succeeded  
James the  
earle of Dow-  
glas.

**The first advancement of the Hepburns.**

The earles of  
Bothwell.

1310.

12. kal. Aug.

Buchanan.

I 388.  
Fr. Thin.  
Buchan.

name of Dowglaſſe, not onelie the common people, but John earle of Murray (ſuppoſing that the ſame ſide was in diſtreſſe) prepared in all haſt to ſuccour them.]

Finallie, the whole number of the Scotchmen bare themselves so manfullie, that the Englishmen being broken and put to flight, were slaine & bozne downe. The chase continued till the breakie of the day with killing and taking, as in such cases is ever seene, though the more part in deed were taken with their liues saued after they once fell in the chase. Amongest other, Kase Berrie and his brother Henrie, were taken by Keith, the marshall of Scotland, somewhat before the Englishmen began to turne.

[But Lescles. lib. 7. pa. 263. saith that Henrie Hotspur was taken by Montgomerie, who for his ran- some did build the castle of Pounnne, which his heirs to this day do inioy. There was also taken besides the two Herties, diuers other men of name, as Robert Ogill, Thomas Halberke, John Albozne, William Mauchlut, Robert Heron, the baron of Hilton, John Colwell, and Watrike Louell knights. There were taken in all of Englishmen, to the number of a thousand and fortie, and laine what in the field and chafe (as Froissard recounteth) above an eightene hundred. [But Buchanan. saith, there were 1840 laine, 1000 wounded, and 1004 taken.)

But yet the Scottish writers themselues report a lesse number. Neither did this victorie chance to the Scots without great losse and slaughter. For amongst other, the earle of Dowglas himselfe was thise stricken through the bodie, and also wounded so mortallie on the head, that being borne to his tent a little before the end of the battell, he died of those hurts immediatlie after, to the great discomfort of all his armie, conceiuing moze dolorous griefe for the losse of so worthie a chieftaine, than ioy for the gaine of a great victorie. His bodie was conueied vnto Melros, & buried beside his father earle William in the abbey church there. And because this earle James had no heires of his bodie begotten, his cosine Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway succeeded him in the earldome. The house of the Hepburns (of the which this Patrike Hepburne that fought so valiantlie in this battell at Dierborne did descend) arose in Scotland after this wise.

It chanced in the daies of king Dauid the thirde, there was an Englishman of that name taken prisoner in Scotland, who by chance being in place where the earle of March was got vpon a yong gelding vnbroken, the which playng the vnrulie iade, in fetching and flinging aloft, put the earle in great danger of his life; and when all other that were present there gaue backe, and durst not step in to make anye thift to helpe the earle: this Englishman leapt to him, and boldlie catching hold on the bzidle reine, held the horse fast, till the earle was safelie got beside him. In reward of which benefitt, the said earle gaue vnto this Ihepohne certeine lands in Lowthian, whose posteritie increased afterwards in such power of lands and surname, that the same inioined not onelie the earldome of Bothwell, but was also diuided into sundrie branches, and manie knights thereof haue risen of right woorthie fame and estimation. This battell of Otterbozne was fought on saint Oswalds day, which is the first of August, in the yeare 1388.

to be slaine without aduenture) alighted from his horse to fight with his enimie on foot, which Lindsie did accordinglie; in the end after a long conflict betweene them, the Englishman (being as faith Buchanan inferior to the Scot in armor & weapon) did yeld himselfe to his aduersarie. By whom (after that he had giuen an oth to returne at a certaine day) he was permitted to go at libertie. Such in those daies was the humanitie amongst the boorders, and both nations towards their prisoners, which to this day doth continue betweene the inhabitants of those places. But if anie doe not returne at the day appointed, this punishment is set vpon him for a perpetuall disgrace. That in the assemblies of true daies (to demand restitution of things and injuries done by the one nation vnto the other) they see that he which complaineth himselfe to be deceived by his prisoner (on his promise) doth carrie about a hand or glove painted in a cloth vpon a long staffe or speare to be seene of all men; the which is accounted a singular infamie to the desertuers thereof. For they which haue so broken their faith, be ever after hated of their friends and acquaintance; for which dishonestie, they will not afford them good resort or interteinment. Lindsie hauing with this condition dismissed his prisoner (and perceiving a great number of armed men) made direaile towards them, not knowing that they were his enimies, vntill he had ridden so nêxe vnto them, that he could not withdraw himselfe out of their danger. These men were the bands of the bishop of Durham, who when he came to late to Newcastle (to soine with Perrie at the battell of Otterbozne, because he supposed that the enimies would not soine vntill the next day) commanded his armie to rest there, and to fall to their supper. Shortly after which, he took his iourne towards the Scots.

But (before he was ante great way marched out  
of the towne) vnderstanding (by those that fled from  
40 Otterborne battell towards Jpetucastell) that Per-  
sie was ouerthrowne, and had lost the field, he return-  
ed with his friends to Jpetucastell, to consult what  
he should doe against the enimie. At which time it  
was declared, that the next day at the sunne rising,  
they should all be redie in armor to seke the Scots.  
According wherevnto in the morning of the next  
day, the inhabitants bordering thereabouts were  
assembled, who (with these that the bishop had brought  
thither) were of all sorts gathered together, to the  
50 number of 10000 horsemen and footmen. These  
stirred the bishops mind, that (with all speech) he  
should lead them toward the Scots, and trie the suc-  
cesse of battell, for the Scots (said they) wearied  
with the former daies fight, and most of them wound-  
ed, will not be able to abide the second battell. With  
which speeches they perswaded themselves of an easie  
conquest. Wherevpon the bishop set forward with  
his armie, whole comming being understood by the  
scouts of the Scots, the erle of Murray (whom now

Lindscie had  
a halberd, and  
Redman a  
sword with a  
buckler which  
he carried at  
his back. *ib.*  
*Maior. lib. 6.*  
*cap. 14.*  
The disgrace  
of prisoners  
breaking  
promise.

t Io. Ma. faith  
 e if they break  
 e promise, the  
 e picture of his  
 e is tied to a  
 e horse tail  
 e and drawn  
 e about the  
 e borders of the  
 e country.

The bishop  
Durham go  
eth toward  
the Scots,  
accompani  
with Thom  
Lindseie an  
Thomas  
Clifford.

The bishop  
Durham g  
eth again  
the Scots

John Maio  
writeth, that  
some say the  
tied these p  
ners fast &  
li 6

The manner  
the Scots  
was, that g  
ing to battel  
they carie a  
hoipe about  
their neckes  
like hunter,  
and in the b  
tell incourag  
themselues  
fight with  
that Jo. Ma  
4.ca. 18.  
I have  
was also  
manner of  
English (as  
may be by r  
me substant  
reasons ap  
proved.)

to the  
to the

Dicta  
importa

**I parle in  
a Berth.**

Robert e  
of the A  
Challenge  
ney of the  
regions. 71  
... 21

In the campe, with a small garrd which should execute a present vengeance vpon them, if they did at anie time same to attempt anie thing.

After this the Scots (full of the victories latelie obtained) awchly descended into the battell, defended behind with the marches, and on the left and right fies with the dead bodies of the former confid: at what time it told also commended that euerie one (as he did appoch the enimie) should blote the harte he caried about his necke (hanging at his backe) as loud as he could. which found being of it selfe terrible, was in the echo (by reflection of the hills) so multiplied, that it forced the enimies to suppose the Scots to be of greater number than in truth they were. But before they entered into the battell (as faith John Maior) George of Dunbar earle of March incheuraged his soldiers with these words.

Woe haue this night (most noble Scots) susteined the heate and force of the battell, we haue overcome the poath and strength of Northumberland with their two princes: for which there is no cause why we (after such honor obtained against those valiant princes) should note feare this little priest. Truste there remaineth nothing now for vs, but that euerie one of vs giue but two strokes, because the leader will die at the third, and all the flocke will follow, since the shepe heads stroken, the shepe will be disperced. But if they shall so long contend with vs, that (as God most rightlie forbid) we chance to be overcome, then shall we most shamefully lose the glorie which we before haue honorably gained by this night's trauell. But contrarie, if we be men, and put on such valiant hearts (as the preservation of honor requirerh) we shall easily reach this status, that if we haue more honor to him, we shall be more commended to them.

all that he had remanent at home, with Thomas to be rewarded, and the diligent scholars, that with good order battell against growne and bearded soldiers, being spoken and the English now come to the point to fight with the Scottish, the Scots began the battell with the heines, whereupon the English hearing that terrible noise (vnderstood to be the multitude) remembering that they must fight in the middle of dead carcasses of their friends and kindred latelie slaine (a spectacle to discourage most balliant hearts) and somewhat affrighted at the therofullness of the Scots standing against them (which they looked not for after the last battell) the English (if say) considering their things, retired towards the place from whence they came, and left the Scots to remaine without anie other perils against them. In the meane time, when Alexander Lindsay (taken as before, and as yet prisoner in Newcastell) chanced to be ferie and knowne by Redman (his yelder prisoner) he was most courteously (after congratulation of amitie betwene them) suffered to depart and was castled to Scotland.

In the yere following, a parliament was holden at Perth, at the which demonstration was made by King Robert, that for much as he was broken by great age, and might not through feebleness occasioned to attend to his office in gouernement of the realme: it was necessarie that some gouernor should be chosen; wherefore he required that his second sonne Robert earle of Strathmore might that office, considering his eldest sonne John earle of Carrick (by reason of a tripe which he had receiued on the leg by an horse of Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith) was not able to trauell, but kept his bed, and might therefore stay with abroad. The lords consented to the kings request, and so the earle of Strathmore was constituted gouernour of Scotland, by common con-

sent of all the lords of the realme (before which time (as faith Buchanan) they were called wardens and not gouernors.) Also the earle marshall of England was sent by king Richard to the borders, to remaine there as warden in the place of Henric Percie prisoner in Scotland. It is reported by the Scottish writers, that this earle should make stout brags, that he would fight with the Scots the next time he met with anie power of them, whether he were like in number to them or not. But when it came to passe that Robert Steward the Scottish gouernor was entered into Northumberland with an armie, he withdrew into places of safegard, and suffered the most part of the countie to be harried and burned. In deed our English writers affirme, that the said earle, having with him but five hundred men of armes, was not able to accomplish anie notable exploit available against the great multitude of his enimies.

In the same yere was a truce taken betwixt England and France, the Scots (if they would so agree) being comprised therein. Whereupon there came ambassadors forth of England, to vnderstand what the king of Scots would determine in that behalfe. By whom it was answered, that he would with good will stand to the same truce according as it was concluded. Whilist things passed thus in Scotland, Alexander Steward earle of Buchquhane burnt the cathedrall church of Dunfermling, the lantern and ornament of all the north part of Scotland, vpon displeasure conceiued against the bishop of the same place. Whereat his father the king took such indignation, that when his sonne the said Alexander was brought to his presence, he commanded him to be committed vnto streit prison, wherein he remained till after his fathers decesse. The realme being in this manner brought to good tranquillitie, King Robert falling into great infirmite and feebleness, by reason of certayne age, without any manner of other accidentall sickness, decessed at his castell of Dunfermling, the 19 day of Aprill, in the yere after our redemption 1390, being as then about 75 yeres of age, and having reigned the space of 19 yeres, his bodie was buried at Scone before the high altar.

This Robert the second, though by reason of his great age, he went not forth into the wars himselfe, yet was there neuer prince afore him that had more happy successe by the conduct of his capitaine which he sent forth as lieutenants vnder him, for they neuer lightlie returned home but with victorie. He was a prince of such constancie in promise, that he seldom spake the word which he performed not. Such an obseruer he was also of iustice, that when sooner he remoued from anie place, he would cause proclamation to be made, that if anie of his men or officers had taken by anie thing vnpaid for, the parties to whom the debt was due should come in, and immediatlie he should be satisfied. He willinglie heard the complaints of the poore, and was no lesse diligent to see their wrongs redressed.

After the decesse of king Robert the second, his son John Steward earle of Carrick was admitted to the crowne, which he receiued at Scone on the assumption of our ladie. And forsomuch as John was thought to be an vnforsunate name for kings, they changed the same, and called him Robert after his father, being now the third of that name. \* But whether the same was so altered, either for the calamities which happened to the two Johns, the king of England and the king of France, or for the good successe of the two former Roberts (Wise and Steward) had in the victories and gouernement of the realme: for their vertue in peace and warres: for their vniuersall happinesse in what they attempted:

Fr. Thin.

The earle marshall of England, warden of the marches.

The gouernor of Scotland (now called Northumberland).

A truce taken English ambassadors sent into Scotland. The king of Scots agreed to the truce.

The cathedrall church of Dunfermling.

The earle of Buchquhane imprisoned.

The decesse of king Robert the second.

2390.

His happy successe in warres.

The constancie of King Robert in word and promise.

His bright iustice.

His diligence to redresse poore mens wrongs.

Robert.

John Steward earle of Carrick admitted to the crowne.

1390.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

Lindsay had a halberd, and Redman a sword with a buckler which he caried at his backe. lo. Maior lib. 6. cap. 14. The disgrace of prisoners breaking promise.

lo. Ma. faith if they break promise, the picture of him is tied to a horse's tail and drawn about the borders of the countie.

The bishop of Durham goes towards the Scots, accompanied with Thomas Lindsay and Thomas.

The bishop of Durham goes against the Scots.

John Maior writeth, that some say they tied these pictures fast with ropes. lib. 6. c. 14.

I will leane vncerteine, hauing no certeintie deliuered thereof vnto me. This Robert the third rather lacked vices, than was beautified with anie extraordinary vertues, for which cause he being king in name, his brother Robert was king in deed, as one vpon whome the whole gouernement did depend. The king Robert did marrie Annabell (the daughter of John Drummond) whome he receiued into his bed, rather for hir singular beautie, than the honor of hir parents, or for anie benefit that might grow to the common wealth by hir or hir alliance. In the beginning of his reigne, a truce was taken betwene England and Scotland, for the space of thre yeres, which shortly after was proroged to the terme of foure yeres.)

About the same time William Douglas of Piddisdale was chosen by the lords of Putzen, to be admerall of a nauie, containing two hundred and fortie ships, which they had rigged, and purposed to set forth against the miscreant people of the northeast parts. But being appealed by the lord Clifford an Englishman (who was there likewise to serue with the foresaid lords in that iournie) to fight with him in a singular combat: before the day came appointed for them to make triall of the battell, the lord Clifford lay in wait for the Douglas, and vpon the brydge of Danke met with him, and there slue him, to the great disturbance and fray of the whole iournie. Whereouer, shortly after the coronation of king Robert the third, tidings came that Duncane [whom some call Daiech Steward] sonne to Alexander Steward the kings brother afore rehearsed, was entred into Angus with a great number of men, and slue Walter Ogilvie thirde of the countrie, that came forth with a power to resist him from spoiling the people, whom he miserable afflicted; howbeit these his insolent doings were not long unpunished. For the earle of Crawford being sent against him with an armie, caused him to disperse his companie, and to flee his waies; but being apprehended with the most part of his said companie, they were punished according to their demerits.

At this time also the most part of the north countrie of Scotland, was sore disquieted by two clans of those Irish Scots, called Katerans, which inhabited the hie-land countries, the one named Clankates and the other Clanquhattans. These two being at deadlie fude, robbed and wasted the countrie with continuall slaughter and reise. At length it was accorded betwixt the parties, by the aduise of the earls of Murray and Crawford, that thirtie persons of the one clan, should fight before the king at Perth, against thirtie of the other clans men, with sharpe swords to the utterance, without anie kind of armor or harness, in triall and decision of the quarrell, for the which the variance betwixt them first arose. Both these clans right iustfull of this appointment, came to Perth with their number, where, in a place called the North Inch, a little beside the towne, in presence of the king and other iudges assigned thereto, they fought according as it was agreed, and that with such rage and desperate furie, that all those of Clankates part were slaine (one onelie excepted) who to saue his life, after he saw all his fellowes slaine, leapt into the water of Tait, and swam ouer, and so escaped. There was 11 of Clanquhattans side that escaped with life, but not one of them vntwounded and that vertie sore. At their entring into the field or lists where they should fight the battell, one of the clans wanted one of his number, by reason that he which should haue supplied it, was priuile stolen abwaie, not willing to be partaker of so deare a bargain. But there was a countrie-felot among the beholders, who be-

ing soze that so notable a fight should be passed ouer, offered himselfe for a small summe of monie to fill vp the number, though the matter appertained nothing to him, nor to anie of his friends. [This man (as saith Buchanan) seemed to be a saddle-maker, who for halfe a French crowne, and his diet during his life (if he were vido) took the matter in hand, in which none behaued himselfe more valiantlie than he, on whose part the said eleuen did suruiue, himselfe making vp the number.] This battell was fought thus betwene the two clans, in maner as is before remembred, in the yere 1396.

In the third, or (as saith Buchanan) the second yere after, a parlement was holden at Perth, wherein, besides diuers constitutions and ordinances enacted for the aduancement of the common-wealth, the king made his eldest sonne named Dauid (that was then about eightene yeres of age) duke of Rothsaye, and his brother Robert (that was earle of Fife and gouernor of the realme, as before ye haue heard) he created duke of Albanie. These were the first dukes that had bene heard of in Scotland, for till those daies there was neuer anie within the realme that bare that title of honor. [Which virgin title (saith Buchanan of that honor) gaue neuer god successe to the maisters]. During the time that the peace continued betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, there were sundrie iustes and combats put in by, and exercised betwixt Scots and Englishmen, for proufe of their valiant activitie in feats of armes, to win thereby fame and honor. But amongst the restiue, that was most notable, which chanced betwixt Dauid earle of Crawford Scottish, and the lord Welles English.

It was agreed betwixt these two noble men, to run certaine courses on horsebacke, with speares sharpe ground for life and death. The place appointed for these iusts was London brydge, and the day the thre, and twentieth of April, being the feast of saint George. At the place & day thus prefixed, they came redie to furnish their enterpryse, and being mounted on their mightie couriers, they ran togither right egerlie. At the first course, though they affeinted, yet kept they their saddles without anie payn of falling. The people beholding how stiffelie earle Dauid sat without moving, cried that the Scottishman was locked in his saddle, he hearing this, leapt beside his harte, and being humble mounted by a gaine into the saddle, as he was, to the great wonder of the beholders. This done, he took another course, so togither they ran againe right fiercelie the second time; and yet without anie great hurt on either part: but the third time, the lord Welles was borne out of the saddle, and sore hurt with the grieuous fall.

And for because the earle of Crawford thus vanquished his aduersarie on saint Georges day, he founded a chanterie of seuen priests to sing in our ladies church of Dundee, in memorie of St. George, which they did vnto our time, not without singular commendation of the said earle. After this, he remained thre moneths in England; in sporting and feasting amongst the nobles, before he returned into Scotland, highlie praised of all estates for his noble port and great liberalitie there shewed amongst them. Not long after, one sir Robert Douglas an Englishman, came into Scotland, to trie his manhood in singular battell, with whome sooner would come against him: he vanquished one Archibald Edmounston, and Hugh Wallace: but at length he was overcome by one Hugh Traill at Berwick, and died shortly after vpon displeasure thereof conceived.

In the same yere, Richard king of England, married

John Ma. lib. 6. cap. 6.

Buchanan.

William Douglas of Piddisdale chosen admerall by the lords of Putzen.

He is slaine by the lord Clifford. Duncan Steward murdered by Angus.

Fr. Thin.

The north parts of Scotland were disquieted by two clans.

With Scots called Katerans. A battell of thirtie against thirtie.

A desperate fight.

Fr. Thin.

1396.

1398.

The first dukes that were created in Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

1400.

The occasion of the falling out betwixt king Robert and the earle of March.

The earle of Crawford of Scotland, & the lord Welles of England, iustled for life and death.

The lord Welles borne out of his saddle.

Portrait of the earle of Crawford. Sir Robert Douglas.

Richard king of England, married into Ireland.

Richard king of England.

He is admerall of the north of England.

Richard king of England, married into Ireland.

1400.

The occasion of the falling out betwixt king Robert and the earle of March.

The earle of March slaine in England.

The earle of Dundee slain to the hags bte.

Fr. Thin.

Portrait of the earle of Crawford. Sir Robert Douglas.

married Isabell daughter to the French king, and some after went into Ireland, to subdue such Irish rebels, as troubled the quiet state of the countrie. But in the meane time, his lordes at home rebelled against him, and determined to depose him from the crowne, so that vpon his returne into England, he was apprehended, put in ward, and shortly after constrained to renounce all his right to the crowne, and adiudged therewith to perpetuall prison: yet at length (as the Scottish chronicle telleth) he got forth of prison disguised in womans apparell, and came into Galloway, where he fell in seruice with a Scottish man named Pakdonald. But at the last, being betrayed and known what he was; and thereupon brought to king Robert, he was right honorable by him interteined: neuertheless, knowing himselfe deposed from his roiall estate, he gaue himselfe wholly to contemplation, till finally he departed this world at Sterling, and was buried in the blacke friers there within the same towne, as the same Scottish chronicles vnturly do report. But to the matter, Henrie the sonne of John of Gaunt, sometime duke of Lancaster, after that king Richard was deposed, was crowned king of England at Westminster, the thirtenth day of October, in the yere 1399.

In the yere next ensuing, that is to say, 1400, king Robert, in consideration of a summe of monie to him aforehand paid, contracted covenants of marriage to be had and made betwixt his sonne the duke of Rothsaie, and the earle of Marches daughter. But Archembald earle of Dowglas, hauing indignation that the earle of March should be preferred before him, by support of the duke of Albanie, procured a counsell to be called, in the which he found meanes to assure his daughter the ladie Margerie, or Marie (as saith Buchanan) vnto the said duke of Rothsaie, & with all speed went about to consummate the marriage betwixt them, to put the matter out of all doubt. The earle of March perceiuing this dealing, came to the king, and required to know his pleasure, if he minded to performe the covenants concluded, concerning the marriage betwixt the prince and his daughter, or not; making as it were a great complaint of that which was already done to the breach thereof, and receiuing answer nothing agreeable to his mind, he departed in a great fume, not sticking to say, he would be reuenged on such vntruth per it were long. Shortly after he fled into England, leauing his castell of Dunbar well stocked of all things necessarie for defense, in the keeping of his sisters sonne named Robert Spaitland. But when Archembald Dowglas came thither in the kings name, and required to haue the castell rendered into his hands, this Robert Spaitland obeyed the kings commandement, and deliuered the house to the said Dowglas.

George earle of March informed hereof, procured all his friends to conuene themselves into England, and determined with himselfe to do all the displeasure and mischief he might inuent against his owne native countrie. King Robert fore dreabing, least by this earles procurement some trouble might hap to follow amongst his subiecs [did first confiscating his goods] send an herald at armes into England with letters vnto him, promising by the tenure of the same, not onelie to pardon him of all offenses committed, but also to redresse all wrongs or iniuries which he had anie waies forth receiued, if he would returne into Scotland. And forsomuch as the earle of March refused this offer, the same herald according to instructions giuen him at his departure from king Robert, went immediatly to Henrie king of England with other letters, earnestly desir-

ring him to cause the earle of March to depart out of his realme, & not to receiue anie rebels out of Scotland into his bounds, whereby the peace might be violated, which as yet remained betwixt the two kingdoms.

King Henrie vpon reasonable allegations (as he pretended) refused to satisfie king Roberts petitions in this behalfe, by reason whereof the peace brake betwixt them and their subiecs, without anie further trading of time. For shortly after, Henrie Percie, surnamed (as is said) Henrie Hotspur, and the earle of March entered into Scotland, and got together a great botie of goods and cattell [in Louthian about Hadington, at what time they did in vaine besiege the castell of Pais or Hais, who being at Lintone were come vpon by the Scots, for to haue returne of the booties taken] Archembald earle of Dowglas] hauing assembled a power of men, came with the same towards the enemies, immediatly wherevpon they fled to Berwikke, and left all their botie behind them, which being recovered by the said earle of Dowglas and his companie, he returned backe vnto Edinburgh, where he shortly after being taken with an hot feuer, departed out of this life, leauing behind him an honorable memoire of his name, for his high promise and noble valancie shewed in manie and sundrie enterprises, by him luckilie achieved for the wealth of his countrie. He was named of his terrible countenance and dreadfull loke, The grim Dowglas.

After his deceasse, his second sonne that was ealled likewise Archembald, was made earle of Dowglas: for his eldest sonne William Dowglas died in the yere before his father. Shortly after, Henrie king of England came into Scotland with an armie, without doing anie great damage to the people; for he required no more of them that kept anie castles or strengths, but onelie to put forth a banner of his armes as he passed by. At his comming to Hadington, he was lodged in the nurrie there, & shewed much bounteous humanitie toward the nuns, and all other of that house, not suffering anie manner of thing to be done preiudiciall to the same. The like gentlenesse he shewed towards them of the Holie rood house, at his comming to Edinburgh, wherein he likewise lodged. It is thought, that in memoire of the friendlie interteinement, which his father the duke of Lancaster found in these abbeies, at the time of his being in Scotland, when the rebellion chanced in England, through Iacke Straw and his complices, he shewed such fauour towards them at this present. To be brieue, it should appere, that king Henrie came into Scotland, as it were enforced, more thorough counsell of his nobles, than for anie hatred he bare towards the Scots, as he well shewed in returning backe againe, without doing them anie further iniurie.

[In the yere after, or thereabout, died Walter Traille bishop of saint Andrewes, and the] Scottish queene Annabell Dowmond, after whose deceasse hir sonne Dauid the duke of Rothsaie, that vnder hir gouernment had bene well and vertuouse brought vp, hauing now got once the reine at libertie, fell to all kind of insolent outrage, seeking to defile wiues, virgins, nuns, and all other kind of women, in all places where he came. At length, his father perceiuing his sonnes pouthfull nature to rage after that manner in vnbrideled lust, beyond the bounds of all measure, to the great reproch of them both, wrote to his brother the duke of Albanie, requiring him to take his sonne, the said duke of Rothsaie into his custody, and to see him so chastised for his wanton behaviour, as he might learne to amend the same. & Here is to be noted, that the duke of Albanie had of long

sent letters also vnto the king of England.

Henrie Hotspur and the earle of March enter into Scotland. Fr. Thyn.

The deceasse of Archembald earle of Dowglas.

Henrie king of England inuadeth Scotland.

Fr. Thyn. The death of queene Annabell.

The insolent outrage of the duke of Rothsaie.

time before, desired to see the duke of Rothsaye dispatched out of the way, as the person whome he most doubted; & therefore having commission thus from the king to take him, he reioiced not a little, trusting thereby to compass his purpose without danger. And hereupon taking the duke of Rothsaye betwixt Dundee & saint Andrewes, he brought him to Falke-land, where he shut him vp in streit prison, and kept him without all manner of meat or drinke, so to famish him to death.

The duke of Rothsaye committed to prison.

It is said, that a woman vnderstanding the duke of Albanies intention, and taking ruth of the others pittifull case, found meanes to let meale fall downe thorough a rift of the loft of that tower, wherein he was inclosed, by meanes whereof his life was certaine daies sustained; but after this was once known, incontinentlie was the woman made awaie. On the same manner, an other woman through a long reed fed him with milke of hir owne breasts, and was likewise dispatched as some as hir doings were perceived. Then after this, the duke destitute of all

The duke of Rothsaye famished to death.

worldlie sustentance, thorough verie famine was constrained to eat not onelie all such filth as he could find within the tower, but also in the end he gnawed off his owne fingers, and so finally in this miserable state of martyrdome (as I may call it) ended his wretched life, and was buried in Lundoch, where (as the same went) manie faire miracles were done nere to his graue, till time that James the first began to punish the murderers, for since that time such miracles ceased.

Miracles.

About the same time, George earle of March did manie displeasures to the Scots, making sundrie rodes into their countrie, greatlie to his profit. The earle of Dowglas that had the gouernement of Louthian in those daies, took order, that certeine captains of that countrie should euerie one of them for his turne, with a competent number for the time, make a rode into England, to reuenge such displeasures. The first that went, was Thomas Haliburton of Wirlington, who returned in safetie with a great preie taken of Englishmens goods. Next vnto him was Patrike Hepborne of the Halis the younger, appointed to go forth as capteine generall with a certeine number, who entering into England, got a great bottie together; but the Englishmen following thereupon to recouer it, encountered with him at Westbet in the Hpers, and there not onelie slue him, but also distressed his people. Besides them that were slaine with their capteine, there were also manie that were taken, as John and William Cockborne, Robert Lawder of the Bas, John and Thomas Haliburton, with manie other. Almost all the floure of Louthian (as John Maior writeth) perished in this battell, which was fought the 22 of June, in the yere

The displeasures done by George earle of March. The earle of Dowglas gouernour of Louthian.

Thomas Haliburton.

Patrike Hepborne slaine at Westbet.

1402.

Archembald Dowglas inuaded England.

The nobles of Scotland in this arme.

Henrie Hotspur and the earle of March assaile the Scots at Homildon.

1402.

Archembald earle of Dowglasle soze displeased, and wonderfullie wroth in his mind for this overthrow, got commission to inuade England with an armie of ten thousand men, and hauing the same once readie with all things necessarie for his boiage, he set forward, and entering into England, burnt and harried the countrie, not staying till he came as farre as Newcastle. In this armie there was with the Dowglasle, Murdoche eldest sonne to duke Robert earle of Hfife, Thomas erle of Murray, George earle of Angus, with manie other lords and nobles of Scotland. At the last, when they were returning homewards with a preie of infinit goods and riches, Henrie Hotspur, and George earle of March, with a great power of men met them, and assailed them so with such incessant shot of arrowes, that where the earle of Dowglas with his armie had the aduantage of an hill, called Homildon, he was constrained to

for sake the same; and comming downe vpon the Englishmen, was neuertheless put to the worse, the most part of his people being either taken or slaine. It is said, that after the Scots were once put to flight, they gathered againe, and renewed the battell by the exhortation of Adam Gordon, & sir John Swinton, but that did little auale them, for they were still beaten downe and slaine. Among other of those that were slaine, were the same sir John Swinton, and Adam Gordon; also John Leuns-son of Balender, Alexander Ramsay of Dalbousie, with sundrie other gentlemen & nobles of Scotland.

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Archembald earle of Dowglas, Murdoche Stewart eldest sonne to duke Robert the gouernour, George erle of Angus; Robert Erskin of Caloway, the lord Spaulton, James Dowglas master of Dalkeith, and his two brethren John and William, with the most part of all the barons of Hfife and Louthian, were taken prisoners. This battell was fought on the Wednesday in haruest, in the yere 1403, vpon a Tuesday. Henrie Perie verie proud of this victorie, came with the earle of March vnto the castell of Cockclaus in Leudale, and laied siege to the same, but John Greinelow capteine thereof defended it so manfully, that they got no great aduantage; yet at length he fell to this composition with them, that if he had no rescue within the space of thre moneths (as Buchanan saith) shold be delivered into their hands.

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When the gouernour of Scotland was informed what agreement the capteine of Cockclaus had made, he assembled the lords in counsell to haue their aduise for the leauing of an armie against the time appointed. There were manie of this opinion, that it was better to lose the castell, than to leopord the lines of so manie men as were necessarie to furnish that enterprise for the sauing of it. But the gouernour shewed, that he weied the losse of it so much, that if none of the nobles would passe with him to the rescue thereof, yet he would go himselfe to do what in him might lie to saue it. But in the meane time, such trouble rose in England, that there needed no power to be leauied for the defense of Cockclaus. For by a conspiracie practised against king Henrie, certeine of the English nobilitie were alied together to haue destroyed him; but amongst the residue, the Perries were as chiefe.

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They fought together at Shrewesburie a verie bloudie battell, where the king got the victorie, and slue the lord Perrie, surnamed (as before ye haue heard) Henrie Hotspur. At this battell was also the earle of Dowglas, with a great companie of Scottishmen on the Perries side, for being taken prisoner at the battell of Homildon (as before is said) it was accorded betwixt him and the said Henrie Hotspur, that aiding him & other his complices against king Henrie, if it chanced the said king Henrie to be vanquished and put from the crowne, according to their intent and purpose, then should the said earle Dowglas be released of his ransome, and haue the towne of Berwik rendered vnto him in reward of his aid and assistance. He fought (as is reported) with singular manhood, and had the foreward on the Perries side. He slue that day with his owne hands, thre gentlemen arrayed in the kings cote armoure; and finally when the battell was lost, he was taken in the chase, and saued aliue, where not one moze of all his retinue of Scots escaped with life, but were all slaine out of hand. Neither was this victorie gotten by king Henrie, without great slaughter of those that were on his part, for he lost foure verie haliant knights, as Saluart, Blunt, Spallie, and Pottoke, with seuen hundred other soldiers and men of war

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As the king came to Edinburgh, he was met by the earle of Dowglas, who had been taken prisoner at the battell of Shrewesburie. The king was so much pleased with his courage, that he released him, and gave him a great reward. The earle of Dowglas then returned to Scotland, and was received with great honour. The king then went to London, and was met by the earle of Warwick, who had been taken prisoner at the battell of Tewkesbury. The king was so much pleased with his courage, that he released him, and gave him a great reward. The earle of Warwick then returned to England, and was received with great honour.

The death of the duke of Rothsaye committed to prison.

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(as the Scottish writers haue) but the English au-  
thors name a farre greater number, as sixtene hun-  
dred at the least.

King Henrie (as the same Scottish writers doe re-  
cord) vsed the counsell & aduise of the earle of Sparch,  
in the obtaining of this victorie, being fled latelie be-  
fore from the rebels close to him. The earle of Dol-  
glas, in respect of his noble parentage and high val-  
lancie, was verie tenderlie cherished by king Hen-  
rie, who for that he had sene him doe so valliantlie  
in the day of that battell, reputed him worthe of all ho-  
nor. The earle of Douglas yet was verie infortu-  
nat in most of his enterprises, so farre forth, that he  
 neuer wan battell wherein he chanced to be, and was  
 therefore named Archembauld Cinneman; though  
 there were no default to be found at anie time in his  
 owne person, for he euer fought with great manhood.  
 At the battell of Bannmildon he lost one of his eyes,  
 and at this battell of Shrewesburie he lost one of his  
 stones. The old earle of Northumberland, hearing  
 what euill successe his sonne and other his kinsmen  
 had found in their rebellious enterprise at Shrewes-  
 burie, with one of his nephues (that was his sonnes  
 sonne) and other of his friends and kinsmen, with-  
 drew into Scotland, where he was receiued by Hen-  
 rie Wardlaw bishop of saint Andrews, and lodged  
 with him at his ease and in good certtie within his  
 castell of saint Andrews aforesaid.

About the same time, king Robert was aduertised, that his sonne the duke of Rothsaie was pined to death in Falkland, in manner as before is expressed, which newes were so gréuous vnto him, that he grew each day more and more in sorrow and melancholie. The duke of Albanie kept it so long as was possible from the kings knowledg, and being notwithstanding for by the king to answer him for such treasonable slaughter of his sonne, he came, and so eruclated the matter with a faire painted tale, as though he had bene nothing guiltie in the cause, and for further declaration of his innocencie, he promised, if it might please the king to come vnto Edenburgh, he would bring in the offenders which were culpable of the murder. The king as then remaining in Buteshire (where for the most part he euer sojourned) though he were not well able to trauell by reason of long sickness, yet in a chariot he came vnto Edenburgh, vpon the earnest desire he had to see his sons death punished. And at his comming thither, the duke of Albanie deliuered vnto him certeine naughty persons, such in deed, as for their heinous acts and brutal conditions deserved well to die (though not for this matter) which neuerthelesse by wintrow's suggestions and forged accuscements, being brought before corrupt iudges (and such as the duke of Albanie had provided for his purpose) were condemned as guiltie of his death, whome in all their lifetime they neuer saw.

Though this matter was handled as finelie as  
was possible, and made so sound and cleare as could  
be desired; yet was not the king so satisfied in his  
mind, but that he had a great suspition in the duke  
of Albanie as author of his formes death: but so  
much as the duke had all the realme under his  
brilsance, partlie by policie, and partlie by authori-  
tie of his office, being gouernor thereof, the king  
durst not attempt anie thing against him, but rat-  
her doubted, least he having an ambitious desire to  
the crowne, would compass also to haue the life of  
his second sonne (named James) as then prince of  
Scotland; and therefore by the faithfull helpe & good  
advice of Walter Chastelain the bishop of saint An-  
drews, he provided a ship, and sent the said prince  
forth in the same to passe into France to st. Germal  
the first; bestowing him also a letter written and o-

rected unto the king of England in his favour, if he chanced at adventures by any fortune to fall into the Englishmens hands.

The tenor of the said letter as it  
*is written in the Scottish*  
 toong.

**R**obert king of Scots to Henrie  
king of England græting. Thy  
great magnificence, humilitæ,  
and iustice, are right patent to  
vs, by gouernance of thy last armie in  
Scotland; howbeit like things had bene  
incerteine to vs afore. For though thou  
seemed as enemie with most awfull incur-  
sions in our realme: sit we found mair hu-  
manities and plaasures than damage (by  
thy cumming) to our subbittes. Special-  
lie to yame that receiuit thy noble fader  
the duke of Longcastell the time of his erill  
in Scotland. We may not ceis yairfore,  
whيله we are on life, but ape luf and loif  
thee as maist noble and worthie prince, to  
iorg thy realme. For yocht realmes and  
nations contend amang themselfe for con-  
quests of glozie & launds, sit na occasion  
is amang vs to ymade athir realmes or  
lieges with iniuries, bot erat to contend  
amang our selfe, quhay sall perserue othir  
with maist humanitæ and kindnesse. As  
to vs we wold meis all occasion of battell,  
quare any occures at thy pleasure. For-  
ther, bycause we haue na lesse sollicitude  
in preseruing our children fra certaine  
deidlie enimies, than had sometime thy no-  
ble fader, we are constrained to seke sup-  
port at bucoroth princes hands. Howbeit,  
the inuasion of enimies is sa great, that  
small defense occures againt yame with-  
out they be preserued by amitie of nobill  
men. For the world is sa full of peruersit  
malice, that na crueltie nor offense may  
be deuilit in erd, bot the samme may be  
brought be motion of gold or siluer. Weir-  
fore, because we know thy hyuelle full of  
monie, noble vertues, with like puissance  
and riches, that na prince in our daies  
may be compared thairto: we desire thy  
B b, huma-



The death of  
king Robert  
the third.

1406, Buch.  
1408.  
His buriall.

His stature  
and qualities.

The Duke of  
Albanie con-  
firmed govern-  
ment of the  
realme.

Fr. Thin.

Jedworth cast-  
le taken.

The earle of  
Dowglas  
released and  
returneth in-  
to Scotland.

A motion  
made for the  
restoring of  
the earle of  
March to his  
countrie.

The earle of  
March rest-  
red home.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan,  
1409.

Rebellion mo-  
ved by Do-  
nald of the  
Fles.

Donald sub-  
dued Ross.  
Fr. Thin.  
Lelous lib. 7.  
cap. 68.

The earldome  
of Ross trans-  
ferred from  
the line of  
Malcolm Ross  
to the Stu-  
arts.

The earle of  
Mar.

The battell of  
Barrow.

Doniball  
marriage.

The number  
of men.

suppose, saith Buchanan; for when the elder Percie did often and importunatly require to talke with him, he could neuer be perswaded by anie mens words to come, or enter spech to, or with the said earle of Northumberland, fearing (belike) least his deceit would be understood by him, which knew his owne and true king verie well. This counterfeit king yet boasting him to be of the princelie blood, was honozed accordingly; after certeine yeares, and at length (feining himselfe to be far from all de-  
sire of gouernement, to the end he might worke his effect the more safelie) he died and was buried in the church of the frier Dominicks in Sterling, with a title of the king of England grauen vpon him.)

About the same time, there rose great trouble in Scotland, by the rebellion of Donald of the Fles, who claiming by right of his wife, a title to the earldome of Ross, was defeated of the same, by the practise of the gouernor, hauing by subtil conuel-  
ance, assured the said earldome vnto his second son the earle of Buchquhane named John. The foresaid Donald, by way of supplication, besought the gouernor to doe him reason; but he receiued nought, except it were toward spech, wherewith he took such displeasure, that raising all the power of the Fles he came into Ross, and subdued the same at his pleasure. \* The which to make the matter more plaine, and to deduce his title out of Lelous (which he forgetteth not to report for the honoz of his owne house) I will set the same downe in this maner. 30  
Walter Lelie a noble man, after singular proweesse shewed by him (in externall battell) vnder the Romans, returned with honoz into Scotland, where he married the daughter of William earle of Ross, (saine at the battell of Haldon) and with hir obtained the earldome of that prouince, of which wife he raised one sonne called Alexander, after earle of Ross; and one daughter giuen in marriage to Donald of the Fles. This Alexander joined himselfe in marriage with Eufemie the daughter of Robert the gouernor, and had by hir one onelie daughter and heire chiftened after the name of hir mother, who (after the death of hir father, being yet a tender maid and vnpractised in the course of things) was partlie by the flatteries, and partlie by the threats of the gouernor, induced to giue the earldome of Ross vnto him, by whose helpe, as it was reported, she shortly after died. Wherevpon, Donald that had to wife the sister of Alexander Lelie (aunt to this Eufemie which sold hir inheritance) demanding the erldome of Ross by right of inheritance (as is said) by his wife, entered Ross, and brought it to his sub-  
jection. But not being satisfied with this, he passed through Murray, Boghtuall, and other boundes thereabouts, till he came vnto Garioch, purposing to burne Aberdeen.

But Alexander Steward earle of Mar, hauing gathered a power with all diligence to resist this Donald, met with him at a village called Barrow, & incontinentlie not staing for more aid that was com-  
ing toward him, set on the enimies more rash-  
lie than orderlie, and more fiercelie than discret-  
lie, not passing for keeping anie accustomed ar-  
raie of battell, as had bene requisite. By reason whereof, great slaughter was made on either part, the victorie in the end being so doubtfull, that both parts were saine to withdraw out of the field, and flee to the next mounteins, as glad to be feared the one from the other. There was saine on Donalds part nine hundred men, with Maklane, and Makhithos. On the earle of Marces side, there died Alexander Ogilvie thirrist of Angus, with seuen knights of name, and diuers other gentlemen, with commons, to the number of six hundred. This bat-

tell was striken on saint James euen, in the yeare 1411. Donald of the Fles, after this bickering wholie granted the victorie to his enimies, in fleeing all the night long after the battell towards Kofse, and from thence with like speed he passed ouer into the Fles.

In the yere next following, the gouernor pre-  
pared to make a iourne into the Fles, to chastise the foresaid Donald; but he through feare of further da-  
mage, submitted himselfe, and was sworne neuer to procure anie trouble to the realme in time to come. Not long after the battell of Barlow, Patrike Dunbar, second sonne to the earle of March, with one hundred of hardie persons, came earlie one mor-  
ning somewhat before the breake of the day to Fast-  
castell, and wan the same, taking the capteine pris-  
ner, whose name was Thomas Haldon. At the same time was the bridge of Korburch broken downe, and the towne burnt by William Dowglas of Dumlanerik, Gawen Dunbar another of the erle of Marches sonnes, and diuerse others. In the same yere (or rather in the yere before) the vniuersitie of saint Andrews was first founded, which afterwards was furnished with diuerse notable learned men brought in and placed there by James the first, to the end that by their instructions his people might increase in learning, to the further auancement of vertue, laudable maners, and all sorts of ciuill cus-  
tomes. Amongest sundrie other expert men in all sciences which he brought into Scotland, there were 18 doctors of diuinitie, & 8 doctors of the canon law.

\* From this time by the space of ten yeeres (saith Buchanan) there was almost nothing done worthie of memorie, betwene the Scots and the English, either because the truce occasioned it (which yet I find not mentioned of anie man) either for that Henrie the fourth, king of England, being dead, and his sonne Henrie the fifth reigning in his place, and being all the time of his gouernement busied in the warres of France, the English ceased to offer iniuries to the Scots: or for that the gou-  
ernor of the Scots durst not moue anie thing against the English, fearing least the is. of England would then returne home the right and true heire of Scot-  
land, who (he was most assured should find fauour against him) in the hearts of his owne people, that would tenderlie pittie the misfortune of his im-  
prisonment, and seeke to establissh him in the kingdome. Wherefore if there were anie thing done in that meane time, they were but some few and small ex-  
cursions within the realme, which more aptlie might be called robberies & spoiles, than anie right wars. For as Pennure in England was burned by Ar-  
chibald Dowglas, so to (answer the same) Dun-  
freis in Scotland was in the like order destroyed by the English. Besides which there was a certeine ex-  
change of prisoners of the one nation with the other: for Morbac the sonne of the gouernor (taken at Ha-  
ldon) was returned into Scotland, and Percie (who was brought out of England by his grandfather in-  
to Scotland, and left vnder the protection of the gou-  
ernor) was deliuered to the English, and after by the new king of England was restored to the title & lands of his ancestors earles of Northumberland.

This man (though by the lawes of armes he was no captiue) yet the vnusall detaining of James the sonne of the king of Scots stopped the mouths of the English, that they could not complaine of anie ini-  
rie done in detaining him. The doing whereof so little offended this Percie, that while he liued, he did (with all kind of courtesie) giue witness of the humanitie shewed vnto him by the Scots. Not much different from this time, came two ambassadours into Scot-  
land, the one from the counsell of Constance (whereof  
13 b. liij.

1411.  
Donald of the  
Fles saith.

1412.  
Donald of the  
Fles submit-  
teth himselfe.

Fast castell  
wonne.  
1410. Buc.  
The bridge of  
Korburch  
broken downe

1411  
The first be-  
ginning of the  
vniuersitie of  
S. Andrews.

Doctors of di-  
uinitie, and of  
the canon law.  
Fr. Thin.

the chiefe was the abbat of Pontineac) and the other was from Peter de Luna, who did stidie reitene and defend the papasie, whereof he had once gotten possession, which Peter by the trauell and perswasion of Henrie Hardine (an English man, and a Franciscane frier) had d'awne the gouernoz of Scotland to follow his faction, which yet succeeded to none effect: because the vniuersall companie of the cleargie stidellie labored against it, and did subscribe to the deposition of Peter, and to the counsell of Constance for the election of Martine the first to the papasie.

Such what about the same time, John Drummond due Patrike Graham earle of Stratherne, by traitorous meanes, and thereupon fled into Ireland: but as he was about to haue passed from thence ouer into England, the vessel wherein he sailed, was d'riuen on the coast of Scotland, where he was taken, and afterwards lost his head for the said offense. Shortly after also, there rose great warres betwixt England and France, as in the histories of those realmes may more plainlie appeare. There was also a great rebellion raised in Wales, against Henrie the first king of England, which was the son of Henrie the fourth latelie deceased. We find in the Scottish chronicles, that this Henrie the first, at his returning south of France, after his first iourne thither (hauing in the same wone the towne of Harfleur, & discomfited the whole power of France at Agincourt) was constrained to go against the Welshmen, and incountering with the prince of Wales, was discomfited, and lost ten thousand of his men: but after this, he reinforced his power, and came againe into Wales, not ceassing till he had brought the Welshmen subiect at his pleasure: but the English writers make no mention of anie such matter.

Whilist things passed thus in England, William Haliburton wane the castell of Marke, and due all such as he found within it, howbeit small while indured the ioy of this fortunate successe to the Scots: for sundrie Englishmen that knew all the secrets of the house, found means to enter through a gutter, that serued in maner of a sinke, to avoid all the filth of the kitchen into the riuer of Tweed, breaking downe a pane of an old wall, and so made entrie for the residue of their fellowes; by reason whereof they easilie recouered the castell, and in reuenge of them that were slaine there when the Scots wane it, they likewise due all those which were then within it, without anie respect of one to other. After this, in the yere 1419, the third day of September, Robert duke of Albanie, that had bene gouernoz of Scotland for the space of fiftene yeres, after the death of king Robert the third, departed out of this life, hauing borne himselfe in all his time as a right valiant and noble prince. [This doth Buchanan attribute to the yere 1420, being the fiftenth yere after the death of Robert the third.]

A little before his deceasse, there came from Charles the French king, the earle of Wandolme, and chancelloz of France, both to renew the ancient league betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France, & also to get some power of Scots to passe into France, to support the said Charles against the Englishmen, which as then soze inuaded his realme. Whereupon shortly after by decre of counsell, it was ordeined, that John Stewart earle of Buchquhane, second sonne to duke Robert, and Archembald Drogglas earle of Wigton, should passe into France with seven thousand armed men. The king of England informed hereof, to cause the Scots to keepe their men at home, menaced to inuade Scotland with a puissant armie, & that in all hast. Which rumoz being spred ouer all the bounds of his realme,

caused the Scots for doubt thereof to lie all the next summer on the borders: but in the meane time, king Henrie passed into Normandie, to pursue his wars against France with all diligence.

At length, through the procurement of the duke of Burgonie, vnder certeine conditions and covenants of agrement, king Henrie toke to wife the ladie Katharine daughter to the French king. And among other articles of the same agrement, it was concluded, that after the deceasse of Charles the French king, the crowne of France should immediately descend vnto king Henrie, as lawfull inheritor vnto that realme, without all contradiction; by reason whereof, Charles the Dolphin, and sonne to the said king Charles, was clearelie excluded from all claime to the same: but this notwithstanding, the Dolphin did not onelie refuse to surrender his title, but also sought to mainteine the war against king Henrie as his aduersarie, and open enimie to the realme. In the meane while also, the earles of Buchquhane and Wigton, with Alexander Lindseie brother to the earle of Crawford, and Thomas Swinton knights, accompanied with seven thousand well armed men, arrived in France, to the great reioysing of the Dolphin, as he well declared in the thankfull receiuing, and most heartie welcomming of them. Finally, the towne and castell of Chatelon in Touraine was deliuered to them, that they might haue a place at all times to resort vnto, at their owne will and pleasure.

Shortly after they were imploied in the battell of Baugé. For the duke of Clarence brother to the king of England (in whose place he was deputie and generall of the armies in France) after that he had spoiled and ouerrun the countrie of Anjou (which hitherto had remained most stedfast in the obedience of the French) was coming (as it was supposed) to the towne of Baugé, about two daies before Easter: for which cause the Scots (thinking that the duke in that holie feast would, as the maner was, cease from all violence of warre, and attend the church ceremonies appointed for those times; or else as some write, by reason of the truce which was taken for eight daies) did more negligentlie looke vnto their estate than wisdome would they shuld haue done. The which when Clarence understood (either by Andreu Jregose an Italian, or by the Scottish foragers intercepted by his ho'stlemen) he reioised that he had so good occasion offered worthilie to performe something. Wherefore rising forthwith from dinner, he commanded his ho'stlemen to arme themselves, with whom he went directly towards his enimies, at what time he was (besides the beautie of his other furniture) richlie adorne with goodlie diamonds of gold (set with manie pretious stones) and placed vpon a chaplet of iron. At whose sudden approach, those few French which were there vnto them in a village called little Baugé (amongst whom was John de la Croix) being feared, made their defense in flight; and for safeguard entered the steeple of the next church adioining, in the which they were hardlie after besieged.

Whilist these were thus inuironed, the clamor and cries which was now come to the next armie (where in the Scots were assembled) suddenlie caused them with great feare to flee to their weapons. At that time the erle of Buchquhane (whilist the others prepared themselves) sent thirtie archers to possesse the bridge, vnder which the next riuer had his course, and through which they might passe over, where (incountering with the English enimie) Hugh Kennedy came vnto them out of the next church (in which he was fortified) with a hundred of his companie hartely armed, as it often falleth out in such sudden exploits: where

The earle of Stratherne slaine.

warres betwixt England and France. Rebellion in Wales.

Henrie the first discomfited by the welshmen the subdueth them.

The castell of Marke wane.

It is againe recouered.

1419.

The deceasse of Robert duke of Albanie. Fr. Thin.

Ambassadors from the French king.

In trinie Scots sent into France.

The king of England menaceth the Scots.

The king of England marries the daughter of the French king. The articles of agrement.

The Dolphin of France maintaineth warre against the Englishmen. Scottish soldiers arriveth in France.

Chatelon in Touraine deliuered to the Scottishmen.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 1. 1420. Buc. 1421. NG

The battell of Baugé.

Rector Boet.

Buchan. lib. 10.

Nic. Gil.

Buchaners taken.

The earle of Buchquhane created counte of France. Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 10.

with their arrowes so streitlie kept this streit, that the horsemen could not haue anie passage there, for which cause the duke of Clarence did first forsake his horse (as the rest of the companie did after him) began the battell on foot, and with a strong assault made way for his men, beating from them the Scots, who were for the most part unarmed, and the others not verie well armed.

After this, in the meane time whilst Clarence taketh his horse againe, and some of the rest scatteringlie do passe the bridge, the earle of Buchquhane commeth upon them, & forthwith (desirous to make trial of his people egerlie seeking after it) there was a bitter battell committed, with like minds of hatred the one against the other: for the Scots did reioice, that they had now obtained cause, time, and place, where they might (after their first arrivall in France) shew some token of their valure, and refuse those favours which the Frenchmen laid upon them, objecting that the greedinesse of wine & bittels had brought them over into that countrie. With which reproch the Frenchmen are wont to upbraid the English, the Spaniard the French, and the African the Spaniard. But as the Scots were eger in a strange countrie to win honoꝝ, so was the English no lesse desirous of conquest, greatlie disdaining both at home and abroad, to be so infested with that implacable nature of the Scots. In which battell none did fight more valiantlie or egerlie than did the duke of Clarence himselfe. Against whome (so noted for the richnesse of his armor) came John Swinton, which greivoulie wounded him in the face, and whome the earle of Buchquhane (striking on the head with his mace) quite overthrow to the ground. Which done, the English fled, and were greivoulie slaine, because the faine continued till the night ended the quarrell; which battell was fought on Easter eve, a little after the equinoctiall spring. In this battell were slaine of the English about 20000, amongst whome were 26 of noble calling, whereof were the duke before said, the earle of Kildesdale, otherwise called the earle of Angus, & the lord Greie were part: but of the Scots and Frenchmen, there were few missing, and they of the meener sort. All which, as we haue here set it downe, is the common report of the death of the duke of Clarence. But the booke of Plucart reporteth, that the duke was slaine by Alexander Spacell, a knight of Lenox, which toke from him the coronet (whereof we spake before) and sold the same to John Stewart of Dornick; for a thousand angels, which he after laied to payne to Robert Brinkone, to whom he bought five thousand angels; & this saith that booke was the most common report at those daies. The chiefe praise of which victorie remained with the Scots, even by the testimonie of the envious adversaries, as the writer of this storie saith upon his credit. At this battell also were a great companie of prisoners taken, amongst whome (as principall) were these, the earle of Huntingdon, & the earle of Summerset, with his brother, both of them being brethren to the ladie Jane, that was after married to king James the first, king of Scotland. For the high valiance of the Scottishmen shewed in this battell, the Dolphin created the earle of Buchquhane high constable of France, and gaue him sundrie townes, castles, and lands, there with the better to mainteine his estate.

King Henrie hearing of the death of his brother the duke of Clarence, did substitute for his deposite his other brother the duke of Bedford, promising that he would shortly after come thither himselfe with an armie of foure thousand horse, and a thousand footmen (which he performed accordingly.) For both all speed he after came into France with a

mightie host, and had with him James the Scottish king, or rather prince of Scotland, for all this while the Scots reputed him not as king, for that he was not as yet crowned: nor set at libertie out of the Englishmens hands, into the which (as before ye haue heard) he chanced to fall by his fathers life time.

The cause why king Henrie did take this James over with him at that present into France, was, for that he hoped by his meanes to procure all the Scottishmen that were in service with the Dolphin to forsake him, and to returne home into their owne countrie: but when he had broken this matter unto the said James, and promised, that if he could bring it to passe, he would not onelie remit his ransom, but also send him into Scotland highlie rewarded with great riches: James answered hereto, that he marvelled much, why he did not consider how he had no authoritie over the Scots so long as he was holden in captiuitie, and as yet had not receiued the crowne, but (saith he) if it were so that I might be set at libertie, and had receiued the crowne according to the accustomed manner, together with the othes and homages of my subiects, I could then in this matter do as should be thought to stand with reason; but in the meane time I shall desire your grace to hold me excused, and not to will me to do that which I may in no wise performe.

King Henrie maruelling at the high wisdome which appeared to be planted in the head of that young prince, left off to trauell with him anie further in this matter. In the meane time, the warres continuing betwixt the king of England and the Dolphin of France, manie townes were besieged, wone, and sacked, and sundrie light bickerings and skirmishes chanced betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. But the Englishmen shewed themselves to beare such hatred toward the Scots, that so manie as fell into their hands neuer needed to streine their friends for their ransomes, which crueltie they put not in practice against their enemies, being of an other nation. [For king Henrie, when he had taken the towne of Speldens, hanged twentie Scots which he found therein, laing to their charge that they had fought against their owne king.] At length, king Henrie fell into a greivous disease, which in short time made an end of his life, notwithstanding all the helpe that either by physicke or other waies might be ministred unto him. The same yeare, that is to say, 1422, the French king Charles, the first of that name, deceased; after whome succeeded his sonne Charles the seventh, before named the Dolphin, as the custome there is. By the death of these kings, the wars were not altogether so earnestlie followed as before, whereupon the earles of Buchquhane and Wigton returned into Scotland, and shortly after was an armie levied, and siege laied both to Rocksburch, and to Berwik, but for that they lay long abroad and did no good, returning home without gaine, this iourne in derision was called *The dartie rode*, or (as the Scots terme it) *The dirtie rade*.

But now to speake somewhat concerning the order of the common-wealth in Scotland, ye shall understand, that after the death of Robert duke of Albany, his sonne Moris Stewart earle of Fife and Menteith was made gouernour, continuing in that office for the space of foure yeeres, though (to confesse the truth) he was farre distant thereto, differing much from the wisdome and manhood of his father, for in him remained sundrie vices, greatlie variable and contrarie one to another. In time of anie aduersitie, he shewed himselfe as a man despairing of all comfort or helpe: in prosperitie so list by in carelesse insolencie, that he had no staie of himselfe, by reason whereof

The king of England taketh the prince of Scotland over with him into France.

The answer of James the king, or rather prince of Scotland.

King Henrie toke it for a sufficient answer.

The cruell dealing of the Englishmen towards the Scots.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 10.

The death of Henrie king of England,

1422. The death of Charles the French king.

Rocksburch and Berwik besieged.

The dirtie rade.

Moris Stewart earle of Fife elected gouernour of Scotland. The repugnant vices reigning in Moris Stewart.

The king of England marrieth the daughter of French king. The articles of agreement.

The Dolphin of France maintaineth warre against the Englishmen. Scottish soldiers arriving in France.

Chateillon Couronne delivered to the Scottishmen.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 10. 1420. Buc. 1421. N. G.

The battell of Baugy.

Lib. Doct.

Lib. Lib. 10.

Nic. Gil.

Lib. Lib. 10.

Lib. Lib. 10.

whereof, sometimes he suffered heinous offenders through dread of their puissant friends (a thing not to be suffered in Scotland) to escape unpunished; and at other times againe, he shewed himselfe more seuerer & cruell in executing of iustice, than the matter required.

Thus was he still in extremities, keeping no temperance no laudable meane in anie of his doings. Whereunto was he so negligent in chastising his sons Walter, James, & Alexander (whether through softnesse & lacke of wit, or by reason he bare such a fond & tender fatherlie loue toward them) that they hauing him in small regard, played manie outrageous parts, to the soze offending of a number. At length, one of them taking displeasure with his father, for that he would not giue him a falcon, the which he had long before greatlie desired, stepped to him, and plucking him beside his fist, wounding his necke from his bodie & uen presentlie before his face. Whereupon the father somewhat kindeled with this presumptuous deed of the sonne: Walter (said he, for so was his name that had thus misused him) sith it is so that thou and thy brother will not be ruled by my soft and gentle gouernement, I shall bring him home per it he long, that shall chastise both you and me after an other manner. And after this, he rested not to trauell still for the redẽming of James the first out of captiuitie, till at length he brought him home in deeth, to the great wealth, ioy, and good hay of all the Scottissh nation. For calling together a parlement (of the nobilitie) at Perth, they consulted of receiuing home their James imprisoned in England, and at length willingly agreed (either for fauour they bare to the lawfull heire, or being wearied with the lothsomnes of the present gouernement) to send an ambassage to the king of England, to demand the restitution of king James. Whereupon they dispatched into England (to execute their deuise) Henrie Lichon bishop of Aberdeen, Archembald Dowglas (the third earle of that name, and fist of that familie) the sonne of Archembald Dowglas, duke of Touraine, William Heie constable of Scotland, Richard Cornuall archdeacon of Londane, and Alexander Jarraine a Dum, knight.)

In the meane time, the French king, Charles the seventh, being soze vexed with wars by the Englishmen, sent to the earle of Buchquhane his constable, requiring him to returne againe with all speed into France, and to bring so manie Scottisshmen with him, as he conuenientlie might. This earle therefore found meanes to persuaide Archembald earle of Dowglas, father to the foresaid earle of Winton, to passe with him into France, which two earles with an armie of fife thousand men, or (after some writers) ten thousand, toke the seas, and arrived with prosperous wind and weather at Rochell, and comming to the French king, were receiued of him with all ioy and gladnes. With this companie also was sent ambassadoz, Gilbert Grenlatz bishop of Aberdeen, a man of great authoritie amongst the nobilitie of Scotland, for his singular wisdom, and such a person as with great dexteritie executed the office of the chancellozship of the realme. The effect of whose message was, to comfort Charles the seventh, then king of France, and to asserthe him, that not onelie they which were now allanded in France, but also all the inhabitants of Scotland would remaine so firme in his faith & friendship, that they would spend both liues and goods in the defense of the crowne of France, as the following experience should well trie. Whereupon the earle of Dowglas was by the king for his further advancement, honored with the title of the dukedome of Touraine. But that glorie of the Scots was some diminished (as saith Lesleus)

by the infortunat successe which they had through the English at the battell of Verneuil. In which (besides all the hired or common souldiers which were also most slaine at that time) there perished of the nobilitie, the two brethren of the gouernour, the earle of Buchquhane constable of France, Archembald Dowglas duke of Touraine, with James his sonne and heire, Alexander Lindseie, Thomas Swinton, Robert Steward, and manie other, as in the French and English histories more largelie may appere.

And here a little to step out of the way, because in this place Buchanan giveth at the English (as he doth in all the parts of his booke, with most bitter talents) I will a little shew that he hath forgotten himselfe in the same: as well against vs generallie (as appereth in manie places) as against Grafton, Humfrie Lhoid, and Hall, especiallie in manie other places thereof. And therefore (readers) giue me leane in milder sort to speake of him (being dead) than he doth of others. For although (against all humanitie) he do most bitterlie with words of heat inflame his pen against Humfrie Lhoid, departed the world manie yeeres (as it appereth) before he toke the later penne in hand (after the ouerleuing of his old fragments) as himselfe in his epistle confesseth, to write an historie: yet I will spare him in better sort. And therefore I much muse, that he a man so learned and graue, would now in his later age, when reason should most rule him, so dip his pen in gall, as forgetting himselfe, he should be of these rough conditions (contrarie to all learning, which *Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feras*) he would call men impudent, immodest, vnlearned, liars, vnbiaded, malicious, backbiters, enuill tongued; and that he can rather proue the Britains to be made of dogs and brute beasts, better than to be descended of Brutus. All which speeches are to be found in his booke: for (if there were a fault in Lhoid) as there was none, because it seemes he did not well conceiue his mind: could not he either reprehend error, or disproue men, but with such bitter talents, when they but onelie shew their opinion, dissenting in orderlie sort from others, as it is lawfull for all learned men to do? Where learned he that rhetorike, to reiect the opinion of men with dogs claquence, and sooner to deduce that creature (formed to the image of God, and lord of all beasts) to be rather made of dogs than of men, and for one or two priuat persons to inuie against a whole state?

But Humfrie Lhoid imputeth a note of infamie to his nation (as he supposed) in disprouing Hector Boetius, who arrogantielie (beside all truth) hath transferred to his Scots, both places, persons, and deeds, which neuer belonged to them. And is this so great a fault in Lhoid, when himselfe and Lesleus bishop of Ross (secretlie misliking Boetius) haue in silence passed over a great manie imperfections in the historie of Boetius, and placed manie other things after an other sort, referring them to other times than Boetius doth? And why should he maligne Lhoid for reprehending him, whom himselfe condemneth, & of whom he saith that *In descriptione Scotie quadam primum verè prodidit, & alios in errorem induxit*; and whom for manie faults (by Boetius escaped), he further saith in the later end of his second booke, that he will not defend him in such errors, as no reason there is why he should? But if, from the abundance of the hart the tongue and hand do speake and write, I can not see but that by his dissemperat speeches, I must condemne him of secret grudge, not so much to the person of Lhoid, as to the whole nation, against which the chiefest part of his booke seemeth to be a Romaching inuective. And yet such as it is, they must of necessity follow that intreat of the historie of his nation, as he will exclaim against them (as he doth in this place

His negligence in chastising his sonnes.

An insolent part of one of his sonnes.  
The sword of duke Morton do to his son.

Duke Morton traueileth for the redẽming of James the first.  
Fr. Thin.  
Buchan. lib. 10.

Lesleus lib. 7.  
pag. 272.

The earle of Buchquhane returneth into France.

Fr. Thin.  
Lesleus lib. 7.  
pag. 270.

The earle of Dowglas made duke of Touraine.

Lesleus lib. 7.  
pag. 270.  
1424 N.C.

A digression against Buchanan.

Emile Miquel

Robert Miquel  
time of  
of the  
of the  
France

Robert Miquel  
Le petit  
Galaun  
Fr. Thin.

Deus lib. 7.  
3.270.  
24.N.C.

digression  
ainst Bu-  
anan.

place of the battell of Ternoille) that they maliciously obscure the glorie of the Scots, following the authoritie of the aduersarie, and not the truth of the historie written by him, or the French nation.

And in this place of his booke, rather than he will want occasion to talke and disgrace vs by his choicelike pen, he will seeke a knot in a rush, and make a mountaine of a molehill, in so vehement inuailing against the English, that say that the Scots were not able to mainteine such titles of honoz as were giuen them by the French: a simple matter to make such discourse vpon, and to step so much aboze out of the course of the storie. But thinke you Buchanan hath committed no such (nay greater) faults against vs: as trulie, and that I suppose will be well proued at an other time, in an other treatise vpon his booke now iustlie forbidden in England, and (as I heare) more iustlie in Scotland. And here remember I praye the gentle reader, that in one place of his booke he saith that he ment to haue obserued this course from the beginning, that he would not seeke to digresse by bypaths out of the course of the historie. And hath he so lone forgotten that in the first forehead of his booke, almost three leaues together, & also in manie other parts of the same (as well as in this place of the battell of Ternoille) he hath lept manie miles out of the way, with bitter wordes to talke Humfrie Lhoid, Grafton, Hall, & all the English histories, and by manie whole pages (in manie parts of his worke) with much spence of powder and shot, to batter the credit of the English writers. These trulie were not parts of such a person, as the place (which he had about the prince while he liued) required. But inough of this by me (who am not *Honorarius arbitet*, and will be no seuerer censurer of other mens writings at this time (whereunto I was occasioned by Buchanans digression in this place) since the same will be more substantiallie touched by others in other workes (whereunto I refer my selfe) and so returne to the order of the historie.)

The Scottish chronicles declare, that the losse of this field chaunced speciallie through enuie and discord, which reigned amongst the chieftains. For the duke of Alanson cnieling that the Scots should bailie rise in honoz within France, kept himselfe backe, till time the Scots were ouerthrowen and brought to vtter destruction. Againe, euen vpon the ioining, there rose great strife and contention betwixt the constable & the duke of Touraine, who should haue the supreme rule of the Scottish legier, the one vndertaking to giue place to the other. Thus ye may perceiue, how the Scots with losse of manie of their liues, and much bloodshed, supported the side of Charles king of France, against the Englishmen. And though there came bailie netues of diuerse great overthrowes giuen by the Englishmen to such Scottishmen and other, as serued the said king Charles, yet did not the Scots therefore staie at home, but at sundrie times, and vnder sundrie captiues repaired into France: as amongst other, one Robert Patillocke of Dundee with a new power of Scots went ouer to king Charles the seventh aforesaid, shewing such proefe of his singular manhood and valiancie in those wars, as in recouerte of the realme of France out of the Englishmens hands, his seruice stood king Charles in notable stead. Whiche his diligence and proouesse well appeared, in reducing the parties of Gascoigne into the French subjection, which had remained a great number of yeeres vnder the domination of the English kings. And here vpon was he called by the inhabitants euer after, *Le petit roy de Gascoigne*.

\* But to returne to the businesse of Scotland and of the Scots, as they passed in the meane time. We

say, that the French reioicing of this conquest of Gascoigne, would not seeme to be vnthankfull to the Scots therefore: for which cause they erected a statue or image of this Patillocke, in the hall of the king of France, as a perpetuall memorie of this conquest, and as a singular testimonie of their good will towards the Scots, which they placed there to remaine a monument to all posteritie. Beside which, he confirmed and increased the number of the gard of Scottish archers (which they were wont to be in peace and warre) first instituted by Charles the king of France, ouer all which he made this Patillocke chiefe capteine, which office the Scots did then and since so well discharge, that the same continueth yet in our memorie. Besides which (a little before this) Charles the first appointed an other companie of Scottish hostlemen to be in wages with him, being commonlie called the trap of the Scottishmen at armes. Of whome the chiefe gouernour was Robert Stewart (borne of the familie of the earle of Lennox) who was honozed by the king with the title of the lord de Aubignie, with other lands and great possessions bestowed vpon him. All which (being of long time possessed of the Scots of the same surname, by continuall order of blood & descent, that is, by Bernard the famous capteine of warre, then by Robert, and to conclude, by John Stewart, brother of the earle of Lennox) is at this day also in possession of the worthy young gentleman (the sonne of the said John) who giueth forth a rare hope that he will not degenerat from the nobilitie of his ancestors. The ambassadoys sent (as before is shewed) into England for R. James, behaued themselves so sagelie therein, that in the end, they brought it to good conclusion: as thus. First it was agreed, that king James should be set at libertie, and also pay for his ransome the sum of 100000 marks sterling, the one halfe to be paid in hand, and for the other halfe to leave sufficient pledges behind him, till it were paid. Albeit some writers alledge, that leauing pledges for the payment of the one halfe, he was discharged of the other, in consideration that he toke to wife the ladie Jane, daughter to the earle of Sumnermerfet. The said earle and the cardinall of England his brother, conueied him with his quene their niece, vnto the borders of both the realmes. And at their taking leaue each of other, there was presented vnto king James and to the quene his wife, besides a capbord of masse plate, sundrie faire cloths of rich and costlie arras by his wiues friends, with manie other iewels and things of great price & value.

King James then departed on this wise from his wiues brethren, and other such his deere friends, as his vertue and princelie behauiour had procured him during his abode here by the space of sixtene or eightene yeares in England, entered into Scotland, and came to Edinburgh on Care sundate, otherwise called Passion Sunday in Lent, where he was receiued with all honoz, loy, and triumph that might be deuised. At what time as the nobles came to giue him their deuotfull welcome into his native soile and inheritance, there began to be manie complaints by them, who since the death of their last king (partlie by negligence, and partlie by the default of the gouernours) had bene molested with diuers kinds of iniuries; wherevpon, vntill the son of Spordar, Malcolme Fleming, and Thomas Bold being grauenously accused, were (to pacifie the reclamation of the common people) committed to diuers prisons till the next parliament, which was appointed the first halends of June following, where is more intreated of this matter, as after shall appere, Buchanan hauing thus placed it before the king

Lesleus lib. 7.  
pag. 271.

Lesleus lib. 7.  
pag. 271.

The ransome  
of R. James.

Jane daughter  
to the earle  
of Sumner-  
merfet married  
to king James  
the first.

Gifts giuen  
to R. James  
by his wiues  
friends.

King James  
cometh to  
Edinburgh.

Fr. Thin.  
Buchanan,  
lib. 10.

Enter and  
depart.

Robert Patillocke  
captaine of a power  
of Scottishmen  
sent into  
France.

Robert Patillocke  
captaine of a power  
of Scottishmen  
sent into  
France.

*James.*

He is crowned at Scone together with his wife.

1423, Buch.  
1424, Lell.*Andrew Graie.*

The surname of the Graies in Scotland.

King James keepeth an audit.

A parliament at Edinburgh.

A tax levied.

The commons grudge at payments.

Bills of complaint exhibited against the sonnes of duke Morzdo.

Walter Stewart put in prison.

The oath of James.

kings coronation.]

And after that, as sone as the solemnitie of the feast of Easter was finished, he came to Perth, and shortly after to Scone, where he was crowned king, and his wife quene, by duke Morzdo the gouernor, and Henrie bishop of saint Andrews, the one and twentieth day of Maie, after the incarnation 1424. There came forth of England with this James the first, diuerse English gentlemen, which remaining euere after in seruice with him, were aduanced to certeine lands, possessions, and liuinges in Scotland. Amongest whome (as one of the chiefest) was Andrew Graie, who afterwards by the kings aid and god furtherance, got in marriage the daughter and heire of Henrie Mortimer of Foulis, named Helen, and by that means came the lordship of Foulis into the hands of the Graies, whose surname and posteritie continueth yet in Scotland, inuessed with great lands and dignities, both in Gouerie and Angus.

King James after his coronation returned from Scone to Edinburgh, where he called before him all those that bare anie authoritie in the administration of the common-wealth, during the time of the gouernors duke Robert and duke Morzdo, namely the chancellor, the treasurer, the clerks of the register, the controller, the auditors, and receivers, with all other that had borne offices, or had anie thing to do concerning the kings rents. At length, when he perceived by their accounts made, that the most part of all the lands, rents, and reuenues pertaining unto the crowne, were wasted, bestowed, alienated, and transported by the two foresaid gouernors, unto their friends and fauours, contrarie to all right or god consideration (the customs of burrowes and good townes onlie excepted) he was not well content herewith, though for the time he passed ouer his displeasure, in shewing outwardlie no semblance, but as if he had liked all things well.

In the meane time, he aduiseable perused all endences, rolls, and charters pertaining to the crowne, and shortly thereupon called a parliament at Edinburgh, in the which, by aduise of the three estates, a generall tax was ordeined and granted, to be raised through the whole realme; as twelue pence of the pound to be paid of all lands within Scotland, both spirituall and temporall; and foure pence for euerie cow, ore, and horse, to be paid for the space of two yeares together. This payment was levied the first yeare without anie trouble, but the second yeare there rose such murmur and grudging amongst the poore commons about the payment thereof, that he remitted the residue that was behind, & toke neuer anie tax after of his subiects, vntill he married his daughter with the Dolphin of France. Amongst other bills put vp in this parlement, there was diuerse complaints exhibited by the people, for sundrie oppressions used and done by the sons of duke Morzdo, and other great peres of the realme, before the kings returne into Scotland.

Whereupon Walter Stewart, one of the sons of the said duke Morzdo, was arrested, and sent to a castell situated vpon a roche within the sea called the Balles, there to remaine in safe keeping. Also Malcolme Fleming of Cunnernald, and Thomas Boie of Kilmarnoke, were committed to ward in Dalkeith, but these two at the intercession of diuerse noble men were pardoned and forgiven of all offences for an easie fine, with condition, that they should satisfie all such persons as they had in anie wise wronged. In the foresaid parlement also, James take a solemn oath, to defend as well the liberties of his realme, as of the church, during the course of his naturall life. The like oath by his example did

all the residue of the barons take at the same present time. Not long after, an other parlement was called and holden at Perth, in the which duke Morzdo, with his sonne Alexander, were arrested and committed to ward. So was also Archembald earle of Douglas, with his brother William earle of Angus, George earle of March, Adam Hepborne of Hales, and manie other great barons of Scotland, euerie of them being put in sundrie castles and strengths, to remaine there in safe keeping. Duke Morzdo was sent to Carlarocke, and his duchesse was put in Temptalloun.

In the yeare following, on the Holie rood daie, called the Inuention of the crosse, James Stewart the third sonne of duke Morzdo moued with great ire, for that his father and brethren were holden in prison, came with a great power to the towne of Dunbarton, and burnt it, after he had slaine John Stewart of Mondonald, and two and thirtie other persons, which were found in the same towne; but the king kindled in great displeasure for this attempt, pursued this James to fiercelie, that he was faine to flee into Ireland, where he afterwards deceased. [And Finelaw (which was sometime one of the order of the frier Dominicks) which fled with him into Ireland, & was author that the said James committed all these outrages, died there also. Besides which, there fled into Ireland the wife of Walter, his two sonnes, Andrew and Alexander, with Arthur the bastard: who (in the end) returning home, was after by James the third aduanced to great honours.] In the next yeare ensuing, James called a parlement at Sterling, in the which he sitting with scepter, sword, and crowne in place of iudgement, Walter Stewart with his brother Alexander were condemned, and incontinentlie were lead forth to a place before the castell, and there beheaded.

On the morrow after, duke Morzdo himselfe, and Duncan Stewart earle of Lennox were committed of high treason, and beheaded before the castell in semblable manner. [It is a constant saie (saith Buchanan) though I find it not written in any place, that the king sent the heads of the father, husband, & childzen, to Isabell the wife of his cosine germane, to trie whether she being a fierce woman, would (as it fustie happened) by dissemperance of griefe discover the secrets of his mind. But she (notwithstanding all which grievous and vnlooked for spectacles) did not inordinatlie burst out into anie bitter words, but onlie said; If the faults be true which are laid against them; the king hath done but right and iustice vnto them.] Thus by the attainder of duke Morzdo and his sonnes, the earldome of Fife, Perth, and Lennox came into the kings hands. The residue of the lords and barons remaining as then in prison, and shewing the kings pleasure, were soe afraid, when they heard what rigorous iustice had bene executed on duke Morzdo and his sonnes: notwithstanding, within 12 moneths after they were all set at libertie, and receiued into the kings fauor, on promise of their loiall seruice, & dutifull obedience euere after to be shewed, during their naturall liues.

The parlement being ended, John Pountmerie, & Humphrie Cunningham were sent by the king to the castell of Bouchlentine, which was kept against him by the vintager James Stewart, whom in short time they forced to surrender the said castell. Not long after, John Stewart of Dornie (who was master of the Scottish garrison of hostmen in France, the rest of the former captains being continued) came into Scotland with the bishop of Meins, as ambassado; in the name of Charles, to re-

A parliament holden at Perth. Duke Morzdo with his sonne Alexander, and diuerse other peres of the realme arrested.

1426.

1428.

1429.

The towne of Dunbarton burnt.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan lib. 10.

A parliament holden at Sterling.

1426.

Walter and Alexander the sonnes of duke Morzdo beheaded. Duke Morzdo and Duncan Stewart earle of Lennox beheaded. Fr. Thin.

1427.

Alexander the third of the Fies arrested.

He is set at libertie.

He rebellet.

The town of Dunbarton burnt.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan lib. 10.

Alexander the Fies cometh to the king and all both pardon.

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Fr. Thin.  
Buchanan,  
lib. 10.

A parliament  
holden at  
Sterling.  
1426.  
Walter and  
Alexander the  
sonnes of  
duke Dornoch  
beheaded.  
Duke Dornoch  
and Duncan  
Stewart  
earle of Len-  
nox beheaded.  
Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.  
Buchanan,  
lib. 10.

Fr. Thin.  
Buchanan,  
lib. 10.

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new the old league betwene the two nations, and  
to conclude matrimonie betwene Letwes the sonne  
of the said Charles the seventh, and Margaret the  
daughter of R. James, both being yet verie young.  
Which thing so dispatched, in the next yeare being  
the 1426 he determined (having pacified all Scot-  
land betwene the mounteins of Granzeben) to sub-  
due the further parts beyond it also. Wherefore to  
begin the same, he commanded the castell of In-  
verness (set in a convenient place in the furthest  
borders of Murray) to be repaired. Whither when  
he came two yeares after, to sit in iudgement by-  
on misdemeanors of the inhabitants, and to sup-  
presse their robberies, he called before him the chiefe  
of all the families of that countrie, especiallie such  
as being accompanied with great traines, were  
wont to fetch prizes from their next borders, did set  
tribute on the quieter sort, and did compell the com-  
mon people to minister sustentance to those idle loit-  
terers: of which captives, some had a thousand, some  
two thousand, & some far manie more redie at their  
call to obeie their comandement: with which they  
ceased not to keepe the good in danger unto them for  
feare of hurt, and made the euill (amongest whome  
they were assured of refuge & defense) the bolder to  
commit all kind of wickednesse. Which persons  
when the king had gotten in, and dalven to come  
before him, partlie by flatteries, and partlie by  
threats: he committed about fortie of their leaders  
to severall prisons: whose euill being throughlie  
known, he hanged two notable fellows amongst  
them, called Alexander Macroz and John Macarc-  
ture, at what time also he beheded James Campbell  
(for the murder of John of the Isles) a man devalie  
beloued of his people. The rest which remained  
(being of the common sort) they likewise disper-  
sed into diuers prisons, whereof some were after  
executed, and some were permitted frelie to de-  
part to their owne. The captives of the factions  
thus slaine (or for the most part restrained in prison)  
the inferior sort durst not attempt anie thing, being  
desstitute of leaders. Whereupon the king calling  
them before him, did giue them a long admonition  
to embrace iustice, because there was no surer or  
certeine hope of safetie in anie thing, than in the in-  
nocencie of life, the which if they would determine  
to do, they should alwaies find him readie to hono-  
r and reward them; if not, they might learne by the  
examples of others what they should hope to receiue  
themselves.)

In the yeare next following, which was after the  
incarnation 1427, Alexander lord of the Isles was  
arrested by the king at Inverness, for that he was ac-  
cused to be a succozor & maintainer of theues & rob-  
bers in the countrie: but forsomuch as he promised  
in time comming to reforme his former misdeamea-  
nors, he was pardoned and set at libertie; wherof in-  
sued great trouble immediatlie after. For thortlie  
by his deliuerance, he gathered a power of wicked  
scapethifts, and with the same comming into In-  
verness, burnt the towne, and besieged the castell, in-  
forcing with all diligence to win the same, till he  
was aduertised that the king was comming to-  
wards him with a great power, wherupon he fled  
incontinentlie to the Isles. Finallie having know-  
ledge that a great number of people lay daile in  
wait to take him, that they might present him to  
the kings hands, he came disguised in poore araic to  
the holie rood house, and there finding the king on  
Easter daie deuoutlie in the church at his praiers,  
he fell downe on his knees before him, and besought  
him of grace, for his sake that rose as that day from  
death unto life.

At request of the queene, the king pardoned him

of life; but he appointed William Dornoglas earle  
of Angus to haue the custodie of him, and that with-  
in the castell of Temptallon, that no trouble should  
rise by his meanes thereafter. His mother Cusmie  
daughter to Walter sometime earle of Rosse, was  
also committed to ward in Saint Colmes inch; be-  
cause it was knowne that she solicited hir sonne to  
rebell (in maner as is afore said) against the king.  
Not long after, Donald Balloch, brother to the said  
lord Alexander of the Isles, came with a great power  
of men into Lochquhaber. The earles of Mar and  
Cathnes came with such number of their people as  
they could raise, to defend the countrie against the  
inuaſion of those Ilandmen, and fought with the said  
Donald at Inverlochtie, where the erle of Cathnes  
was slaine, and the earle of Mar discomfited. Here-  
with did Donald returne with victorie, and a great  
preie of goods and riches into the Isles. The king fore-  
moued with the newes herof, came with a great  
armie unto Dunfalsage, purposing with all speed to  
passe into the Isles. The clans and other chiefe men  
of the said Isles aduertised herof, came to Dunfa-  
sage, and submitted themselves unto the king, excu-  
sing their offence, for that (as they alledged) the said  
Donald had constrained them against their willes,  
to passe with him in the last iourne. All those  
clans upon this their excuse, were admitted to the  
kings fauour, and sworn to pursue the said Do-  
nald unto death.

Shortlie hereupon, this Donald fled into Ireland,  
where he was slaine, and his head sent by one Odo  
a great lord of Ireland (in whose countrie he lur-  
ked) as a present to the king that laie as then at  
Sterling. There were also thre hundred of his ad-  
herents taken, and by the kings comandement  
hanged for their offenses within thre weekes space,  
after his first fleeing into Ireland. This trouble be-  
ing thus quieted, king James passed though all the  
boundes of his realme, to punish all offenders and  
misruled persons, which in anie wise wronged and  
oppressed the poore people. He allowed no pardon  
granted afore by the gouernor, alledging the same  
to be expired by his death. For he thought indeed it  
stood neither with the pleasure of God, nor wealth of  
the realme, that so manie slaughters, reifces, and op-  
pressions, as had bene done afore in the countrie,  
should remaine unpunished through fault of iustice.  
It is said that within the first two yeeres of his  
reigne, there were thre thousand persons executed  
by death, for sundrie old crimes and offenses.

And though such extreme iustice might haue bene  
thought sufficient to giue example to other to re-  
forme their naughtie vices, yet one Angus Duffe  
of Stratherne nothing afraid thereof, came with a  
compantie of theues and robbers, and toke a great  
preie of goods out of the countrie of Murray and  
Cathnes: for recouerie wherof, one Angus Murray  
followed with a great power, and overtaking the  
said Angus Duffe nere to Strachnauerne, fiercelie  
assailed him. Who with like manhod made stout re-  
sistance by reason wherof there ensued such a cruell  
fight betwixt the parties, that there remained in the  
end but onlie twelve persons aliue, & those so wound-  
ed, that they were scarce able to returne home to  
their houses, and lived but a few daies after. About  
the same time, there was also another notable thefe  
named Makdonald Koffe, which grew with spoiles  
and robberies to great riches. This wicked oppressor  
thod a woman with holie shewes, becauſe the said she  
would go to the king, and reueale his wicked do-  
ings. As soone as she was whole, and recovered of  
hir wounds, she went unto the king, and declared the  
cruelties done unto hir by that vngenerous person  
Makdonald. The king (who before had heard the

Donald Bal-  
loch inuadeth  
Lochquhaber.

The earle of  
Cathnes slaine  
Donald Bal-  
loch returne  
with victorie  
into the Isles.

The clans of  
the Isles sub-  
mit themselves  
to the king.

Donald fled  
into Ireland.  
His head is  
sent as a pre-  
sent to the  
king.  
Three hun-  
dred of Do-  
nalds compa-  
nies hanged.

Pardons  
granted by  
the gouernor  
are void.

That thou-  
sand offenders  
put to death  
within two  
yeeres space.

Angus Duffe

A cruell fight.

Makdonald  
Koffe a notable  
robber.

She thod a  
widow.

Fr. Thin.

same

Lellius.

1430.

The quene  
delivered of  
two sonnes  
at one birth.Fiftie  
knights  
dubbed.Archembald  
earle of Dow-  
glas arrested  
and put in  
prison.

Fr.Thin.

King James  
desirous to  
purge his  
realme of vi-  
cious persons.Fr.Thin.  
Buchan.li.10.An ordinance  
for measures.Castles re-  
paired and  
manned.

same of others, and had gotten Spakdonald in pri-  
son, determining to see due punishment for that vic-  
ked fact) comforted the sillie woman, promising hir  
thortlie to behold a iust reuenge thereof. Whereupon  
Spakdonald being brought out of prison with  
twelue of his companions, the king commanded  
that they (by the tallion law of Moses that yeldeth  
an eie for an eie, and a toth for a toth, and by the ex-  
ample of Phalaris, who burnt him first in the bull  
that was the autho: thereof for others) should like-  
wise be shod with iron horseshoes, in that sort as  
they before had serued the woman, and then to be  
carried thre daies together about the citie for a spec-  
tacle to the people, to feare to attempt such extraor-  
dinarie wickednesse; in king proclamation that e-  
uerie one might see this new kind of punishment.  
After which, at length (doubting if he liued he would  
not cease to commit the like, or else reuenge the  
same) he chopped off Spakdonalds head, & caused his  
twelue fellows and partakers to be hanged in the  
high waies.)

In the third yere after, which was from the in-  
carnation 1430, on the eleuenth daie of October,  
Jane the quene of Scots was deliuered of two  
sonnes at one birth, Alexander and James. The first  
deceased in his infancie. The other succeeded after  
his fathers deceasse in the kingdome, & was named  
James the second. At the baptisme of these two in-  
fants, there were fiftie knights made. Amongst the  
which, and first of all other, was William the sonne  
of Archembald Dowglas, that succeeded his father  
in the earldome of Dowglas. His father the said  
Archembald Dowglas, somewhat before this time,  
or (as other authors say) in the yere next insuing,  
was arrested by the kings commandement, and put  
in ward, remaining so a long time, till at length by  
supplication of the quene, and other pères of the  
realme, the king pardoned him (with John Kenne-  
die) of all offenses, and set both them And Alexan-  
der earle of Ross at libertie. King James in this  
sort did what in him lay to bring the realme of Scot-  
land in such quiet tranquillitie, that (in purging the  
same of all offenders, and such as liued by reiffe and  
robbing) passengers by the high waies might trauell  
without dread of anie euill disposed persons to mo-  
lest them.

Having thus with diligence suppressed the ro-  
beries (practised through all parts of his realme) he  
forgot not to looke into small offenses which were se-  
cretlie done, and of lesse danger; determining to  
take awaie all euill customes which had continued  
in the realme. For custome, being an other nature  
both bring to passe, that a common error (by manie  
ages continued) maketh a perfect law, and therefore  
(because the inferiour iudges would the better admi-  
nister iustice, if they had persons of high authoritie  
that might punish their false sentences) he chose forth  
speciall persons of the better sort (commended for  
their wisdom, grauitie, and holinesse of life) and  
made them iustices, whome he sent ouer all the  
realme giuing them full authoritie to heare and de-  
termine all quarels and lutes (if anie were brought  
vnto them) whereof the ordinarie iudges either (for  
feare) durst not or (for hatred or fauor) would not, or  
(for strength of others) could not giue anie perfect  
iudgement.)

He caused also the bailiffes and prouosts of god-  
townes, to see that iust measures were used by all  
manner of buiers and sellers, and none to be occu-  
pied, but such as were signed with the note & marke  
of the said bailiffes or prouosts. Moreover, he re-  
paired and fortified the castles and fortresses of his  
realme, and stuffed them with such ordinance and  
munition as was thought expedient. He granted al-

so sundrie priuileges and great liberties to the uni-  
uersitie of saint Andrews, to the high aduancement  
thereof, and was oftentimes himselfe present at  
their disputations, taking great pleasure therein.  
Such as were knowne to be learned men, and were  
presented to him by the vniuersitie, he preferred to  
great benefices and other ecclesiasticall livings, still  
as the same chanced to be vacant. [Wanting for that  
cause made a law in the said vniuersitie, that none  
should intoe the come of a canon in anie cathedrall  
church, vnles he were a batcheller of diuinitie, or at  
least of the canon law.] By which means all maner  
of vertue and good learning increased daile through  
the realme during his time, and namelie musike  
was had in great price, which he appointed to be used  
in churches with organs, the which before his time  
were not much knowne amongst the Scottismen.

Much what about the same time, there was a par-  
lement holden at Perth, in the which Henrie Ward-  
law bishop of S. Andrews, in name of all the thre  
estates there assembled, made a long and right pitie-  
ous oration to this effect; that Where by the high policie  
and prudent diligence of the kings maiestie there  
present iustice, and all due administration of lawes  
and good ordinances were so reuined, that nothing  
seemed to be overpassed, that might aduance to the  
profit and commoditie of the common-wealth; yet  
was there one wicked vsage crept in of late, increa-  
sing so fast, that if speedie remedie were not had in  
time, all those commoditties brought into the realme  
by his comming, should be of small auail, and that  
was, such superfluous riot in banketting chere, and  
numbers of coslie dishes, as were then taken vp  
and used after the English fashion, both to the great  
hinderance of mans health, and also to the vnprofi-  
table waisting of their goods and substance. If the  
laudable temperance used amongst the Scottish  
men in old time were well considered, nothing  
might appeare more contrarie and repugnant there-  
to, than that new kind of gluttonie then used, by re-  
ceiuing more exccesse of meats and drinks than suffi-  
ceth to the nourishment of nature, through pronoca-  
tion of such deintie and delicate dishes, confectioned  
sauces, and deuised potions, as were now brought  
in amongst them. As for such gentlemen as the king  
had brought with him forth of England, they were  
worthy in deed to be cherished and had in high fa-  
uor; neither was this abuse to be so greatlie impu-  
ted vnto them, considering it was appropriate to  
their nation. But the Scottishmen themselves were  
chiefly to be blamed, that had so quicklie yelded to  
so great an inconuenience, the enormitie whereof  
appeared by the sundrie vices that followed of the  
same, as exccesse, sensuall lust, sloth, reiffe, and wa-  
sting of goods. For if temperance be the nourisher  
of all vertue, then must the contrarie, that is to say,  
intemperance, be the bringer forth and prouoker of  
all vice. If it might therefore please the kings high-  
nesse, to shew his accustomed wisdom and prou-  
dence in repressing this abuse of coslie fare, so much  
damnable to his people, he should do the thing that  
was meritorious before God, and no lesse profitable  
and necessarie for the publike weale of all his sub-  
iects.

By these and manie other the like persuasions,  
bishop Wardlaw used to dissuade the king and his  
people from all superfluous courses of delicate di-  
shes and sursetting banketts. Insomuch that euen  
then there was order taken, that fewer dishes and  
more spare diet should be used through the realme,  
licencing gentlemen onelie, and that on festiual  
daies, to be serued with pies, the use of them not be-  
ing knowne in Scotland till that season. After the  
lesse, such intemperance is risen in proceesse of time  
following.

The gradic  
opposite to the  
vniuersitie of  
S. AndrewsFr.Thin.  
Lellius li.10.  
pag.474.A terrible  
scape.Organs  
brought into  
Scotland.Kerburgh  
designed.A huge  
armie.A parliament  
at Perth.Bishop used  
law iustitice  
against super-  
fluous fare.Men of po-  
sition brought  
into Scotland  
to instruct &  
Scottishme  
 therein.Politicie  
root of all  
mischiefe.Henrie Ct.  
burmt.

John Fox

Fr.Thin.  
Lellius li.  
pag.475.The abbey  
Charter  
manus b  
written by  
H. FoxThe topi  
scape  
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ScottianThe offe  
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men to  
the Sco  
time for  
them inOrder taken  
for suppressing  
of coslie fare.  
Use of baked  
meates in  
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of time  
flowing.

Fr. Thin.  
Lectus lib. 7.  
pag. 174.

Digens  
brought into  
Scotland.

A parliament  
at Perth.

Bishop war-  
law inueterly  
against fupre-  
fluoua fare.

Men of occu-  
pation brought  
in Scotland  
without the  
Scottifhmen  
term.

Phemelle the  
ter of all  
mifchiefs.

John Crow  
ment.

John Fogo.

Fr. Thin.  
Lectus lib. 7.  
pag. 175.

The abbey of  
Charturay  
was built  
vnto Perth  
by James.

The lord  
George am-  
baffador into  
Scotland.

The offer of  
the Englifh  
was to haue  
the Scots to  
make with  
them in leage.

Order taken  
for fuppreffing  
of collie fare.  
Sale of baked  
meates in  
Scotland  
when it began

following, that the greedie appetite of gluttons in this age may be fatisfied with no competent feeding, till their bellies be fo stuffed with immoderate gourmandise, that they maie fcarle fetch breath, through which their noifome fuffetting, they fall daillie into fundrie ftrange and lofesome kinds of difeales, being oftentimes killed by the fame in their flourishing youth, as by daillie experience plainlie appeareth.

In the fame yeere the feuenteenth day of June, 1540 was a terrible eclipse of the funne, at thre of the clocke at after none, the day being darkened ouer head for the space of one halfe houre together, as though it had bene night, and thereupon it was called the blacke houre. At the next Lammass, the king raised an armie, & came with the fame to Forburgh, befieging the caftell for the space of fixtene daies together. He had in this armie (as the report went) the number of two hundred thousand men, accounting cariage men & all other fuch as followed the campe: yet notwithstanding all this huge multitude, hauing wafted his powder and other munition, before he could do anye great hurt to his enemies, he was constrained to raife his field, and leaue the caftell in the Englifhmens hands as he found it. After this king James perceiuing how the knowledge of handicrafts and manuall occupations was decayed in Scotland, through continuall exercise of wars, since the daies of Alexander the thirde, to the further abatement of the common-wealth, and that his subjects might haue occasion to auoid flouth and idlenesse (the root of all mifchiefe) he brought a great number of cunning craftfmen out of Germany, France, and other parties, to instruct his people in their arts and faculties.

Not long after, one Paule Crato a Bohemian borne, was burnt at saint Andrews, for preaching and setting forth the doctrine of John Hus, & John Wickliffe. John Fogo being one of them that helped chieflie to condemne him, was made (for his great and earnest diligence therein shewed) abbat of Helroffe. [After which, the said king James began to take vpon him the person of a private man, sundrie times associating himfelfe to the companie of others (but especiallie of the merchants) in changed apparell, according to the state of fuch persons with whom he would companie, to the end he might thereby learne what men did fay and iudge of him, and fo vnderftand what was to be corrected in the gouernement of the common-wealth.] About the same time was the abbey of Charturay monks founded besides Perth, by king James, with great cost and magnificence.

Also the lord Scrope and other associates with him, came in ambaffage from Henrie the first, king of England. The effect of whose message was, to haue the ancient league betwixt the Scots and Frenchmen diffolued, promising that if the counsell of Scotland would consent thereto, and ioine in leage with the Englifhmens; that both the towne and caftell of Berwike, with all the lands lieng betwixt Twedd and the Hecroffe (as the Scots write) should be deliuered into the Scottifhmens hands. King James hauing small credit in fuch faire promises, perceiued the fame to tend onlie to this end, that the league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots might be once cleaerlie broken, and then to vse the matter as occasion should ferue their turne. This matter therefore being proponed before the counsell, it was concluded, that in no wise the said league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots should be diffolued, and fo thereupon the Englifh ambaffadors were difpatched without more talke concerning that matter.

In the same yeere, that is to say, 1433, the king

caused George Dunbar erle of March, sonne to that earle which rebelled againft his father king Robert the thirde, to be arrested and put in fack keeping within the caftell of Edinburgh. He sent also the earle of Angus with his chancelor William Creighton, and Adam Hepborne of Hales to the caftell of Dunbar, deliuering them letters figned with his hand, and directed to the keepers of the said caftell, that they shuld deliuer by the house immediatlie vpon sight of those letters vnto the bringers of the same. The keepers durst not difobey his commandement, but suffered them to enter according to their commiffion. With in twelue months after, a parlement was held at Perth, where the foresaid George earle of March was difherited of all his lands and linings for his fathers offence committed againft king Robert the thirde. Thus the house of the Dunbars lost the earldome of March, wherein the same had flourished so manie yeeres together, to the great defense and safeguard of the realme of Scotland on that fide, against both ciuill and foere enemies.

The king yet moued with fome pittie toward so noble a linage, within short time after gaue the earldome of Buchquhan to the said George; and after the kings deceaffe, the lords of the counsell thinking the same to little, assigned forth to him and his son Patrike, the summe of foure hundred marks yerelie, to be receiued out of a parcell of his olde ancient inheritance of the earldome of March, to inioy the same till James the second came to full age. In the yeere 1435, Alexander Steward earle of March departed out of this life. This Alexander was a bastard sonne of the earle of Buchquhan, that was one of the fonnies of king Robert the second. He was a man of right fingular promise, and in his youth following the warres, was with Philip duke of Burgonie at the fiede of Liege, or Lutke, where he bare himfelfe fo manfullie, that few wan the like honoz at that iournie. Not long after, to his high advancement, he got in marriage the ladie Jacoba countesse of Holland: notwithstanding, he continued but a while with hir, being forced to forgo hir companie, either for that she had another husband, or else for that the inhabitants would not suffer a stranger to reigne ouer them.

After his returne into Scotland, he sent messengers into Holland, requiring to haue the issues and profits of fuch lands as were due vnto him in right of the said countesse his wife; but receiuing nought faue a froward answer, hee provided him of fhips, and made foz warres on the Hollanders by sea: first being put to the worfe, but at length he toke a number of their fhips laden with merchandize, as they were returning homeward from Dantzicke. The mariners were drowned, and the fhips burnt. Through which losse the Hollanders being foz abashed, fell to a composition with him, and toke truce with the Scots for an hundred yeeres. This earle of March fo long as he liued had the gouernance of the north parts of Scotland vnder king James the first, for he was a right prudent person, as well in warlike enterprifes, as in ciuill administration. Hee brought forth of Hungarie fundrie great hoxfes and mares for generation, that by fuch meanes the countrie might be provided of great hoxfes of their owne race, where till that time there was none bred within Scotland, but small nags, more meet to ferue for iournieng hacknies, than for anye feruice in the warres.

Not long before this time, there came an ambaffage from the king of Denmarke to king James, requiring him to make paiement of fuch yerelie tribute as was due to the said king of Denmarke, being also king of Norwaye for the westerne Isles, according

George eric of  
March arre-  
sted and put  
in ward.

A parliament  
at Perth.

The earle of  
March dis-  
herited.

The earldome  
of Buch-  
quhan giuen  
to George  
Dunbar.

1435.  
The death of  
Alexander  
Steward erle  
of March.

Leodium.

warre be-  
twixt the earle  
of March & the  
Hollanders.

Truce twixt  
the Scots &  
Hollanders  
for tearme of  
100 yeeres.

God mares  
brought out  
of Hungarie  
into Scotland  
for breed.

Ambaffadors  
out of Den-  
marke.  
Their request

C. i. cording

according to the promise and agreement made by Alexander sometime king of Scotland, the third of that name, unto his predecessor Magnus, at that time king of Norway. The ambassadors that came with this message were honorably received, and in like sort intertained by king James, who at their departure gave to them sundrie rich gifts, and appointed sir William Creighton to go with them into Denmark, ambassador fro him, to the king there, who bestowed himself so sagelie in this businesse which he thus went about, that renewing the old league betwixt the two realmes of Denmark and Scotland, restored peace and assured amitie without any more ado therof ensued. Much about the same time, there came ambassadors from the French king, Charles the seventh, not onelie desiring to haue the old league betwixt France and Scotland to be ratified at that present by a new confirmation, but also to confirme the same with better assurance. Margaret eldest daughter to king James, at request of the said king Charles, was giuen in marriage vnto Lewis the Dolphin, and eldest sonne to the said king Charles.

Many great lords of Scotland were appointed to haue the conuenance of hir into France, and great provision of ships made for that voyage, because the king was aduertised that the Englishmen had a fleet abroad on the seas, to take hir if they might meet with hir by the waie. But as the day fell, it chanced the same time, as the Scottish ships should passe, there appeared on the coast of England, a great fleet of Spaniards, which the Englishmen supposing to be the Scots, they came vpon them with foure score vessels of one and other, thinking verelie to haue had their wished price, euen according to their expectation: but being receiued with as hot a storme as they brought, they quickly vnderstood how they were in a wrong boie, and so they wolde amazed (as Hector Boetius saith) they sustained great losse both in men and ships, and in the meane time the Scottish nauie passed by quietlie without damage, encountering not one ship by the waie that sought to impeach their passage. There went 140 ladies and gentlewomen forth of Scotland, to attend this ladie Margaret into France, amongst which number there were sixe of hir owne sisters.

In the meane time, whilst such things were a doing, Henrie Perie of Northumberland invaded Scotland with foure thousand men, not being known whether he had commission so to doe from the king of England, or that he made that enterprise of himselfe. William Dowglas earle of Angus, to resist this inuasion, gathered a power of chosen men, amongst whome were Adam Hepburne of Hales, Alexander Ramsie of Dalchouse, and Alexander Elphinston, with others. The earle of Angus being thus associat, met the Perie at Piperden, where a sore battell was foughten betwixt them, with great slaughter on both sides; but at length the victorie fell to the Scots, though there were slaine together with Alexander Elphinston, two hundred gentlemen and commons of Scotland: and of the English part there died Henrie of Cliddesdale, John Ogill, and Richard Perie, with fiftene hundred other of gentle men and commons, of the which gentlemen, fortye were knights. There were taken also and brought home by the Scots as prisoners, to the number of foure hundred.

Shortly hereupon, king James raised a mightie armie, and besieged the castell of Rocksburch, but when he had almost brought his purpose so nere to passe, that those within began to fall to communication, for the rendering of the place, the quene came to the campe in great haste vnto him, signifieng that there was a conspiracie begun against him, so that

if he took not the better heed, he was in great danger to fall into the hands of those that sought his life. The king doubting the matter, raised his siege and returned home to provide the better for his owne safety, but that prevailed little: for Walter Stewart earle of Atholl, and head of the whole conspiracie, pretending euer a right to the crowne, by reason that he was procreat by king Robert the second on his first wife, procured his nephew Robert Stewart, and his cosine Robert Graham, to sea the king by one incane or other, which finally they accomplished in this wise. This Robert Graham, for diuerse wicked acts before committed, contrarie to the lawes and ordinances of the realme, was giuen to an outlawrie, so that if he were taken, he looked for nothing but present death, and therefore hated the king most deablie. And though by the quenes diligence both his and other of the conspirators purposes were now disappointed, hauing contriued to dispatch the king at the siege of Rocksburch; yet forsomuch as their names were not knowne, they hoped still to find occasion to achieve their detestable intention, sith they were no more mistrusted than the others.

Hereupon the said Stewart and Graham came one euening to the blacke friers of Perth, where the king as then was lodged, and by licence of the porters comming into the house, entered by into the gallerie before the kings chamber doore, minding to haue staied there till one of the kings seruants that was priue to their diuelish purpose should come, by whose helpe they were promised to haue entrie into the chamber. But before the comming of this Judas-like traitor, an other of the kings seruants named Walter Straiton came forth of the chamber doore to haue fetched wine for the king: but being abashed of these two traitors standing there at the doore, either of them hauing a long sword girded to him, he slept backe, and cried, Treason: but yet he could get within the doore to haue made it fast, they leapt vnto him, and slue him there outright.

Whilst this was a doing, not without great noise & rumbling, a yong virgin named Katharine Dowglas (that was after married to Alexander Louell of Volunnie) got to the doore, and shut it: but because the barre was alwaie that should haue made it fast, she thrust hir arme in the place where the bar should haue passed: she was but yong, and hir bones not strong, but rather tender as a gristle, and therefore hir arme was sore crait in sunder, and the doore broken vp by force. Herewith entering the chamber, they slue such of the seruants as made defense, and then the king himselfe with manie cruell and deablie wounds [at 28 seuerall blowes.] The quene was also hurt as she was about to saue hir husband. Patrick Dunbar, brother to George sometime earle of March, was left for dead on the floore, by reason of such wounds as he receiued in the kings defense, doing most manfullie his uttermost deuoir to haue preserved him from the murderers hands. Thus was James the first murdered the 21 day of February, the 44 yere of his age, the 13 of his reigne, and from the incarnation of Christ 1436. His bodie was buried in the house of the Chartarars at Perth which he founded in his life time, but had not as yet thoroughlie finished.

Of this James I find written in his singular commendation, that he was for proportion of bodie of the middle stature, with broad shoulders, hauing the other parts also answering therevnto, as they neither seemed monstrous big to be wondered at, nor extreme small to be scoffed at; but carried the maiestie of a person, whome Aeneas Syluius (expressing the most excellent conformitie of members in this our king) dooth terme to be squared of euen proportion

Sir William Creighton sent into Denmark. Peace and amitie betwixt Scotland and Denmark. Ambassadors forth of France. The old league renewed betwixt France and Scotland. The Dolphin married Margaret daughter to king James.

Englishmen lie in wait for the Scottish fleet.

The Englishmen encounter a fleet of Spaniards.

The arrivall of the ladie Margaret of Scotland in France.

Henrie Perie invades Scotland.

The battell of Piperden fought betwixt Henrie Perie and the earle of Angus. The Scots get the victorie. The number of Englishmen slaine. Prisoners taken.

Rocksburch besieged.

The king informed of a conspiracie made against him, raiseth his siege.

Robert Graham.

Robert Stewart and Robert Graham murderers of the king.

Walter Straiton is slaine.

Katharine Dowglas.

The murderers enter the kings chamber, and slay the king.

The quarrell betwixt Patrick Dunbar and the king. James the first murdered.

1437. Buchan, also with he forgotte Katharine verses with such good grace, as the modestie of that age permitted.

1437. Buchan, also with he forgotte Katharine verses with such good grace, as the modestie of that age permitted.

tion, as the parts of a quadrangle or iust square do answer each other, so that nature seemeth not to have framed a creature more apt or excellent than he, either for shape of bodie, or for kinglie maiestie. He did manie times embrace iustice more strictlie and seuerelie, than well became a king, which ought to be called (and so in truth to be) the father and nourisher of the common wealthe. For he learned so exactlie to measure all things by the rule of iustice, that he is said (within the space of three yeres) to have executed three thousand persons for their committed offences. Although this may rather seeme to be a slander (than otherwise) grounded upon no foundation, since all things seemed to have bene performed by him in respect of sincere zeale of iustice, whereof this may be a sufficient argument, that he was of so mild and sweet nature, that we read not of anie of our princes that did more reuerentlie embrace peace at home amongst his subjects, or more willinglie conclude the same abroad with strangers. What shall I say of his wisdom, which in manie and the greatest affaires did so manifestlie appere, that the kings of other nations did come in league and friendship with him: Of which wisdom, and of other his vertues, although he obtained part by the benefit of nature, he got the greatest summe by the learning & instruction which he purchased in England, when he was prisoner: at what time he was by the commandement of Henrie the king most diligentlie instructed. For he was there by the kings benivolence so well trained in all sciences and gentlemanlie activitie, with the diligence of good scholemasters, that it is not easie to iudge what science he best understood: for beside that he had skill in all kinds of musike (but most excellent in plaing on the harpe) he was so good an orator, that nothing might be more artificall than that which he spake: againe, he was a rare poet, in which he learned not so much cunning by art, as furthered by nature, which is sufficientlie pproved by verses of diuerse kinds (at this day remaining) composed by him in Scottish meter with that singular art, as he is thought fullie to equall the sharpnesse, grauitie, and wisdom of the ancient poets.

It is strange that I saie, and far beyond the diligence of the princes of our time, yea and almost beyond the opinion of men: but yet most true and confirmed by the testimonie of them which knew him well: and therefore to be written to his perpetuall praise. He did so exactlie in mind and memorie comprehend the depth of diuinitie and law, that therein he excelled manie, & in his time gaue not place to anie: to conclude, there was nothing wherein the commendation of wit consisted, or wherein anie shew of the liberrall arts appeared, that he would not with great diligence applie his induci: for the knowledge thereof, yea and that sometime to all mechanicall or handie-craft labors which were meet for a free man, which he is said most studiously to haue followed. But in the end, iudging it ouer base for kinglie maiestie to be exercised in these meane & inferior knotholdes, he caused artificers of all sorts to be brought out of England, Flanders, and other nations, which should instruct our people therein: for by that means he persuaded himselfe he should in the end calme the rough manners of his nation, and that with these mild arts they would also rectifie a mild and sweet condition of life & manners. Wherefore I may well say, A most happie common-wealthe which was gouerned by so worthy a prince: & may iustlie exclaime; O you most fierce and wicked rebels, that would by murder take away such an honor, beauntie, and pillar of the common-wealthe. Now, besides manie other things by him done, I will here (being better late than neuer) set downe

this (not touched before) which is, that he was not onlie a beauntie to his countrie, in providing for his people to live at quiet within doores; but he also sought for the defense of his realme against his enemies without doores: by artillerie, and other necessaries required for the warres. For the invention of guns hapning about his time, or not much before; he caused certaine peeces of artillerie to be made beyond the seas in Flanders, of which there was one most especial and great peece called the Lion, on the circumference whereof were these verses ingrauen, testifying the antiquitie in like manner of the same:

*Ille tri Jacobo Scotorum principi digno,  
Regi magnifico, dum fulmine castra reuoluo,  
Faciunt subito, nuncupet ergo Leo.*

The nobles and peeres of the realme right sorrowfull for the death of this James, assembled together, and made such earnest & diligent search for the traitors before mentioned, that at the length they were apprehended and brought to Edenburgh, where they were executed on this manner. The earle of Atholl, which was not onlie principall in practise of this treason concerning the kings death, but also in times past was chiefe of counsell with Robert duke of Albanie, in making away of David the kings eldest brother, and after the kings returne forth of England did most earnestlie sollicit him to put duke Spado to death, with all other of his linage, trusting that when they were dispatched, he should find means to rid the king also, and his children out of the way, & so at length attaine to the crowne without anie obstacle. This earle I say was first stripped of all his clothes, saue onlie his shirt: and then was an instrument of wood, made like to the dialer of a well, set fast in a cart with a frame: at the end of which instrument, was the earle fastened and bound, and so caried about the toltone, sometime hoisted on high, that the people might see him aloft in the aire, and sometime let fall againe with a swoate downe upon the pavement.

After this, being brought to an open place, where most resort of people was, they crowned him with an hot iron, for that (as was said) a witch had told him, that before his death he should be crowned openlie in sight of the people. Through whose illusion being deceived, he lived under vaine hope to attaine the crowne, directing all his imaginations to compass the means thereto. Thus was he torured on the first day. On the second day, he was drawn with his complices laid on hurdles, round about the toltone at an horse taile. The third day, his bellie was ript, and his bowels were taken forth, and thowne into the fire sickerling before his eyes; then was his heart pulled forth of his bodie, and thowne likewise into the fire: and last of all, his head was cut off, and his bodie divided into foure quarters.

His nephew Robert Stewart was not altogether so cruellie executed. But Robert Graham, for that it was knowne that he slew the king with his owne hands, was put into a cart, the head that did the deed being fastened to a paire of gallows, which were raised by in the said cart; and then were three persons appointed to thrust him through in all parts of his bodie with hot irons, beginning first in those places where it was thought no hastie death would thereof insue, as in the legs, armes, shiches, & shoulders. And thus was he caried through euerie street of the toltone, and tormented in most miserable wise, and at length had his bellie ript, and was bowelled and quartered as the other were before. Christopher Claton also, and other that were of counsell in the conspiracie, were put to most shameful kinds of deaths, as they had iustlie deserved, few or none lamenting their case. [Touching whose death, and the

John Maior  
lib. 6. cap. 13.

The search  
made for the  
traitors.

The execution  
of the  
earle of Atholl.

The prophesie  
of a witch.

Robert Stewart  
executed.

The ordering  
of Robert  
Grahams  
execution.

Christopher  
Claton.

Fr. Thim  
the

The king in  
formed of a  
conspiracie  
made against  
him, raiseth  
it his siege.  
The earle of  
Atholl heard  
of the conspi-  
racie.

Robert Gra-  
ham.

The search  
made for the  
traitors.

Robert Ste-  
ward and Ro-  
bert Graham  
murderers of  
the king.

The execution  
of the  
earle of Atholl.

The prophesie  
of a witch.

Robert Stewart  
executed.

The ordering  
of Robert  
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Christopher  
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the

John Maior  
lib. 6. cap. 13.

The search  
made for the  
traitors.

The execution  
of the  
earle of Atholl.

The prophesie  
of a witch.

## The historie of Scotland.

Strange  
sights.  
Pigs with  
heads like to  
Dogs.  
A calfe with  
a head like a  
colt.  
A blasing star.  
A great frost.  
Ale and wine  
sold by the  
pound weight  
A sword seen  
in the aire.

James the  
second.  
1436

Buchan. 103.

The daughter  
of the duke  
of Gelderland  
married to  
James the  
second.

Sir Alexan-  
der Lenings-  
ton governoz.  
Sir William  
Creighton L.  
chancelloz..

Disobedience  
in the Dow-  
glaste.

1437.

A policie  
brought by  
the queene.

the reuenge thereof, it is reported, that Aeneas Syl-  
uius (being then ambassadoz in Scotland for pope  
Eugenius the fourth to the said king James, con-  
sidering the crueltie of such a wicked fact, with the  
speedie reuenge, therefore executed by the nobilitie)  
should say, that he much doubted, whether he ought  
with greater praise to commend them which reuen-  
ged the kings death, than by sharper sentence pun-  
nish those that had committed such parricide.] In  
the daies of king James the first, sundrie strange  
and monstrous things chanced in Scotland. At  
Berth there was a sow that brought forth a litter  
of pigs with heads like unto dogs. A cow also  
brought forth a calfe, hauing a head like a colt. In  
the harvest before the kings death, a blasing star  
was seen with long streaming beames. And in the  
winter following, the frost was so vehement, that  
ale and wine were sold by pound weight, and then  
melted against the fire. A sword was seen gliding  
up and downe in the aire, to the no lesse dread than  
wonder of the people.

James the first made away through the traitorous  
practise of the earle of Atholl (as before is spec-  
fied) his eldest sonne James the second of that name  
being as then but six yeares of age succeeded to the  
crowne, as lawfull heire to the same, and by his mo-  
ther and the nobilitie of the realme was brought to  
Scone, where, by the vniuersall consent of the three  
estates he was crowned king of Scotland, being  
the 102 king of that realme from Fergus the first.  
He was surnamed James with the fierie face, by  
reason of a broad red spot which he had in one of his  
cheekes. This James at his comming to mans state  
proued a stout prince, and married the daughter of  
the duke of Gelderland, as after shall appeare. In  
the beginning he had some trouble and businesse, by  
reason of the great authoritie and rule which the high  
barons of the realme sought to beare & mainteine,  
as the Dowglaste, and other, but in the end he sub-  
dued them all.

Shortlie after his coronation, because he was not  
of himselfe able to gouerne, by reason of his tender  
age; the nobles and estates of the realme chose sir  
Alexander Lenington of Calender knight, gover-  
noz of the king and realme, and sir William Creigh-  
ton knight was confirmed in his office to inioy the  
same as he before had done, the king being committed  
to his keeping, together with the castell of Eden-  
burgh. Archembald earle of Dowglas remained in  
his countreies of Dowglas & Annardale, and would  
neither obeie governoz nor chancelloz, wherby great  
trouble was raised within the realme. Within a  
short time also, the governoz and chancelloz were di-  
uided. The governoz with the queene remained at  
Striueling, but the chancelloz had the king still with  
him in the castell of Edinburgh; and what the one  
commanded to be done, the other forbade: whereby  
neither of them was obeyed, nor any execution of  
iustice put in practise, so that through all the countrie,  
reiffe, spoiles, and oppression were exercised with-  
out feare of punishment. The queene perceiuing  
such mischief to reigne throughout all parts of the  
realme, deuised a meane to aduance the governozs  
side, and hereupon with a small companie repai-  
red to Edinburgh, where she to bring hir purpose to  
passe, did so much by great dissimulation, that she  
persuaded the chancelloz to suffer hir to enter the ca-  
stell, and to remaine with the king; but within three  
daies after, she feigned one morning to go on pil-  
grimage vnto the White kirk, and caused the king  
hir sonne to be handsomlie couched in a trunk, as  
if he had bene some fardell of his apparell, and so  
packed up, sent him by one of hir trustie seruants  
laid vpon a sumpter horse vnto Leth, from whence

he was conueied by hote vnto Striueling, where of  
the governoz he was tofullie receiued, commen-  
ding the queene highlie for hir politike working, in  
deceiuing so wise a man as the chancelloz was. Then  
raised he a great power of his friends and well-wil-  
lers, and besieged the chancelloz in the castell of  
Edenburgh.

The bishop perceiuing in what danger he stood  
through the womans deceit, sent to the earle of  
Dowglas, desiring his assistance against the queene  
and governoz. But the earle refusing either to helpe  
the one or the other, alledging that they were both  
ouer ambitious in seeking to haue the whole govern-  
ment of the realme in their hands. The chancelloz  
then perceiuing himselfe destitute of all helpe, made  
agreement with the governoz, vnder certeine condi-  
tions, that he should retaine still the castell of Eden-  
burgh vnder his possession, and likewise continue  
still in his office of chancelloz. Shortlie after the earle  
of Dowglaste deceased at Lethelricke, in the yeare  
1439, against whome aswell the governoz as chan-  
celloz had conceiued great hatred. He left behind  
him a sonne (begot of the earle of Crawford's daugh-  
ter) named William, a child of fourtene yeares of  
age, who succeeded his father in the earldome of  
Dowglaste, appearing at the first to be well inclined  
of nature, but afterwards by euill companie he  
ward wild and insolent.

About this season, James Steward sonne to the  
lord of Lozne, married the queene Dowager, and fa-  
uored the earle Dowglaste in his unrulie demean-  
or: whereupon, both the said James and his bro-  
ther William, with the queene, were committed to  
pyslon in the castell of Striueling by the governozs  
appointment; but shortlie after they were released  
by the sute of the lord chancelloz, sir William Cre-  
ighton, and Alexander Seton of Curdon, who be-  
came suerties for their good abearing, vnder great  
seizure of sufficient band. About the same time,  
or rather somewhat before, Alane Steward lord of  
Dernlie was slaine at Palmatis thorne, by sir Tho-  
mas Boid. And in the yeare following, the same sir  
Thomas was slaine by Alexander Steward of  
Bolmet and his sonnes; where through there rose,  
great troubles in the west part of Scotland. Wil-  
liam earle of Dowglaste sent Malcolme Fleming  
of Cunnernald, and Alane of Lowder, vnto Charles  
the seventh, king of France, to obtaine of him the  
duchie of Bourayne, which was giuen to Archem-  
bald Dowglaste at the battell of Wernoill in Perth;  
and the last earle, father to this earle William, had  
inioied the same all his life time, whereupon that  
sute was the sooner obtainted: which made the yong  
earle more insolent than before.

He kept such a port, and vsed to haue such a traine  
attending vpon him, speciallie when he came to the  
court, that it should seeme he had the king in small  
regard; for he thought himselfe safe inough in main-  
teining the like state and port, or rather greater than  
euer his father at ante time had maintained before  
him: insomuch as he would ride with two thousand  
horse, of the which number there were diuers errant  
thieues and robbers, that were borne out in their  
vniawfull and wicked practises by the same earle.  
Certeine capteins of the Isles, as Lachlane, Mak-  
laine, and Murdac Gipsion, with a wicked number  
of the inhabitants of the same Isles, haried, spoiled,  
and burnt the countrie of Lenox, and slue John Col-  
quhoun lord of Lute vnder assurance. They also  
slue women and children, without respect to age or  
sex. In this yeare chanced a great dearth in Scot-  
land, the like was neuer heard of before, and such a  
death by pestilence, that few escaped that were ta-  
ken therewith, and so the realme was plagued with  
reiffe.

The king  
conceiued  
Striueling.

Fr. Thin.  
Buchan. lib. 11.

An agree-  
ment  
made.

The earle of  
Dowglaste  
departed  
life at Leth-  
ricke.

1439.

The queene  
imprisoned.

The king  
sent with  
the chancelloz  
to Eden-  
burgh.

Alane Ste-  
ward is slaine

The governoz  
and chancel-  
loz are made  
frenes.

Fr. Thin.  
Lefleus lib. 8.  
pag. 294.  
Buchan. lib. 11.

Lenox is be-  
ried.  
John Col-  
quhoun, or  
Coghoun  
slaine.

A dearth.  
Pestilence.  
reiffe.

readie opposition, dearth, and death of people. This year also the gouernor took the whole administration upon him, wherewith the chancelor was displeased, and leaving the king and him in Striueling, repaired to Edinburgh, where he devised the way how to recover the king from the gouernor, and so on a morning took foure and twentie men with him and rode to the park of Striueling where the king was then hunting, and the gouernor absent at Perth.

At what time the chancelor with great courtelie drawing towards the king, did salute him, being in some feare to see such companie come vnto him, having so few in his traine. Which when the chancelor perceived, he praised the king to be of good comfort, and in few words fit for that time, exhorted him that he should looke to himselfe and the kingdome, and deliver himselfe from the imprisonment of Alexander the gouernor, living free from henceforth after a kinde manner; that he should not accustom himselfe to obeye the pleasure and courtlines of others, that he should use to command his subiects in all iust and lawfull causes; and that he should deliver his people from those evils which increased vpon them, by the ambition and courtlinesse of the rulers, which he could not now well remedie or resist, except the king would take on him the gouernement, the which to do, he had without all danger or trouble provided a meane. For he had in a readinesse sufficient number therefore, which should attend vpon the king where so euer he would go, or to vse any other matter as need should require. Which the king taking with a pleasant countenance either because the matter liked him well, or to dissemble the feare he had of the chancelor, did fullie approve, and went with his small unarmed companie and the chancelor toward Edinburgh.

The chancelor, as Hector Boetius saith, had caused the number of foure thousand hoisemen of his seruants, tenants, and friends, secretlie to be readie that morning about the towne of Striueling, to resist his aduersaries if they should haue used any force against him: and now vnderstanding of the kings going thus with the chancelor, they came to him on the way, and attending him, brought him safelie and without further trouble vnto Edinburgh, where he was ioyfullie receiued. The gouernor when he was aduertised hereof, was grievously displeased; but because he knew not how to remedie the matter, he went to Edinburgh, and there got John Jones bishop of Murray, and Henrie Lichon bishop of Aberdene, to labor some agreement betwixt him and the chancelor: which they did in this wise: the king to remaine in the keeping of the chancelor, and the gouernor to continue his office. And so by this accord they were made friends.

During which turmoiles, William Douglas (that with a certeine pride of mind had highlie borne himselfe, disobeying the rule of the gouernor, & disdaining to ioyne in societie of the chancelor) did bew the dedlie hatred of them both against him; for which cause they seek by all means vtterlie to take him awaie. For the doing whereof (to the end it might be performed without any tumult) they appoint a parlement to be holden at Edinburgh; whither came not a few (as at other times in such assemblies it alwaies hapneth) but almost the whole countreies came flocking thither, to complaine of the iniuries which they had receiued: of which sort there was such a miserable shew, that men could not behold the same without great motion of a pitifull mind: when euerie one for himselfe, the father for the children, the children for the fathers, and the widows for their husbands, did complaine that they were by the robbers spoiled of all their substance. Wherevpon (as

it happeneth alwaies through pietie of gentle hearts, to see the afflicted) there arose great crinie against the captiues and leaders of the wicked doers of such spoile, whose evils were now growne to such excess, as by no means they might be suffered; whose factions were so largelie spread ouer the realme, that none could defend their life or liuehood: but such as did yeld themselves to their actions, and whose riches were so increased, as the weak could not well find any helpe (in the authoritie of the magistrate) against their violence.

Therevpon it liked the wisest sort (since their force seemed not almost able to be broken, or their parts to be secured) to flie to policie and leane strength, not daring openlie to call the earle Douglas by that name of captiue of them, although they well knew him to be the chiefe author and santon of those people. Therefore the gouernor and the chancelor (for a time dissembling the hatred which they harboured against Douglas) persuaded the whole parliament, that it were more conuenient with faire speeches to pacifie Douglas, than with shew of suspicious and euill words to stirre him to further heat: especiallie considering that he was of that great wealth and power, that he alone, if he stood against them, might binder all the decrees of the parliament: but if hee ioynt with the nobilitie, there might be easie remedie found to salue all these present evils. Though which wise and subtill persuasion of Alexander the gouernour, it was decreed amongst them, that there should be honourable letters directed to him in the common & speciall name of all the nobilitie, which should admonish him, that being mindfull of the honorable place which he possessed (and of his worthie ancestors, by whome the common-wealth of Scotland had receiued manie singular benefits) he should repaire to the parliament, which well could not, and willinglie would not, either keepe or determine any thing in the same without his presence. In which assemblie, if hee would complaine of any wrongs or griefes offered vnto him, hee should be satisfied so fullie as they might lawfullie.

And if hee or any of his friends or familie had committed any disordered part, the nobilitie there met would fullie remit the same, as well for the nobilitie of his, and the worthie memorie of the deas done by his ancestors; as for that they rather attributed such actions to the iniurie of the times, and the frailtie of his age, and the persuasion of others, than vnto him, of whome there was conceiued a singular hope of great towardnesse, for the advancement of his name and benefit of his countreie. Therefore if he would come and ioyne with them, he should receiue in gouernement what part, place, and office of the common-wealth pleased him, to the end that as in times past, their countreie had bene manie waies deliuered out of most heauie dangers by the hand of the Douglasses, so at this present, the same might also by his presence and furtherance, be againe aduanced and strengthened from and against those intestine evils wherewithall it now fainted. The young man (by nature and age graued of glorie) being moued with these flatteries, and the other persuasions of his friends (whereof euerie one was blinded with a certeine hope of good to happen to himselfe) they now deemed it best (forgetting all former dangers) to thinke vpon their priuate commodities, and with that resolution took their iournie to come to the parlement.

The chancelor when he vnderstood they were on their way, rode south of Edinburgh manie miles to meet the Douglas, and courteously invited the earle to his castell of Creichton, which laie in his

C.iii. waie

the king  
ruled vnto  
trueling.

agreement  
ide.

he earle of  
Douglas  
parteth this  
at Perth.

1439.

he gouernor  
prisoned.

The king  
went with  
the chancelor  
to Edinburgh.

some shew  
and is slain.

The gouernor  
and chancelor  
were made  
friends.

John  
Colquhoun  
was  
killed.

the great  
part of the earle  
Douglas.

enough  
of Colquhoun  
men, or  
any other  
one.

dearth.

resilience.

waie as he should ride, 'at which place he was most honourable intertained by the chancelloz. Where, when they had remained two daies, the chancelloz (after hee had shewed manie tokens of a friendlie mind vnto him) bicause he would utterlie banish from the earle all suspicion of him, that he had ante midlike in the said earle) began familiarlie to persuade him, that (remembzing the kings dignitie, and the office of him whome the lot of inheritance, their countrie lawes, and the consent of the parli-  
ment had aduanced to the gouernement and administration of all things) he should in all humilitie acknowledge him for his chiefe lord and king; that he would permit the large patrimonie obtained by the blood of his ancestors to descend to posteritie by lineall inheritance as he himselfe receiued it; that he would clearelie deliuer the name and familie of the Dowglasses (no lesse famous for their dutie, than their dedes) not onelie from the filthie spot of treason, but also from all note of suspicion thereof; that he would reframe himselfe and his from offering iniuries to the weake and common people; that he would remoue from him all such as were giuen to robberie and spoile; that he would from henceforth applie himselfe to the defense of iustice, to the end that his former offenses (if there were anie) might rather be attributed to euill counsell of the wicked, than to the naturall disposition of himselfe: for so the repentance of his yong yeres might be taken for prooue of his innocencie in such euils. With these and such like speeches, declaring the faith of a well-willing mind, he allured the earle to come to Edinburgh with David his brother partaker of all his counsells and actions.

This faire tale of the chancelloz, more than in times past or then becomed the place which he possessed, with the manie messengers sent to him from Alexander the gouernoz (to meet him on the way) almost euerie houre, draue a deepe suspicion in the heads of the earles companie riding with him to Edinburgh, of some trecherie to be ment towards him. Whereupon the same began to be blundered from one to another of the traine, and came so fast to the friends of Dowglass, that some of them did holdlie and liberallie admonish him, that he should remaine in that purpose (which once he did) to staie, to returne, and not to go forward with the chancelloz: and at the least (if he would aduenture himselfe) to send home his brother David, to the end that hee might not hazard the whole familie vnder the fortune of one stroke, as his father had before admonished him when he died. Whereat the vnadvised youth of this man, being moued to anger against his friends, did by the voices of some of his men (as it were by one that should make proclamation therfore) pacifie the secret murmurings that were amongest the companie; and answered such of his friends as found fault therewith, that he sufficientlie knew, that it was the common plague of all great families, alwaies to haue such men about them, as being impatient of quiet and ease, respect not the danger and miserie of their patrons, so it maie be commoditie vnto them: who bicause they would not be restrained within the bounds of peacefull lawes are authors of sedition, in which (when all things are in turmoile) they may the better wander abroad to satisfie their euill humors: whose speeches hee regarded not, since hee rather respected and trusted the approued wisdome of the chancelloz and the gouernoz, than the slouthfull & rash minds of such seditious persons.

After which (to cut awaie occasion from the rest to answer) he set spurres to his horse, and hastned his iournele more than he did before, with his bro-

ther and a few of his other friends, taking his right course into the castell, and (as it were by a certaine destinie) casting himselfe he long into the snarcs of his enemies. At such time as he came to the castell, the gouernoz (according to his promise) was ready there to meet him, to the end the matter might come to be wrought by common consent, and the weight of so great enuie might not light vpon the head of one man. Dowglass being honorable and friendlie by the gouernoz receiued into the castell, was for dinner placed at the kings table. But in the midst of this sweet meat (sotter sauce being prepared) there was a bulles head set before him, which in those daies was a signe of death. Wherewith the yong man amazed (and greatlie troubled in his mind, inwardlie repenting that he followed not the aduise of his followers) was about to rise from the table: but being apprehended by armed men (appointed to that function) he was caried into the court next to the castell, and was there (in reuenge and punishment of his vnbydeled youth) beheaded, with his brother David, and Malcolme Fleming, who (next vnto his brother) was in greatest credit with him. Whose death the king now entring into his adolescencie or yeres (as we tearme it) of discretion, is said heauilie with teares to lament, which the chancelloz (grieving to see) did greatlie rebuke in the king such vnfinckie and inordinate mourning, for the death of his and the common-wealths enimie, whose life (said hee) would haue taken awaie all peace and tranquillitie in the realme.)

After the death of the said earle, the state of the realme became more quiet: for his vnckle James Dowglass baron of Abircoyne that succeeded him, being a man of great stature, and verie fat, gaue himselfe to quietnesse, and liued but thre yeres after. The foresaid William had but one sister, that was called the faire maiden of Galloway, and was married to one William Dowglass, sonne to this earle James before his deceasse, that the heritage should not be diuided: bicause the carle dome of Dowglass was intailed vpon the heires male, and the lands of Wigton, Balwanie, Annardale, and Dumont remained to hir as heire generall. This earle William, after the deceasse of his father earle James, began to waxe vnrule, and to follow the vn- toward maners of the other William Dowglass latelie beheaded (as before ye haue heard) so that by support manie disobedient persons would not obey the gouernoz and chancelloz, wherupon sundrie great slaughters and oppressions were committed.

Againe (by the marriage of this earle William with his rich kinswoman) he did (besides his vnrule behauiour) aduance himselfe in pride, wherof grew secret enuie, and of that rose open malice: but he incountering sufficientlie with them, partlie by force, & partlie by subtiltie, mainteined his people in those oppressions and robberies, in despite of the proudest: which occasioned the nobilitie to iudge, that the said earle was priue of these misdemeanors. Amongest which euill disposed companie, there was one John Gormacke of Atholl, who (when he had infected all the countrie about him with this miserable plague of robberie) did set vpon William Ruthene (hiriffe of Perth, and had almost killed him) because he had led a theefe of Atholl to execution. But at the length (true men being alwaies better than theues) the hiriffe recovered the battell, and killed the capteine Gormacke, with thirtie of his companie, and put the rest to flight into the mounteins.

In the yere 1443, not manie daies after, the castell of Dunbarton (which is not by strength to be subdued) was twice taken within a few daies: for Robert Semplier that was capteine of the iusticio-  
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1444.  
The king sent  
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1445. Lefle.

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Fr. Thin

Buchanan,  
lib. 11.

1443.

Well, and Patrike Galbith capteine of the higher castle, did so divide their gouernement of the said castle (being a thing of great circuit) that euery one had a peculiar and seuered entrance into his owne part without offense of the other. But yet these two (as most part of the realme of Scotland then was, and as it alwaies, or most commonlie happeneth in the minoritie of the prince, when euery one will be a king) wanted not their factions, whome they did follow: for Patrike was secretlie thought to fauour Dowlaglas, for which cause Semplier, or (as some haue simplie) the other capteine perceiuing the part of the castle wherein Patrike ruled to be more negligently kept, than due to the state of the time required, found oportunitie to expell Patrike from thence, and to cause all his furniture to be caried out of the same, conuerting the said castle to his owne vse. In the end (the next day after) Patrike understanding thereof, and comming with foure unarmed persons (to fetch atwaie his furniture and household-stuffe) entered into the castle; and first finding the porter alone, turned him awaie, then taking armes, expelled the others out of the higher castle: after which, calling aid out of the towne next adioining, he shut them also out of the inferior castle, and got possession of the whole castle to himselfe.)

The king, after he came to the age of foureteene yeeres, would not anie longer be vnder the gouernement of others, but tooke the rule vpon himselfe. The earle of Dowlaglas informed thereof, came to him at Striueling, and put himselfe and all he had to remaine at his pleasure: whereupon the king receiued him, pardoned all his passed misdemeanors, and admitted him to be one of his spectall friends and priuie counsellors in all his affaires. By his perswasion shortly after, sir Alexander Leuingston, & William Creighton being discharged of their offices, were also put off from the counsell, and all their friends banished the court, and they themselues were summoned to appeere before the king: which because they refused to do, they were proclaimed rebels, and put to the horne. The earle Dowlaglas then for the old grudge he bare them, raised an armie, and harried their lands. In reuenge wherof, sir William Creighton spoiled the earle of Dowlaglas his lands, so that great trouble was raised through the whole countrie, and the lands of Strabroke, Abircorne, & the towne of Blacknesse were burnt and destroyed.

The earle of Dowlaglas ruled wholie about the king, & made Archembald his brother earle of Dunreap, by ioining him in marriage with a ladie of the house of Dunbar inheretrix therof. Porouer, Hugh Dowlaglas was made earle of Dumont. Thus the earle of Dowlaglas aduanced his name, and ioined in friendship with the earle of Crawford, with Donald earle of the Isles, and with the earle of Ross, to the end that ech of them should be assistant to others. In this meane time, the earle of Crawford at the request of the earle of Dowlaglas, toke a great preie of goods out of the bishop of S. Andrews lands in Fife, which bishop was called James Benedie, sisters son to king James the first: where through the earle of Crawford on the one part, and the earle of Huntlie with the Dgillies on the other, met at Arbroth in set battell, where the earle of Crawford was slaine, and diuerse barons on his side, although the victorie and field remained with his sonne, the maister of Crawford, who succeeded his father, and was called earle Berdie. On the earle of Huntlies side were slaine, John Fozbes of Pettsiege, Alexander Berkleie of Gartlie, Robert Martwell of Teline, William Curdun of Burrowfield, sir John Oliphant of Aberdacie, and fine hundred more on their side, and one hundred of the victors were also slaine, as Hector

Boetius saith.

The same writer reporteth that the occasion of this battell did chauce, through the variance that fell out betwixt the earle of Crawford eldest sonne Alexander Lindseie, and Alexander Dgillie or Dgillie (as some write him) about the office of the bailiff-wike of Arbroth, the which the maister of Crawford inioyng, was displaced and put out by the said Dgillie. Whereupon the maister of Crawford, to recouer his right (as he tooke it) got a power together with helpe of the Hamiltons, and with the same seized vpon the abbey, and Dgillie with helpe of the earle of Huntlie, came thither with an armie to recouer the place againe out of his aduersaries hands, and so vpon knowledge hereof giuen vnto the earle of Crawford, he himselfe comming from Dundee vnto Arbroth, at the verie instant when the battels were ready to iaine, caused first his sonne to staie; and after calling forth sir Alexander Dgillie to talke with him, in purpose to haue made peace betwixt him and his sonne, was thrust into the mouth with a speare, by a common souldier that knew nothing what his demand ment, so that he fell downe therewith, and presentlie died in the place: whereupon together the parties went incontinentlie without more protracting of time, and so fought with such successe, as be fore ye haue heard. The earle of Huntlie escaped by flight: but Alexander Dgillie being taken and sore wounded, was led to the castle of Fineluin, where shortly after he died of his hurts. This battell was fought the 24 of Januarie, in the yeere of our Lord 1445.

The king thus ruled by the trope of the Dowlaglasses, the earle Dowlaglas sent to sir William Creighton knight, to deliuer by the castle of Cornburgh. But Creighton (saing that the castle was committed to his gouernement by the whole realme, and that the king had not anie thing to do therewith untill he came to his full age) had all his goods forthwith confiscat to the kings vse, with his castle of Creighton, which the kings people entered into and possessed. But least they should seeme to offer anie manifest wrong to the said Creighton, they gaue out the same edict (as a veile of their malice and crueltie) which Creighton had before caused to be established and proclaimed. For he first of all others made a law, that whosoever did denie or resist the king, demanding the deliuerie of anie castle, should be in danger of treason; the breach and execution of which law did first come and fall by and vpon him, by whome that might be worthilie said (which is vsed to be spoken in common prouerbe) He is fallen into the snare which he prepared for others. Whereupon the Dowlaglas (since the castle would not otherwise be deliuered) sharpelie besieged the same by the space of nine moneths, which in the end Creighton surrendered into his hands, on certeine conditions to be performed. At which time also the said Creighton was reiuersed with the honoz of the chancellorschip, although he neuer after intangled himselfe with affaires of the kingdome, hoping that in time to come (when the darke clouds of the wicked men, which had now ouerspread all things, were ouerblowne) a better forme of gouernement would be brought in, as a certeine light to giue shine to the common-wealth.

James Steward a worthie knight (not he that was surnamed The blacke) was slaine at Kirkpatrick, two miles from Dunbretton, by Alexander Lindseie, and Robert Boyd, whose crueltie not being satisfied with his blood, they laboured to bring his wife (great with child, & vpon point of deliuerance) with in their danger. For the performance wherof, they sent a priest vnto hir, that (in haste and as it were troubled) should tell hir in what distress she now re-

1444.  
The king tooke  
rule himselfe.

1445. Lelle.

Fr. Thia.

1445. I. Ma.  
1446. Lelle.  
Buchanan.  
lib. 11.  
Lelleus lib. 8.  
pag. 279.

1446. Lelle.

Buchan. lib. 11.

anan.  
1.

447.

sted, and that there was no meanes to relieue his selfe by anie waie (since euerie place was beset with horse and footmen) vntill she escaped by vote to Robert Boyd at Dunbretton, who further vpon oth promised hir, that he would safelie bring hir backe to hir owne house.

The woman being credulous (and ignorant that Robert Boyd was present at the death of his husband) and caried out of Cardross, into the Dunbretton castell, might easilie perceiue hir selfe hardlie beset on euerie side by the deceit of hir enemies, who (being so deceiued and overcome with feare & griefe) was deliuered of child before hir time, and (together with hir sonne) died there within few houres after. Almost at the same time, Patrike Hepburne (gouernour of Valis) held the castell of Dunbar, where he had Jane Seimer the quene with him, to whom she fled for succour in the times of these tumults. Archibald Dunbar (supposing this to be a iust cause of anger) in the night did set vpon Valis the castell of Hepburne, which he toke at the first assault, by slaueing of the watch, who being stroken with a great feare for the same, did (in few daies after) restore the same to earle Dowglas, with couenant that all they which were within, should depart in safetie without anie danger.)

Sir James Steward surnamed the Blacke knight, husband to the quene the kings mother, was banished the realme for speaking words against the gouernement of the king and realme, wherewith he offended the earle of Dowglas. As he passed the seas towards Flanders, he was taken by the Flemings, & shortly after departed this life. The quene his wife being aduertised of his death, died also within a while after, and was buried in the Charterhouse of Perth the fifteenth of Iulie, in the yeere 1446. Her name was Jane Summerfet, daughter to the earle of Summerfet. James the first married hir (as before ye may read) in England. She had by him eight children, two sonnes, and six daughters, which were all honorable married: the first named Margaret, to the Dolphin of France: the second Cleane, to the duke of Britaine: the third, to the lord of Berne in Zealand: the fourth, to the duke of Austria: the fifth, to the earle of Huntley: and the sixth, to the earle of Moray. And by James Steward his second husband, she had three sonnes: John earle of Atholl, James earle of Buchquhane, and Andrew bishop of Durep.

After the death of the quene, Hepburne deliuered the castell of Dunbar (to the king) being empty, and without companie. In August, Alexander earle of Crawford did put to death at Loathene John Leonston, as an ingratefull person to him, since by his fathers helpe he had bene aduanced to great riches, and to the kings affinitie and kindred. Some after, sir William Creichton, with the bishop of Dunkeld, and Nicholas Dierburne a canon of Glasgow, were sent in ambassage vnto the duke of Gelderland, for his daughter called Marie, to be ioined in marriage with king James. Their sute was obtained, and the ladie sent into Scotland noble accompanied with diuerse lords both spirituall and temporall. At hir arriual she was receiued by the king with great triumph, and the marriage solemnized by the assistance of all the nobles of Scotland, with great banquetting, ioyfull mirth, and all pleasant intertainment of those strangers that might be.

In the yeere 1447, there was a parlement holden at Edinburgh, in the which sir Alexander Levingston of Kalendar late gouernour, James Dundas and Robert Dundas knights, at the persute of the earle of Dowglas were forsaken and condemned to perpetuall prison in Dunbretton, and James Levingston his eldest sonne, Robert Levingston trea-

suro, and David Levingston knights, lost their heads. James before his execution made a verie wise declaration to the standers by, declaring the instabilitie of fortune, and change of court, exhorting all persons to beware thereof, with enuie neuer followed high estate, and wicked malice neuer suffered good men to gouerne long. In the same parlement, sir William Creichton was also forsaken for diuerse causes, but principallie for that his seruants would not deliuer the house of Creichton to the kings herald, who charged them so to do. This forsakture was concluded in parlement by vertue of an act which the said William (when he was chancelor) caused to be made, and so being the first inuentor, was also the first against whome it was practised.

The yeere next ensuing were sundrie incurSIONS made betwixt Scots and Englishmen on the borders, Dunfreis was burnt, and likewise Anwick in England: but shortly after a truce was concluded for seven yeeres, great offers of friendship made by the Englishmen for to haue the wars ceasse on that side, because the warre betwixt them and France was verie hotlie pursued, and ciuill dissention disquieted the state of England, which was raised betwixt the two houses of Lancaster & York. This yeere there were manie meetings or parlements of the nobilitie, in which were lawes established for brideling the wicked facts of such as applied themselves to spoiling of other men; wherevpon a long peace followed in Scotland: beside which, there were other lawes made for auoiding of treasons, and chieflie of such as touched the kinglie maiestie. This lawe of treason was afterward executed first vpon Dowglas, which was author thereof. In this parlement were manie earles and lords created, whereof the chiefe were Alexander Seton baron of Gordon, who was made earle of Huntley, and George Leslie baron was made earle of Rothsaie, both men singularlie famed for their wisdome and valure.)

The English borderers of the west marches fetched a great botie of cattell out of Scotland, notwithstanding the truce, in reuenge wherof the Scots invading England, wasted the countrie, burnt colones and villages, slew the people, & with a great preie of prisoners, goods, and cattell, returned home into Scotland. Wherewith followed daile robes and forraies made on both sides betwixt the Scots and Englishmen, and that with such rage and crueltie, that a great part of Cumberland was in manner laied wast: for on that side the Scots chieflie made their inuasions, because that from thence the first occasion of all this mischief might seeme to haue had the beginning. When such things were certified to the king of Englands counsell, an armie was appointed forthwith to invade Scotland, vnder the leading of the earle of Northumberland, and of one Magnus surnamed Redberd, a capteine of great experience, as he that had bene trained vp from his youth in the warres of France. The Scots, because of his long red berd, called him in scoone and derision, Magnus with the red mane.

The Scots hearing of the approach of this armie towards their borders, lent a power: George, or rather Hugh Dowglas earle of Dumont by the kings commission, hauing the conduction thereof, who vnderstanding that the enemies would enter into Annardale, drew thither with the said armie to resist their attempts. The Englishmen passing ouer the riuer of Sulweie and Annand, came to another riuer called Sarr, & there pitched downe their tents. And on the next day they began to rob and spoile the countrie on eich side: but aduertised that the Scots were at hand with an armie, they that were thus gone forth, were with all speed called backe to the campe

Buchan, lib. II.

James Steward is banished the realme.

He died.  
The quene died.

1446.

Fr. Thin.

1448. Lesle.

King James married a daughter of the duke of Gelderland.

1447.  
1448. Lesle.

James Levingston made an oration.

W. Creichton condemned.

Sir John Pennington

Waste of Craggie.

IncurSIONS made.  
1448.Fr. Thin.  
Lesleus lib. 2, pag. 300.

The earle of Dumont is banished the realme.

The batt begun.

1446.

Englishmen fetch booties out of Scotland.  
1450.

The Scots invade England.

Magnus came.

A knight named Magnus

The Englishmen put fight.

The earle of Dumont generall of the Scottish armie

The English armie invaded Scotland.

The English came.

The English came.

campe by found of trumpet, and forthwith their armie was brought into order of battell. Magnus with the red mane was appointed to lead the right wing, and sir John Penneinton a verie skillfull warriour gouerned the left wing, in the which the Welshmen were placed. The battell of middle ward the earle of Northumberland himselte ruled.

The earle of Dymont on the other side ordered his battells in this wise. He appointed a verie valiant knight called Wallase of Craggie, with an hardie number of souldiers to incounter with Magnus. And against the Welshmen he placed the lord Sparwell, and lord Johnston, with a chosen companie of lustie Scottisshmen, and commanding himselte in the battell of middle ward, had scarce set his people in a raie, when the trumpets in the English armie began to sound to the battell. He therefore exhorting his men to do valiantlie, put them in remembrance that they had put on armor, being thereto prouoked by iniurie which their enemies had first offered them, whereupon they might conceiue god hope of victorie by the fauour of the righteous God, who giueth the upper hand (for the most part) to that side that hath iust cause to make warre. He willed them then to put all feare out of their harts; and as they had force inough to vanquish their enemies that came thus to brag and threaten them with bitter destruction: so he besought them to shew no lesse manlike stomachs to deliuer their countrie by hardie fight from iniurie of the same enemies.

He had no sooner made an end of his speech, but that the arrowes came so thicke from the English archers, that the Scots began to looke about them, as it were to see which waie they might best escape by flight. But Wallase perceiuing their faintnesse of courage, with loud voice reynoued their cowardise, and with most pittie words exhorted them to remember their duties, and to follow the example of him their leader, whome they should perceiue to haue follied to spend his life in defense of his countrie. The Scots heerewith seemed to be so incouraged, that they rushed forward with great egerresse vpon the right wing of the Englishmen where Magnus stood, and so laied about them with speares, ares, and such like hand weapons, that with great slaughter they braue the Englishmen to breake arate and to flee: Magnus herewith being more chafed than afraid, as should appere, pressed forward vpon Wallase with great violence, and seeking to approach vnto him that he might haue broken his grieue vpon him, was inclosed among the Scottissh troopes, andaine with a few other of his friends and seruants that followed him.

The slaughter of this man, in whome consisted no small hope of victorie on the English part, put there a sicke of their armie in such feare, that they were not able longer to resist the Scottisshmens violent impression, but turning their backs fled amaine, whom the Scots pursued in chace verie fiercelie, so that manie of the Englishmen died in the battell, but more now in the chace: for the tide being come in, flaid manie of them that made their course to haue escaped thorough the riuer, whereby diuerse that ventured into the water were drowned; & other that durst not take the water, were oppressed by the Scots that followed them. There died in this battell of Englishmen, to the number nere hand of three thousand, and amongst other, Magnus (as before ye haue heard) with eleuen other knights of no small account and estimation. Of Scots were lost somewhat aboue six hundred. There were taken prisoners of Englishmen sir John Penneinton, and sir Robert Harington knights, and the lord Perrie, sonne to the earle of Northumberland, who helpe his father to horsebacke,

whereby he escaped by flight: & besides these, a great number of other were by the Scots taken prisoners, whome the sword and water had spared.

The earle of Dymont hauing got this honorable victorie, conueied the chiefest of the prisoners to the castle of Lochmaben, and after repaired to the court, where he was of the king iustlicie received, honorable feasted, and highlie rewarded: After this, the Scots that dwelled vpon the borders, liued for a season in better quiet: for though the Englishmen wished to haue bene reuenged for this losse and ouerthrow of their people, yet by reason of ciuill wars that shoulde after folloved, they were constrained to forbear to make anie further wars against the Scots, till better occasion might serue. And for the avoiding of danger that might insue in time of this intestine trouble by forein enemies; they such to haue a truce with the Scots, which for the terme of three yeares was granted. In this yeare, William earle of Dowglas, with a great companie of nobles and gentlemen, as the lords Hamilton, Gate, Salton, Seton, and Diphant; also, Calder, Arghart, Cambell, Fraser, and Lauder, knights, went into Italie, and was at Rome in time of the Jubile which was kept there that yeare. He left behind him to gouerne his lands in Scotland, Hugh earle of Dymont that was his brother: but in his absence (by counsell of such as were about him) the king summoned the erle to appeare before him within 40 daies; & because he came not within that set time, he was put to the horne, & his lands invaded & spoiled.

Whereupon the king sent William Seneclare earle of Orkades at that time chancelor first into Galloway, and then into Dowglas, where he appointed collectors to take vp (to the kings vse) the revenues of the Dowglas. But when Seneclare was not of sufficient strength to performe what he thought, because some of the most part resisted (though others embraced) him, he returned home without doing anie thing. Wherevnto the king greatly mued (because he saw his authoritie contemned) called all the Dowglases into law, and declared them publick enemies and detractors of his gouernement. And thereupon (providing an armie against them) he goeth into Galloway; where, at thole first coming (since their captains were all in prison) a small part of the armie (seeing the enemies dispersed) to rougher parts of the countrie to hide themselves, turned backe to the king without anie thing done. Whereat the king highlie offended, in that such wandering theues shoulde so lightlie dare to contemne his power) followed them into their starting holes and caues, and with no great labor, took the castle of Lochmaben, reducing the countrie of Dowglas (with extreme labor of his souldiers) to his subiection, at what time he beloued, the castle thereof equall with the ground.

The earle aduertised hercof, with all speed returned home through England, and sent his brother James vnto the king, to know his pleasure: who commanding the earle to see his countries (namelie Angusdale) purged of theues and robbers, pardoned him of all offenses, and receiued him into fauor againe, so that he was also restored into fauor of the kings lieutenant; but shortly after going into England without the kings licence, to common with the king of England about the recovery of losses suffered by the Englishmen by certaine incursions (as he alleged) the king took the matter in verie euill part, for that he should dare so to be had in contempt of the king: and to that he mistruied also, that there were some secret practises in hand to the prejudice of him, and his realme: so that he determined not a little to punish the earle. Who being thereof aduertised, came

The earle of Northumberland and escapeth by flight.

1448. Buch. 1450. Lesh. A truce for three yeares betweene England and Scotland.

The earle of Dowglas goeth into Italie.

Fr. This.

Buchan.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

1450.

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The earle of  
Dowglas  
sueth for  
pardon.

came in humble wise to the king, & besought him of pardon, if he had in anie wise offended him; assuring him that from thenceforth, he would neuer commit anie act that might tend to his maiesties displeasure.

The enuie  
those that  
bare rule a-  
bout the king.

He seeketh to  
destroy the  
E. chancellor.

The Dow-  
glasse con-  
strained to  
goe out of  
Edenburgh.  
He maketh a  
part.

The earle of  
Dowglas  
presumeth of  
assistance at  
the hands of  
his friends.  
The Lord  
Herres his  
lands spoiled

The Lord  
Herres han-  
ged.

The confeder-  
acie misru-  
led.

The king sent  
death for the  
earle of Dow-  
glas.

Herewith the quene also and other noble men made sute to the king for the earles pardon, so that in the end he was receiued againe into fauor, but yet discharged of bearing anie publike office, which pinched him so sore (namelie for that his aduersaries William Cheynton lord chancellor, and the earle of Wyndesore seemed to beare all the rule about the king) that he sought to dispatch the chancellor, procuring certeine of his seruants and friends to assault him on a morning as he was comming forth of Edenburgh, but yet he escaped to his castell of Cheynton, although wounded in dead right soe, and with in few daies after, gathering a power of his kinsmen, friends, & allies, he returned againe to Edenburgh, and had destroyed (as was thought) the earle of Dowglas at that present, if he had not shifed away the more speedlie, who being thus to his great griefe, and no small dishonor chased out of Edenburgh, denied which way he might best be reuenged; and for the more easie accomplishment of his purpose, he procured the earles of Crawford and Ross to ioin with him in that quarrell against Cheynton and other his accomplices, by force of which confederacie they covenanted to assist one another against the malice of the said Cheynton, and all other their aduersaries.

The earle of Dowglas hauing concluded this bond of confederacie, bare himselfe vertie high, in presuming further thereof than stood with reason; and this was one great cause of the kings displeasure now passingly increased against the said earle. An other cause was this: a sort of thieues and robbers brake into the lands of the lord John Herres, a noble man, and one that had continued ever faithfull to the king, taking with them out of the said lands a great bow of castell. And whereas the said lord Herres complained vnto the earle of Dowglas of that wrong, because the offenders were inhabiting within his countie; and yet could haue no redress; he attempted to fetch out of Annandale some prey, wherewith to satisfie in part the wrong which had bene offered him by those thieues and robbers. But such was his euill hap, that taken he was with his retinue, and committed to prison; and shortly after by commandement of the earle of Dowglas he was hanged as a felon, notwithstanding that the king by an herald continued the contrarie.

The king being soe offended herewith (as he had no lesse cause) passed ouer his displeasure with silence; till the said time and opportunitie to reuenge the same; but in the meane season manie an honest man bought the bargaine right deerie, being spoiled of that he had, and other wise euill intreated, and yet durst not the meane sort once complaine for feare of further indignitie: where the higher powers also lamented the great disorders daily increasing; and yet were not able in anie wise to reuenge the same, inasmuch as it was greatly doubted, least the earles of Dowglas, Crawford, Ross, and others of that faction might put the king before his seat. Which doubt being put into the kings head, bying him into no small perplexitie, whereupon by ourteous messages he sent for the earles of Dowglas, bidding him to repair to his presence; notwithstanding that he had assurance vnder the kings great seale for his safe comming and going (as some haue said). And then about the twelfth of the month of May he came to the court at Strueling, where the king

toke him aside, & in secret talke moued and requested him to forsake the league and bond of friendship betwixt him and the earle of Crawford, and other such his confederates.

There was a secret murmuring amongst a number, that this earle of Dowglas purposed to make a pzoze on a day to get the garland beside the kings head. In deed by reason of his kinsmen and allies, he was of more puissance in the realme, than (as it was thought) stood with the suertie of the kings estate, unless he were the more faithfull. He had at the same time two brethren that were also earles, as Archibald earle of Arrer, and Hugh, or (as other haue) George earle of Dumont, beside the earle of Angus, and the earle of Moroun, that were of his surname and blood, with a great number of other lords, knights, and men of great possessions and linings, all of the same surname, and lincked in friendship and alliance with other the chiefest linages of all the realme. Hereto (by reason there had bene so manie valiant men and worthy captains of the Dowglasse one after another, as it had bene by succession) the people and commons of Scotland bare such good will and fauour towards that name, that they were ready to rise and go with them, they cared not whither, nor against whom. It is said, that the earles of Dowglasse might haue raised thirtie or forty thousand warlike persons ready at their commandement, whensoever it had pleased them to call. In deed the Dowglasse had euer the gouernment of all matters pertaining vnto the defense of the realme, so that the men of war had them still in all the estimation and honor that might be.

But now to the purpose, touching the conference had betwixt king James the second, and the earle of Dowglas: it chanced in the end (vpon what occasion I know not) that the earle answered the king somewhat ouerthwartlie, wherewith the king toke such indignation, that the earle here vpon was slaine by him, and such other as were there about him, on about euen. Then after the earle was thus made awaie, his brethren made open warre against the king, and slue all such of his friends and seruants, as they might encounter with: inasmuch that those which travelled by the high waies, were in doubt to confesse whether they belonged to the king, or to the Dowglasse. The Lord of Cadzow being in the towne of Strueling, with a great companie of the earle of Dowglasse friends, in reuenge of his death (which he had burnt that towne, and did manie other great displeasures to the king and his subiects; setting forth proclamations against the king and his counsell, for the violating of the assurance granted (as before is said) to the earle of Dowglas. And that with such despite, as in the 6 kalends of April, binding a wooden truncheon to an horse tassel, they fasten thereto the safe conduct of the king and the nobles, which they forbore not to traile vp and downe the streets (not sparing to reuile the king) with bitter and heauie words of contumelie and exclamation. With which they were not satisfied, when they were come into the market place, they did with the noise of fine hundred homes, and by the mouth of a crier, proclame the king and all such as were about him, faithbreakers, perinees, and such persons as were to be denounced enemies of all goodnesse and good men. And yet supposing this not a sufficient reuenge to quench the furie of their rebellious minds, they run with like rage, and with like order do spoile the countie, and possessions of all such as took part with the king, and the castle remained in the execution of their obediencie. For they besieged the castell of Dalkeith, binding the milnes (as confured and perinees enemies of all vertue) not to depart from thence,

Earles of the  
surname of the  
Dowglasse.

The linage  
and great alliance  
of the  
Dowglasse.

The loue that  
the people  
bare toward  
the name of  
the Dow-  
glasse.

The earle of  
Dowglas an-  
swereth the  
king over-  
thwartlie, and  
is slaine.

1442. Buch.  
His brethren  
make warre  
against the  
king.

Strueling  
is burnt.

Fr. Thin.  
Buchan. l. i.

The king  
would haue  
him.

Callice of  
Bannawyn  
betwixt the  
earle of Craw-  
ford.

The earle of  
Dowglas  
hanged.

1452.

Lands giuen  
to the earle of  
Dumlie.

The earle of  
Arrer.

The earle of  
Crawford  
slaine.

Lords cited  
to appeare.

Writings set  
by in contempt  
of the king.

thence before they had taken and spoiled the same, being grievously offended with John the lord of that place, because that he with the earle of Angus had severed themselves from the opinion and faction of the Dowglasles, whose party growing still more extenuated, found such support by the inclining multitude, that the king was put to his shifts that he was determined to have left the realme, and to have fled by sea into France, had not James Benedic the bishop of saint Andrews caused him to staie, on the hope he had of assistance onelie by the earle of Huntley, which earle hearing that the Dowglasles had gathered an armie in the south against the king, raised an other armie in the north to aid the king.

On the other side the earle of Crawford, having assembled a great power, encountered him at Bietune, in purpose to stop the earle of Huntleys passage, where betwixt them was fought a foye battell, and the earle of Crawford chased into Fife, so that manie noble men, gentlemen, and commons were slain, and amongst other the earle of Crawford's brother was one. Hector Boetius writeth, that John Cullace of Bannamwin, whome the earle of Crawford had appointed to lead them that bare the battell flagges, (as I maie terme them) the bilmen, in the left wing of his armie, fled of purpose in the hottest of the fight, & so left the middle ward naked on the one side of the chiefest aid that the said earle had, and so the victorie by that meanes onelie inclined to the kings standard, which the earle of Huntley had there with him. But howsoever it was, the said earle of Huntley had the honor of the field, who neuertheless lost diuerse of his men also, though nothing so manie as his aduersaries did. This battell was fought the eighteenth of Maie, being the Ascension day, 1452.

The earle of Huntley the same day before the battells ioined, gaue lands to the principall men of those surnames that were with him, as to the Forbesses, Melles, Jouings, Ogilues, Grants, and diuerse other. Which bountifullnesse of the earle made them to fight more valiantlie. In recompense whereof the king gaue to the said earle the lands of Badenoch & Lochquhaber. In the meane time, Archembald Dowglas earle of Murray burnt the peill of Straboggie, pertaining to the erle of Huntley, and haried the lands thereabouts. In reuenge whereof, the erle of Huntley at his returning backe, burnt & haried all the lands of the earldome of Murray. In the meane time, at a parlement holden at Edinburgh, the earle of Crawford was denounced a traitor, and all his lands and goods deemed to be forfeited into the kings hands. James earle of Dowglas, James Lord Hamilton, the earles of Murray, and Dummont, the lord of Baluay, and manie other of that faction, were by publike proclamation made by an herald, commanded to appeare by a day to vnderlie the law. But in the next night that followed the day of this proclamation, certeine of the Dowglasles servants that were sent priuillie to Edinburgh, to vnderstand what was done there, fastened writings vpon the church doores, sealed with the Dowglasles seale in this forme. The earle from henceforth will neither obeie citation, nor other commandement. Beside this, in the same writings, they charged the king with manie heinous crimes, calling him a murderer, perjured, false, and a bloudsucker.

The king therefore assembled an armie, and went forth against them: but because the time of the yeere was contrarie to his purpose, he could do no great hurt to his enemies, although he burnt by their come, and by one awaie their cattell. But the Dowglas seemed to passe little for the kings malice, and the erle himselfe married his brothers wife the countesse Beatrice, & sent to home for a licence to haue that marriage made lawfull: but by the kings agents in that court, the earles suite might not be obtained. Whereupon he kept his still in place of his wife, and continuing in rebellion against the king, the next spring, and for the more part of the tearme of two yeeres next ensuing, he haried and spoiled the kings possessions; and the king on the other part wasted Annandale, and all other the lands and possessions that belonged to the said earle of Dowglas & his friends: but shortly after, as the king passed through Angus, to go into the north parts of the realme, the earle of Crawford came, and submitted himselfe vnto him, craving mercie in most humble and lamentable wise, and obtained the kings pardon thorough mediation of James Benedic bishop of saint Andrews, and sir William Creighton; but the said earle liued not past sir monthes after, departing this life by force of an hot ague in the yeere 1454.

The same yeere, the king called a parlement at Edinburgh, in the which James earle of Dowglas, and his brothers wife the countesse Beatrice (whome he had taken to him by waie of a pretended & feined marriage) Archembald Dowglas earle of Murray, George Dowglas earle of Dumont, and John Dowglas baron of Baluay, were forfeited & condemned of treason. The earldome of Murray was giuen to sir James Creighton, or rather restored to him from whome it had bene wrongfullie taken by the vniuersall sentence of William earle of Dowglas, who had procured it to be assigned vnto his brother the said Archembald, though the right remained in the said sir James Creighton. But yet when the said sir James Creighton could not keepe that earldome without enuie of diuerse and sundrie persons, he handled the matter so, that shortly after it returned againe to the kings hands. Whereupon at this parlement, George Creighton was created erle of Cathness, & William Haie constable of Scotland was made earle of Erroll. There were also diuerse created lords of the parlement, whose titles were as foloweth: Darlie, Halls, Boid, Lile, and Lome. After the breaking vp of the parlement, the king made a tourne against his aduersaries into Galloway, and with small adu brought all the castles of that countrie into his possession, and then turning into Dowglasdale, because the inhabitants thereof would not obeie him, he abandoned the spoile thereof vnto his followers, who practised no small crueltie against the inhabitants.

Whereupon the Dowglasles being driven to their shifts, the lord James Hamilton of Cadzow was sent from them into England to sue for aid, but in vaine, for none there would be granted: whereupon returning to his friends, he counselled the earle of Dowglas to trust to his owne forces; and with the same were farre superior in number of men to the kings power, he gaue likewise counsell without delay, to set vpon the king, that the matter might be tried by chance of battell, the onelie meane to assure them of their liues and estates, for otherwise he saw not how any vnfeined agreement might be concluded, the matter being now passed so farre forth to an extremitie. But the earle of Dowglas utterlie (as some write) refused to fight against his soueraigne and true liege lord, if any other meane might be found. Whereupon diuerse great lords which were with him there on his side, being men of great wit, and no lesse experience, aduised him yet to keepe together his host, till by their trauell and assistance a peace were concluded, and pardon obtained for all parts: for if the armie were once broken vp, all hope was then past (as they alledged) for any indifferent conditions

The earle of Dowglas married his brothers wife.

The earle of Crawford submitted himselfe to the king, and was pardoned. He departed this life.

1455. Buch.

1454. A parlement.

The Dowglasles forfeited, as I may say) attainted.

Creations of noble men.

Dowglasdale giuen in spoile to the men of warre.

The counsell of the lord Hamilton.

Io. Maior.



might haue fallen into great perill: for trulie it is a dangerous thing (as lo. Maior saith) for the estate of a realme to haue men of great power and authoritie inhabiting on the borders and uttermost parts thereof. For if they chance (vpon anie occasion giuen) to renounce their obedience to their naturall prince & supreme gouernor, the preiudice may be great and irreuerable, that oftentimes thereof insurth; as well appeareth in the earles of March, and other before mentioned in this historie: and likewise in France by the duke of Burgonie, Britaine, and Normandie: for till those countries were incorporated and annexed vnto the crowne of France, the kings of that realme were oftentimes put to great hinderance through rebellion by them, whome they accounted for their subiects.

But now to returne where I left. After the Douglas were once dispatched, and things quieted, King James the second began then to reigne and rule realtie, not doubting the controulment of anie other person. For then he ordeined lawes for his people as seemed best to his liking, commanding the same to be kept vnder great penalties and forfeitures. And being counselled chieftie by the bishop of saint Andrews, James Benedic that was his uncle, and the earle of Arkenie, he passed through all the parts of his realme, granting a generall pardon of all offenses passed. And so he ruled and gouerned his subiects in great quietnesse, and caused iustice to dwelle to be ministered on all sides, that it was said in his daies, how he caused the rath bush to keepe the colv. In the yere 1455, the king held a parlement, in which were manie good lawes made and established for the weale of all the realme, as in the booke of the acts of parlement is contained. He used the matter also in such wise with the principall capitaines of the Isles, and of the hie lands, that the same were as quietlie gouerned, as anie part of the low lands, shewing all obedience as well in paying such duties as they owed to the king for their lands, as also in readiness to serue in the warres with great companies of men, as became them to do: speciallie Donald lord of the Isles and earle of Ross, who had before joined himselfe in confederacie with the earles of Douglas and Crawford against the king, and had taken into his hands the kings house, and castell of Inuerness (as before ye haue heard) naming himselfe king of the Isles.

Perceiue the king, he was now at length reconciled to the king, and gaue pledges for his good demeanour, and afterwards brought to the king three thousand men in aid at the siege of Roxburgh, whose reconciliation was after this manner. When this Donald perceived aduerser fortune to besiege him on euerie side, he sent messengers to the king, craving peace and pardon for himselfe and for his offenses. Who coming before the king (and with manie humble speeches, remembring the manie parts of clemencie which the king had vsed to the earle of Crawford, and such as followed his faction) they did so purge the fault of Donald (by transferring the same to the fatal rage and iniurie of the present times, and by promising in his behalfe that hereafter he should liue most quietlie in dutifull obedience) that they moued the kings mind to haue compassion vpon him.

But yet the king answered in a meane sort betwene both, not utterly pardoning, nor flatlie rejecting him: for (saith he) there be yet manie shewes extant of his wickednesse, and he hath not giuen forth anie token of a changed mind. Wherefore, to the end that we may beleue the same to be true (which you haue promised in his behalfe) hereafter to become a dutifull subiect and lo-

uing neighbour to vs, and to those which are about him, he must with repentance (proceeding from an vnfeined tong) craue pardon from vs whome he hath grauously offended, and (with sufficient restitution) recompense those whome (by swelling) he hath injured: besides which also, he must with some waye exploit wipe awaie the murraine and blot of all his former committed wickednes. And although I well know that no vertue doth more befit a kinglie maiestie than clemencie, yet we ought so to provide, that (measuring all things by the line of reason) the wicked war not so proud and rebellious (by ouermuch lenitie and loose gouernement) as the god may be excited to the honest performance of their dutie by fauour and iustice. Wherefore I will inioine a time to Donald, and the rest of his associates, wherein they may openlie shew some deeds of an altered disposition, and from henceforth we will so account of him, as his words and not his wayes shall iustifie him to be. But in the meane time, I will him to rest in quiet, leaving it in the power of him and his, whether he, and they, will hereafter be accounted (by due deserts) happie or miserable. Which said, the messengers departed, and Donald rested satisfied.)

In the meane while great dissention rose in England betwene the two houses of Lancaster & York; the king being principall of the house of Lancaster, was taken himselfe at the battell of saint Albons. But the quene with hir sonne the prince, and Henrie the young duke of Summerset, with diuers other fled into the north parts of England, and sent to the king of Scotland to desire him of aid, who vpon good aduise taken with his counsell, for that king Henrie had euer kept well the peace with the realme of Scotland, and also for reuenge of his uncle the duke of Summerset his death, prepared an armie of twentie thousand men to passe into England: and in the meane time all the north parts of England, hearing that king James was ready to support the quene of England, joined with hir, and passed forward into the south parts, constraining the duke of York to flee the realme, and so king Henrie restored the gouernement of his realme againe, and for that time concluded an agreement with the duke of York his aduersarie, which lasted not long.

The duke of York remembring how readie king James was to prepare an armie in support of his aduersarie king Henrie, procured the borderers to make incursions vpon the Scottish subiects, & should suffer no redresse to be had, nor daies of truce to be kept on the borders, as in time of peace the custome was. Wherevpon king James raised a power, and in person entered with the same into England, doing great hurt by destroying diuers towncs, castles and peiles in Northumberland, the bishopricke and other parts, till at length vpon faire promises made by the Englishmen, he returned into his owne countrie. [At this time, the art of printing was first inuented in the citie of Mentz in Germanie, but where to great commoditie or discommoditie of learning, I leaue to the iudgement of others, saith Lelius.]

After this, king Henrie of England, perceiuing that the duke of York by the counsell of the earle of Warwick, ceased not to practise conspiracies against him, sent embassies to king James, requiring him of aid against them, and promised therefore to restore vnto the king of Scotland the lands in Northumberland, Cumberland, the bishopricke of Durham, and such like, which the kings of Scotland had held before. This offer was accepted, and by treaties and contracts accorded, sealed, and interchanged betwixt the two princes (as the Scottishmen alleadge.) The yere next following, at the quene of Englands desire

Dissention in England.

King James invaded England.

Fr. Thin Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 308. The art of printing first inuented.

1458.

1459.

D. J.

desire

uer-

5. 4. s. lib. 8. 15.

Lawes of James.

A generall pardon granted.

1455 A parlement holden.

The Isles & highland quietlie gouerned.

Donald earle of Ross, and lord of the Isles.

Remembrance of nobles, chamber to the

Fr. Thin Buchanan, lib. 11.

practise shop etc.

it power of suspi-

1460.

King James  
the second is  
slaine.

Alias 17.  
23. Buchan.

1460.  
The buriall  
of James the  
second.  
The lamenta-  
tion of the  
people.

The amiable  
conditions of  
James the se-  
cond.

The issue of  
James the  
second.  
James the  
third king of  
Scotland.  
Alexander  
duke of Al-  
banie.  
John earle of  
Mar.  
Fr. Thin.  
Lesseus lib.8.  
pag.310.

Lesseus lib.8.  
pag.300.

desire to support him against the house of Forke, king James with a great armie entered England, but after that the queene in the meane time had slaine the duke of Forke, & got the upper hand of his enemies, at the same queenes request, he retired into Scotland againe. Nevertheless shortly after, when the earles of Mar and Marwick sought still to mainteine their quarrell against the queene of England, she was constrained to withdraw into the north parts, and to desire king James to approach shewes with his armie unto the borders: which he did, meaning to win the castles of Roxburgh and Marke, which were amongst other things promised to be deliuered unto him by king Henrie, and so comming to Roxburgh, laied his armie round about that castle, and planted his siege in full warlike manner.

Here the king hauing great experience in knowledge of shooting great artillerie, departed from his campe, accompanied with the earle of Angus, and others, and came to the trenches where the great ordinance was planted, which he caused to be shot off. And here by great misfortune, this worthy prince James the second, was slaine by the slice of a great peece of artillerie, which by overcharging chanced to breake, and slue not onelie the king standing some what nere it, but also hurt the earle of Angus, with other: being a notable president from henceforth, how such great princes approach so nere within danger of such peece of ordinance, when they are shot off. He was thus killed the third day of August, in the yere of his life 29, of his reigne 24, and after the incarnation 1460. His bodie was buried with all funerall obsequies according to his estate, within the monastrie of Holie rood house at Edinburgh, the people generallie lamenting his death with no lesse sorrow and dolefull mone, than as is seene in a priuat house for the decesse of the welbeloued master and owner thereof.

In time of warre, amongst his subjects in the campe, he behaved himselfe so gentle towards all men, that they seemed not to feare him as their king, but to reuerence & loue him like a father. He would ride by and do some amongst them, and eat & drinke with them, euen as he had bene fellowlike with the meanest. He had issue by his wife queene Mar: three sonnes, and two daughters. His eldest sonne named James, succeeded him in the kingdome; the second named Alexander, was created duke of Albanie; and his third sonne called John, was made earle of Mar. The eldest of his daughters the Hammliton had in marriage (as before is said) and also after shall be mentioned.

All the time of the reigne of this king, christian religion did greatlie flourish amongst the Scots: for there were amongst them twelue notable and famous bishops, whereof the chiefest were James Bennedie bishop of saint Andrews, Earnebull bishop of Glasgowe, Thomas Spenser bishop of Aberdeen, and Henrie Lichon bishop of Murray. At what time likewise there were manie religious abbats that kept such great houses, as both the nobilitie and communaltie traouelling through out the kingdome, did neuer almost lodge in ante publike hosterie, but in the monasteries: which were neuer vered or spoiled, during the time of the ciuill warres of the kingdome. Beside these men of eminent learning, there flourished also Nicholas Weddone, and John Eldon, singular diuines, with manie other doctors laudable in all kind of learning. In the reigne of which king also, Charles the 7, king of France, for singular seruice done unto him by the Scots, in the warres (betwene the English and the French) did honorable indowmant of the Scots (for recompense thereof) with manie rich possessions in

quitaine, who by that meanes (settling themselves in that countrie) were the originall of manie worthy families of that prouince, amongst which is that famous kined of Calbell de la Campanta in Colouise, at this time greatlie flourishing, which had his beginning from Calbell a thane (or baron) being knight in the north parts of Scotland: for the grandfather of him which is now living, head of that house did intyre the place of magistrat or ruler of the Capitoline in that citie, hauing that title confirmed to his posteritie. This mans sonne Peter Calbell being a senator in the high court of Colouise (commonlie called the parlement) was for his singular learning and wisdom had in great hono: of all men during his life, which stretched to extreme age. In whose place came John (the eldest sonne of the said Peter) who both at this day possesse the roome of his father, as a senator of the said court of Colouise. And his other children with great hono: are indued with other offices of gouernement in the said citie.)

Some strange sights there appeared before the death of this king James the second: for the day before he was slaine, a blazing star was plainlie seene, which signified (as was thought) the death of the said king. In the yere before the siege, there was in Dundee an hermophodit, that is, a person with both shapen, but esteemed for a woman onelie, till it was proued, that lying with his maisters daughter nightlie where she dwelt, she had got the young damsell with child; for the which act, because she had counterfitted hir selfe a woman, and yet had wrought the part of a man, she was condemned to be buried quicke, and suffered according to that iudgement. At the same time, there was a certeine theefe, that with his familie liued apart from the companie of men, remaining secretlie within a den in Angus called Ferisden, who used to kill young persons, and to feed on their flesh, for the which abominable offense, being apprehended with his wife and all his familie, they were burnt to death. One of his daughters that was scarce twelue moneths of age, onelie excepted, the which being preferred and brought up in Dundee, before she came to the age of twelue yeres, she was taken in the like crime for the which hir father died, whereupon she was iudged to be buried quicke: and going to execution, when the people in great multitudes followed hir, in wondering at so horrible an offense committed by one of hir age and sexe, she turned to them that thus detested hir wicked doing, and with a countenance representing hir cruel inclination, said to them: What need you thus to raike vpon me, as if I had done an heinous act contrarie to the nature of man? I tell you, that if you knew how pleasant mans flesh is in taste, there would none of you all forbear to eat it. And thus with an impenitent and stubborne mind she suffered the appointed execution.

After the death of James the second, his sonne James the third a child of seven yeres of age succeeded, and forthwith was sent for to the siege of Roxburgh, whither he was conuayed by the queene, a woman of a stout stomach, representing the manlike race of his countrie Gelderland, of the which she was descended. For comming with his sonne thus to the siege, she spent not time in lamenting and womanish bewailing the irrecoverable losse of his husband, but rather in comforting the lords, whose part had bin to haue comforted hir: and about all things she exhorted them with all diligence to implete their whole indowments and forces to the winning of that castle. Whose words so encouraged the capitains and whole armie, that the siege was continued till the castle was twome, rased, and beaten downe flat to the ground: and the young king was crowned at

A blazing  
starre.

An hermophodit,  
that is, a person  
being both  
man and wo-  
man.

A wicked  
theefe that be-  
lieved to kill  
young persons  
and to eat  
them.

This daughter  
saileth to the  
like practise.

Hir words  
going to ex-  
ecution.

James the  
third.

The stout stom-  
ach of the  
queene.

Roxburgh  
castell taken  
and broken  
downe.

1461. I.M. at  
1460. Lefle.

the be-  
lie and downe.

men go-  
uernors cho-  
se.

Donald of the  
Jus effines  
wickedly.

Donald be-  
come mad.

Whitherto hath  
the Boc-  
tan continued  
the Scottish  
history.

He was killed  
1461.  
Henric king  
of England  
by late con-  
tract commeth  
into Scot-  
land.

1461. I. M.  
1460. Lelle.

works be-  
lieve  
go and soon.

when go-  
uonys cho-  
in.

blasing  
etc.

a hermo-  
zopt, that  
a person  
ing both  
an and wo-  
an.

1. Swicked  
pore that b-  
d to kill  
ong persons  
nd to eat  
gem.

his daughter  
allied to the  
the pparile.

the sword  
going to ex-  
cution.

>>

>>

James the  
third.

The stout  
mach of the  
queene.

Korburgh  
castell taken  
and broken  
downe.

at Kelso, with the vniuersall consent and great re-  
lousing of all the noble men, and other being there  
present in the armie.

This done, they besieged the castell of Warke,  
which likewise they took, and threw downe, and af-  
terwards the king with the nobles of his realme  
came to Edinburgh, to take order for the quiet go-  
uernement of the realme. And because the king was  
young, there were chosen seven regents to gouerne  
both king & realme, as these, the queene his mother, 10  
James Benedie bishop of S. Andrews, that was  
sisters sonne to James the first, the bishop of Glas-  
gow, the earles of Angus, Huntleie, Argile, and  
Dheneie. These, so long as James Benedie lived,  
agreed well together about the gouernement of the  
realme; but within a while after his decesse, they  
fell at square, or rather before, as appeareth by He-  
ctor Boetius, who saith, that in the second yere of  
this kings reigne, there was discord in betwixing be-  
twixt the queene and the archbishop Benedie, who  
perceiuing that the woman sought to vsurpe wholie  
the gouernement vnto hir selfe, withstod hir in that  
behalf, in so much that it was doubted least the  
matter would haue broken forth into some ciuill  
warre, if the bishops of Glasgou, Dunkeld, and A-  
berdeen, and certeine abbats had not taken in hand  
to trauell betwixt the parties for an attonement, who  
did so much in the matter, that they compounded the  
variance in this wise.

The queene mother was appointed to haue the  
charge of the kings person, and of his brethren, Alex-  
ander duke of Albanie, and John earle of Mar, and  
likewise of his two sisters; but as for the adminis-  
tration and gouernance of the realme, she should leaue  
it vnto the peeres. There were therefore elected by  
common consent as rulers, the bishops of Glasgou  
and Dunkeld, the earle of Dheneie, the lord Cra-  
ham, Thomas Boid, and the chancellor. About the  
same time, one Alane Beir, in hope to get the heri-  
tage of his brother, John lord of Lozne took him, 40  
and kept him in prison. But Colin Campbell earle  
of Argile, taking great indignation with so pre-  
sumptuous a part, gathered a power, and coming  
against Beir, took him, and set his brother at liber-  
tie, and brought the offender vnto Edinburgh, where  
he died in prison. Whereafter, shortly after Donald  
lord of the Isles and earle of Kesse, who had serued  
obedientlie in the armie at Korburgh, and was (as  
outwardlie appeared) well reconciled, began ane  
to vse his old manners, spoiling & harrieng the whole  
countrie of Atholl, and took the earle thereof, and  
the countesse his wife captiues with him into the  
Isles.

To repress his inturious attempts, the regents  
together were preparing an armie; but therewith  
came true aduertisements, that the said lord of the  
Isles, and other the principall offenders of his com-  
panie, were stricken through the hand of God with  
a certeine frensie or madnesse, and had lost all their  
ships and spoiles in the sea, so that the earle of Atholl  
and his ladie were rescued, and those franticke per-  
sons were brought vnto saint Wides church in A-  
tholl, for the recouerie of their health, but it would  
not be. Donald himselfe was afterward slaine in  
the castell of Inuernes by an Irishman that was a  
minstrell. In the yere 1461, Henrie the first king  
of England being vanquished by his aduersarie  
Edward the fourth, purchased of king James the  
third a safe conduct for himselfe and a thousand horse  
to enter into Scotland; and hereupon he came to  
Edinburgh, and was lodged in the house of the fri-  
ers preachers, with his wife queene Margaret, and  
his sonne prince Edward. There was also with  
him the duke of Excester, and the duke of Sum-

merfet, with manie other of the English nobilitie.

\* And to the end this firme amitie thus begun, 50  
might more increase, and be further strengthened:  
the two queenes Margaret (of England) and Marie  
(of Scotland) both French (by birth and nature) be-  
gan to intreat of a mariage (hoping by amitie to  
establissh that perfect amitie) to be solemnized be-  
twene the daughter of James the second king of  
Scots, and the sonne of Henrie (king of Eng-  
land) being called prince of Wales, although none  
of them as yet was aboue seven yeares old. Which  
mariage, Philip duke of Burgognie (uncle to the  
queene of Scots, and deable enemy to the queene  
of England) labored by all means to hinder, by his  
ambassador Cruthusius, a noble man and of great  
iudgement; for this Philip did vse such bitter enimi-  
tie against Reinold, grandfather to the son of king  
Henrie by the mothers side, that he did desperie en-  
uie anie god successe to happen to anie of that race,  
whereby it might increase or flourish; and therefore  
sought occasion by all deuise to hinder it: for whose  
cause, and at whose request, the said mariage was at  
that time rather deferred, than utterly broken off.  
But the end thereof (which was greatly feared by  
this Philip to be the consummation of the mariage)  
was by the aduerser fortune of king Henrie utterly  
disappointed. For (as after shall appeare) this Hen-  
rie being incouraged (by the beneuolence of the  
Scots towards him) and thoughtlie confirmed (by  
the letters of his friend sent vnto him) dispatched his  
wife into France to Reinold his father, to procure  
that aid she could of hir friends beyond the seas, to  
helpe to restore him to the kingdome: which iourne  
succeeded not to hir in vaine, obtaining succor from  
thence.)

The same time, king Henrie deliuered the towne  
& castell of Berwik into the Scottismens hands,  
whether by covenant thereby to haue the foresaid  
safe conduct granted, or of his own voluntarie will,  
to the end he might haue the more support and saue-  
amongest them, it is vncertaine by the variable re-  
port of writers. Wherefore, shortly after a truce  
was taken betwixt king James and king Edward, 40  
for the tearme of sixtene yeares, vpon what condi-  
tions or promises made on king Edwards part I  
find not. This truce was concluded in the moneth of  
Maie, in the yere 1462, at the cite of Poise,  
whither had bin sent the bishop of Glasgou, the earle  
of Argile, keeper of the priuie seale, the abbat of Ho-  
lie rood house, sir Alexander Boid, and sir William  
Crawston knights, ambassadors and commissio-  
ners for king James.

All things in this season were ordered in Scot-  
land by the aduise and counsell of James Benedie  
bishop of saint Andrews, a man of great wisdom  
and policie, as well appeared in his prudent & sage  
gouernement of the realme, as well during the mi-  
noritie of this James the third, as also in the daies of  
his father king James the second. Pierre de Be-  
zeie, otherwise called le Seigneur de la Clarence,  
great seneschall of Normandie, was sent by the  
French king Lewes the eleuenth, with two thou-  
sand fighting men, to aid the part of king Henrie  
against king Edward. This Bezeie was one most  
in fauour with king Charles the seventh, father vnto  
the said king Lewes, and therefore (as manie did  
suppose) he was appointed by h. Lewes (who greatly  
loued him not) to be chiefe in this iourneie, to the  
end his life might be put in hazard and aduenture;  
notwithstanding, after some danger both of tempest  
on the sea, and also of the enemies hands, he wan the  
castell of Wamburgh and Dunstanburgh, which he  
cast to the ground, and after took in hand to keepe  
the castell of Anwik, and being besieged therein, 50  
sent

Fr. Thin.  
Buchanan.

The queene  
went into  
France for  
aid.

Berwik de-  
liuered to the  
Scottismen.

A truce for  
15 yeares.

1462.

James Bene-  
die the arch-  
shop gouer-  
neth the  
realme.

Monsieur de  
la Clarence  
sent forth of  
France to aid  
the part of  
Margaret  
queene of  
England.

He keepeth  
Anwik cas-  
tell, and is  
besieged.

Ed. ij.

sent

He is refer-  
ed by the earle  
of Angus.

Alias 13000.

sent for aid to the Scots.

George Dowglaste earle of Angus as then war-  
den of the marches, immediatlie raised a power of  
23000 men, and comming with the same to the boy-  
ders, chose forth of all his numbers five thousand of  
the most able hoisemen in all his armie, and com-  
ming with them to the castell about the middelt of  
the day, toke the Frenchmen away with him into  
Scotland: the English armie that lay there at siege  
beholding the maner, and not once making profer  
to fight with him. Some Englishmen there were,  
that would faine haue fought with the Scots; but  
other (whose counsell was followed) were otherwise  
minded, alleging that better it were to let them passe  
without encounter, sith they left the castell void, than  
to iopard upon the doubtfull chance of battell, for  
though their number were not great, yet were they  
piked and chosen men, able to atchieue a great enter-  
prise.

1463.  
The queene  
mother died.

Adam Hep-  
burns famili-  
aritie with  
the queene of  
Scots, mo-  
ther to James  
the third.

Alexander  
duke of Alba-  
nie taken on  
the sea.

1464.  
King Henrie  
returneth into  
England.

King Henrie  
is imprisoned.

1466.

After this, the sixteenth of Nouember, in the yeare  
1463, the queene of Scots, mother to James the  
third, died at Edinburgh, and was buried in the  
college of the Trinitie, which she hir selfe had found-  
ed. This woman, after the deceasse of hir husband  
James the second, liued somewhat dissolutelie, pro-  
curing Adam Hepburne of Wales a married man to  
keepe hir such familiar companie, as founded great  
lie to hir dishonour: for that she could not within the  
whole realme find some single man amongst all the  
nobilitie, with whom she might haue married, & in  
some sort to haue auoided the greater open slander &  
infamie. In the same yeare, Alexander duke of Al-  
banie, and brother to the king, was taken on the  
sea by the Englishmen in the moneth of June, as he  
was returning from his grandfather the duke of  
Gilder: but the bishop of saint Andzeus James  
Benedicte, caused both the said duke and also the ship,  
with all the goods there in being, at the time of the  
taking of it, to be restozed; for otherwise (as he flat-  
lie protested) he would not keepe the truce anie lon-  
ger concluded betwixt the two realmes.

The duke of Summerfet, in hope of great fauor  
which he should find in England, perswaded king  
Henrie to passe thither, and with a great companie  
of Scottishmen he entered England, and maried  
of the north parts resozed vnto him: but at length,  
at his comming to Gram, the lord Montacnte with  
a great power was readie to giue him battell, and  
there discomfited him and his whole armie. The duke  
of Summerfet and the lords Hungerford and Rosse  
were taken and put to death; the duke at Gram, and  
the lords at Newcastell. King Henrie escaped verie  
hardlie into Scotland againe, and there remained a  
certeine space after, till at length he thought to re-  
turne into England in such secret wise, as he should  
not haue bene once knowen, till he might haue got  
amongest his friends, which would haue supported  
him: but such diligent watch was laid for him all  
alongst the borders, that he was espied, taken, and  
deliuered to king Edward his aduersarie, who shut  
him vp in the tower of London till he was at length  
there made away, as in the historie of England ye  
may see moze at large.

In the yeare 1466, that famous bishop James  
Benebicte departed this life, and was buried in the  
college of saint Sauour, founded by him within  
the towne of saint Andzeus in most sumptuous  
wise. This prelat in prudent policie excelled all  
other Scottish bishops, of whom anie writer maketh  
mention. He kept the realme in good quiet, and ob-  
serued the truce concluded with the Englishmen, to  
the great weale and commoditie of the poore com-  
mons. He was verie rich, as appeared by sundrie  
buildings and towkes which he left behind him, as

a memorie of his name. [Whereof the three espe-  
ciall things for rarenesse and magnificence, were his  
college of saint Sauour (wherein youth might be  
trained to learning and religion) the other his sepul-  
chre, wherein he was buried (being a statelie peece of  
work, such as before had not bene accustomed for  
bishops of Scotland) & the third was a ship of won-  
derfull burden: all which three, the common people  
affirmed were of one price, and stood him in like  
charge.] Besides his bishopricke, he held in his hands  
the comandarie of the abbeie of Pettinweme,  
which was worth vnto him eight hundred croions  
by yeare. [Afterward, at the parlement holden in  
October and Januarie, there were manie edicts  
made for the benefit of the commonwealth, & chief-  
lie for the estate of the merchants; at what time also  
there was a proclamation made, that none of the  
Englishmen should beare anie office, nor receiue a-  
nie benefice or benefit in Scotland.]

In the yeare 1469, on the tenth day of Iulie,  
king James the third, being as then about thientie  
yeares of age, maried in the abbeie of Holie rood  
house nere Edinburgh, the ladie Margarete, daugh-  
ter to the king of Denmarke and Holsteine, which  
ladie was at the same time not past twelue yeares  
of age, some saie thientie. Hir father the king of  
Denmarke and Holsteine, in name of hir dower,  
transported and resigned to King James all his right,  
title, and interest which he pretended to the out Isles.  
The ambassadours that were sent into Denmarke  
to conclude this mariage, and to conueie the bride  
into Scotland, were these: Andrew Bultdair bishop  
of Glasgow, the bishop of Orknie, the lord Auandale  
chancellor of Scotland, and Thomas Boid earle of  
Arrane, who had maried the kings sister, and was  
now in his absence run into the kings displeasure;  
whereof his wife hauing intelligence, bearing of hir  
husbands arrivall with the other in the forth, got  
out of Edinburgh, & comming on shipboard to him,  
gaue him to vnderstand what displeasure the king  
had conceiued against him: who perceiuing him-  
selfe in that danger he stood if he toke land, retur-  
ned backe into Denmarke, taking his wife with  
him.

The king herewith was so offended, that he cau-  
sed both the said earle and his father to be attainted  
of high treason, and sent for his sister backe into  
Scotland, causing a diuorse in absence of hir husband  
to be sued & gotten forth against them, marieng hir  
afterwards to James lord Hamilton, to whom he  
gaue the earldome of Arrane, which hir former hus-  
band had in gift before. Of this mariage, those of  
the house of Hamiltons are descended, & are nearest  
of blood to the crowne of Scotland, as they pretend.  
[For (as saith Lelleus, lib. 8. pag. 316.) if the line of  
the Stewards faile, the crowne is to come to them.]  
But now to shew farther what we find written con-  
cerning the maner and cause of the banishment of  
the afore remembred Thomas Boid, Giouan Ferre-  
rio, in his appendix of the Scottish historie annexed  
vnto Hector Boetius lastlie printed at Paris in the  
yeare 1574, agreeth not with that which ye haue red  
before. For as he telleth the tale, the said lord Boid  
being one of the gouernours of the realme, elected  
thereto (as before ye haue heard) within short time  
grewe so far in fauor with the king, that he might do  
all things with him at his pleasure, although his as-  
sociats in authoritie did neuer so much go about to  
hinder his deuises: by reason whereof, he seemed to  
vsurpe the whole rule & administration of the realme  
into his owne hands, soze to the griefe of those his  
said associats being ioined with him in like office.  
Whereof the state of the common-wealth through  
the dissention thus bred among the gouernours, was  
brought

Fr.Thin.  
Lelleus lib. 8.  
pag. 314.

1470. Buch.  
1468. Lelle.  
1469.

Fr.Thin.  
Lelleus lib. 8.  
pag. 315.

1469.  
The mariage  
of James the  
third.

The king of  
Holsteine re-  
signeth his  
title to the out  
Isles.

The earle of  
Arrane in the  
kings displea-  
sure.

The lord He-  
milton marie-  
th the kings  
sister.

Fr.Thin.

Giouan Ferre-  
rio in his ap-  
pendix of the  
Scottish histo-  
rie.

The lord  
Boid beareth  
the rule a-  
bout the king.

The troublous  
state of agri-  
culture in the

gouernours,  
all disposed  
men were  
had to worke  
muchie.

1470. Buch.  
1468. Lelle.  
1469.

1469.  
The mariage  
of James the  
third.

The king of  
Holsteine re-  
signeth his  
title to the out  
Isles.

The earle of  
Arrane in the  
kings displea-  
sure.

The earle of  
Arrane in the  
kings displea-  
sure.

The lord He-  
milton marie-  
th the kings  
sister.

The lord He-  
milton marie-  
th the kings  
sister.

The lord He-  
milton marie-  
th the kings  
sister.

The lord  
Boid beareth  
the rule a-  
bout the king.

The troublous  
state of agri-  
culture in the



Abbeies given by un-  
lawfull means.

The bishop of  
St. Andrews  
made arch-  
bishop.

1474.

Primate and  
metropolitan.  
Two lre bi-  
shops in  
Scotland.

1476.

The lord of  
the Isles at-  
tainted.

1446. Lell.  
The king rais-  
ed an armie.

The lord of  
the Isles sub-  
mitted him-  
selfe.

He resigneth  
Ross, Caithre,  
and Banapher.

1477.  
An inquisitor  
sent from the  
pope.

vacant, the convent chose one of their owne monks called Alexander Thomson, and the king promoted Herete Creighton abbat of Dalkey therunto, whom the pope admitted, & Robert Schaw parson of Spinto was preferred by the king unto the abbacie of Dalkey, and then in such wise began promoting of secular priests to abbasies at the princes request, and the laudable elections ancientlie used, made void: because the court of Rome admitted such as the princes made sute for, and named, getting great rewards and notable summes of monie thereby, so that neither the bishops durst admit such as the convent elected, nor such as were elected durst pursue their right, and so the abbasies were bestowed upon such as followed the court, and lived courtlie, secularlie, and voluptuouslie, to the great slander of religious men, which by the naughty examples of their gouernours fell to the works of wickednesse; whereupon daily much euill increased, and vertue in all estates decayed.

This yere in September, the indulgence of the see of saint Andrews was published by Patrike Graham bishop thereof, and the same was created into the dignitie of an archbishops see, at the sute of the said Patrike, who gaue information to the pope, that because the archbishop of Dork was metropolitan of Scotland, and that there was oftentimes warre betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, the Scottishmen could not haue accesse to their metropolitan, speciallie in cases of appellation. And therefore the pope (as some write) thought it reason to make saint Andrews primate and metropolitan of Scotland, and ordered that the twelve other bishops of Scotland should be under his primasie, who would not agree thereto; but promised the king by way of a taxation eleven thousand marks for his maintenance against the said archbishop: and the prelates sent to Rome about this matter. This yere was a great death in the realme of Scotland, so that where a parliament was called in September, it was proroged untill the twelue day after Christmas. In Januarie the parlement was holden at Edinburgh, in which John lord of the Isles and earle of Ross was attainted, partly for his owne euill deeds, but most speciallie for the defaults of his father Donald lord of the Isles.

In Maie, in the yere 1477, the king raised a puissant armie of the most able men upon the north side of the water of Forth, to pursue the lord of the Isles both by sea and land. The earle of Crawford was made admiral of the armie by sea, and the erle of Atholl the kings vncle by his father was lieutenant of the armie by land. But such meanes was used by the earle of Atholl, that the lord of the Isles humbled himselfe to the kings pleasure, upon certaine conditions; and thereupon in the beginning of Julie next ensuing, the said lord of the Isles came to the parlement unto Edinburgh, and there was the agreement made and confirmed betwixt the king and him: he resigned into the kings hands all the right he had to the earldome of Ross, the lands of Cantire and Banapher, which earldome the king annexed to the crowne, and pardoned him and his seruants of all offenses and transgressions before that day committed, and inuested him anew in the lordship and feignorie of the Isles, and other his lands not released, to hold the same of the king by the seruice of ward and reliefe. The king also gaue unto the earle of Atholl for his diligence shewed, in reducing the said lord of the Isles unto order, the lands and forest of Clouie.

There was an inquisitor called Hostman this yere sent by pope Sixtus into Scotland, to examine by vertue of his commission Patrike Graham arch-

bishop of saint Andrews, whose examination and proses being sent unto the pope, he pronounced him an heretike, schismaticke, and simoniacke, and declared him accursed, condemning him to perpetuall prison: and so he was degraded from all orders, cure, and dignitie of ecclesiasticall office, and William Schewes archdeacon of the same see was promoted in his place, to whom he was also committed to see him safe kept in prison. He was first sent unto saint Colmes inch, and from thence to Dunfermling, and lastlie to Lochleuin, where he died, and was buried in saint Sarcis Ile in Lochleuin. The said William Schewes was consecrated archbishop of saint Andrews on Whasson Sunday in Lent, within Holle rood house, the king being present, and manie of the nobles of the realme. And there the said archbishop receiued the pall, as a signe of his archbishops dignitie, and so was confirmed primate and legat of the realme, notwithstanding the impediment made against Graham before by the bishops about the same.

This yere also Alexander duke of Albanye was committed to prison by the king his brother, within the castell of Edinburgh, through euill counsell, but he brake out and escaped to Dunbar, where he caused the castell to be furnished with all necessaries: and leauing his seruants within it, passed himselfe into France, and was there of the king honorable receiued, and louinglie intreated. In the beginning of Maie following, the king besieged that castell by his lieutenant the earle of Arundale, who lost at that siege three god knights, the lord of Lute, Sir John Schaw of Sand, & the lord of Cragtwallase, with the shot of a gun, & John Kameise was slaine with a stone cast by hand. When they within saw they could not long indure, they left the castell and fled a waie by sea, and the earle of Arundale entered, and found it void of all things thereof anie account was to be made.

Doctor Ireland being graduat in diuinitie at Paris, was sent from the French king unto the king of Scots, to persuaade him to make war upon England, to the end that king Edward should not aid the duke of Burgonie. And moreover, he had in charge to moue for the pardon of the duke of Albanye, and shortly after returned with answer. The erle of Mar called John Stewart the kings younger brother, this yere in the moneth of December, was taken in the night within his owne house, and conueied unto Cragmiller, where he was kept as prisoner by the kings commandement, and after was conuict of conspiracie for witchcraft which he should practise against the king: and hereupon in Cannogate beside Edinburgh, his beines were cut, and so he bled to death. There were manie and diuerse witches and sorcerers, as well men as women conuict of that crime, and burnt for the same at Edinburgh. The king sent ambassadoz into England to make sute to haue the ladie Cicill, daughter to king Edward, joined in marriage with his sonne James the prince, which was granted, and the marriage concluded to be solemnized, when the prince of Scotland should come to perfect age: as in the English historie it more plainlie appeareth. Doctor Ireland, with a knight, and another religious man, came againe to king James from the French king, to persuaade him to make warres against England: and at length, king James and his nobles condescended to breake the peace, wherewith Thomas Spenser bishop of Abirden (that was full tenderlie beloued of king Edward, and had bene ener a mediatoz for peace betwixt the kings of England, France, and Scotland, & the duke of Burgonie) when he heard that warre would follow, he died through griefe of mind.

The archbi-  
shop is not  
well handled.

Depined.  
1478. Lell.

Put in prison

1478. Lell.

1479.  
Wm. Schewes  
is consecrated  
archbishop.

The duke of  
Albanie im-  
prisoned.

He escaped.

Edinburgh  
besieged.

1479. Lell.  
Doctor Ire-  
land sent unto  
the king of  
Scots.

1479. Lell.  
1480.  
John Ste-  
ward a pris-  
oner.

was put to  
death.

A marriage  
concluded.  
1480. Lell.

Bishop Spen-  
ser died.

1481.  
King James  
sent an ambassa-  
dor into Eng-  
land.

R. Edward  
sent a nuncio  
into Scot-  
land.

Ships taken  
and burnt.

The king of  
Scotland pre-  
pared an ar-  
mie.

Legat im-  
prisoned him.

In other na-  
me sent into  
Scotland.

Berwick at-  
tacked by an  
armie of Eng-  
lishmen.

1482.

The duke of  
Albanie com-  
meth into  
England.

The presump-  
tuous demean-  
our of the  
Scottish nobles.

Thomas  
Cochran.

Imbedding of  
cane.

The kings  
couchman was  
killed.

mind and melanchollie at Edinburgh, in the moneth of Aprill. The king sent two heralds vnto king Edward, requesting him not to aid the duke of Burgonie, nor anie other against the king of France: for if he did, he must needs support the Frenchmen, by reason of the league betwixt France and Scotland: but king Edward would not admit those heralds to his presence, but kept them still without answer, till he had sent forth a nauie of ships into the Forth before Leth, Kingorne, and Pettentown, and then were the heralds licenced to returne. The English fleet entering the Forth, took eight great ships which they found in that riuer, and landing at Blackness, burnt the towne, and a great barge that laie there at rode, and so returned.

The king assembled an armie from all parts of the realme, and amongst other, the lords of the Isles came with a great companie: and now the king being ready to enter into England, there came to him a messenger of king Edward, sent from a cardinal legat that was resident as then in England, commanding king James by authoritie apostolike, not to proceede futher in his purposed iournie, to the end that peace being obserued, all christian princes might bend their powers against the Turke & Infidels. This commandement did king James obeie, and so discharged his armie, notwithstanding that king Edward sent forth his nauie againe into the Forth, to the Ile of Jns Keith, but they did no hurt: for the countrie men kept them off. The Scottish borderers invaded the English marches, destroyed townes, and led manie prisoners awaie with them into Scotland. The king of England caused Berwick to be assailed both by sea and land all the winter season, and overthrew a wall that was newlie made about it for defence thereof: but the Scots within it defended the towne so that time so stoutlie, that the enimies might not win it from them.

The duke of Albanie, after his wife was dead, whom he had married in France, perceiving himselfe not so well intreated as before, came ouer into England, where king Edward receiued him verie honorablie, promising (as some haue written) to make him king of Scotland: and thereupon assembled an armie of thirtie thousand men, with a great nauie by sea to invade Scotland, and appointed capitaines and leaders of the armie by land, his owne brother the duke of Gloucester, the duke of Albanie, and others. The king of Scots hearing of their approach to invade his realme, raised a puissant armie to resist them, and came forward with the same vnto the towne of Loder, where being incamped, the principall nobles of his realme, as Archibald earle of Angus, George earle of Huntlie, John earle of Lennox, James earle of Buchquhane, Andrew lord Greie, Robert lord Lile, and diuerse other being armed, entered the kings lodging, where they accused him of diuerse things done and practised by him contrary to his honor and the common-weale of his realme; and speciallie, because he used young counsell of lewd persons, vnto which and base of birth, such as Thomas Cocham, whome of a mason he had made earle of Mar, though whose deuil and counsell he had caused to be colned certaine monie of copper, not conuenient to be currant in anie realme, which the people refused, and so great dearth and hunger was raised through the countrie. Moreover, that he would not suffer the noble men to come neare his presence, nor to take their counsell in gouerning the realme, but gaue himselfe to voluptuous pleasure, setting naught by the quene his lawfull wife, & keeping a naughtie harlot called the Wassie in his place.

Alls they laied to his charge, that he had put his brother the earle of Mar to death, and banished his

other brother the duke of Albanie, and therefore they could not suffer him and the whole realme to be longer misled by such naughtie persons. And hereupon they took Thomas Cocham earle of Mar, William Roger, and James Hommilt tailor, who with others being convicted, were hanged ouer the bridge at Loder. Whelie John Kaitheie a young man of eightene yeres of age, for whom the king made great instance, was pardoned of life. This done, they returned to Edinburgh, and appointed the king himselfe to be kept in the castell by the earle of Artholl, and in the meane time, the second of August, they sent Andrew Steward elect bishop of Murray, & John lord Warneleie to the English armie, lying then at Luder, to take truce for thre moneths: but the dukes of Gloucester and Albanie came forward vnto Keltairig, where they incamped without anie resistance. The English nauie lying also in the Forth was ready to assist their fellowes by land.

Hereupon, certaine noble men of Scotland, as the archbishop of Saint Andrewes, the bishop of Dunkeeld, Colin earle of Argile, and Andrew Steward lord Auendale, great chancellor of Scotland, went to the English campe, & treating with the two dukes, agreed vpon certaine articles, whereby the duke of Albanie was receiued into his countrie againe in peaceable wise, and had giuen to him the castell of Dunbar with the earledoms of Mar and Mar. He was proclaimed also generall lieutenant to the king. And so the Englishmen returned homewards, and came vnto Berwick, where they hauing wonne the towne as they passed that waies into Scotland, had left the lord Stanleie, and sir John Clouington, with foure thousand men, to keepe a siege before the castell, and now they enforced the same: but the lord Halls then capitaine within that castell, defended it verie mantullie, sending to the duke of Albanie and other, the lords of the counsell, for helpe to raise the siege. The duke in ded raised an armie, and came to Lanier more, but when they within perceived that through dissention betwixt the king and the nobles of the realme, they were not like to be rescued, they yielded the castell into the Englishmens hands, the 24 of August, in that yere 1482, after it had remained now at this time in the Scottishmens hands the space of 21 yeres.

The king remaining as prisoner in Edinburgh castell, all things were ordered by the duke of Albanie, Andrew Steward lord of Auendale, chancellor, and others, till the said duke, the archbishop of Saint Andrewes, the chancellor, the earle of Argile, and diuerse others, went to Strueling to visit the quene and prince, where the duke was perswaded by the quene, without knowledge thereof giuen to the other, to go vnto Edinburgh, and to restore the king vnto libertie. The duke accordingly to the quenes pleasure comming to Edinburgh, besieged the castell and won it, remoued the earle of Artholl, and set the king and all his seruants at libertie, for the which god turne, the king shewed great tokens of loue to his brother the duke, although it lasted not long. The earle of Argile, the bishop of Saint Andrewes, the chancellor, and others, which remained at Strueling, when they heard those newes, fled into their owne countries: and shortly after, the bishop of Saint Andrewes, at request of the king, resigned his bishoprike in fauor of maister Andrew Steward prior of Glenelouden, and was content in recompense thereof, with the bishoprike of Murray. This yere there was great theft, reisse, and slaughter in diuerse parts of the realme, by occasion of the variance betwixt the king and his nobles.

\* Charles the eight, king of France (in the beginning of his kingdome) sent into Scotland certain

Cocham earle of Mar and other hanged.

The king kept vnder arrest.

The duke of Albanie is reconciled.

The castell of Berwicks is taken.

The king a prisoner.

The king is set at libertie.

The archbishop resigneth.

Fr. Thin. Lessius lib. 2. pag. 249.

1483.

teine ambassadois, which were Berold or Bernard Steward, lord of Aubignie, marshall of France, and Peter Mallart doctor of both lawes, to renew the old league betwene this James the third, and the king of France: for which cause the king of Scots and the nobles assembled at Edinburgh, where (with the French ambassadois) taking all the rols of all the ancient leagues, they reconfirmed the same, with the seales of both parts set thereunto; which done, the Frenchmen (with whom were sent into France divers Scots) returned home. Amongest the Scots, one Robertson was the chiefe, a man famous for the feates of battell, and having imployed his service on the parts of the French in the Italian warres, which being ended, the said chosen soldiers following the conduct of Berold Steward, went into England with Henrie earle of Richmond, after king, whose part they took against Richard at that time usurper upon the English, for which cause the earle of Richmond (when he was after king) did deserve love the Scots.

The seditions also, which a long time did burne in France, caused headie wars to grow betwene the king of France and the duke of Burgogny. Whereunto, when the death of Charles (the last duke of Burgogny, slain at Rantz by the duke of Bourgoyne) did set end: Charles the eight of that name, king of France (assembling a great armie) did apply all his force and devise to expell Alphonse out of the kingdome of Naples, who at that time succeeded haplie unto him by reason that Alphonse was then easilie removed. Not after, when the Neapolitane people did revolt (from the French faction) to Ferdinand the son of Alphonse, there arose great flames of warre and sedition through Italie; each part striving to support the strength of his owne. The administration of which warre against Ferdinand, was chieflie performed by the Scots, as principall captains of that armie, or at the least equall with the best. Of which Scots the chiefe were Alexander duke of Albanie, son to James the second king of Scots; John also duke of Albanie sonne of this Alexander; George Montgomerie lord of Loche; Bernard Steward (who was after made hieroy of Naples, which office he suffelie manie yeres did execute) Robert Steward marshall of France, Nicholas Scot, and others, whereof manie (for their worthie exploits) were by the French honorablie rewarded with great possessions. Who also (as manie of the Scots before had done) planting themselves in Calabria, became the authors of manie ancient families. For though by the evill custome of common speech, they retein the name of Scot (as taken of their countrey) yet by the ensignes, and tokens which they had and used, it may easilie be knowne of what families the Scots their ancestors did descend.

Wherefore it followeth by most certeine coniecture, that the ancient familie of the earles (to whom use of speech hath long obtained the surname of Scots) flourishing in Placentia, had their originall from the stocke of the Douglases, as the armes of them both do well witness: which kindred (besides manie other earles thereof) is at this day notablie beautified by Christopher Scot, who (with singular pietie and learning) both gouverne the church of Canallion. Againe, there is another familie of Scots, commonly called the Scoties in Calabria, whereof Bernard Scotia and Horace his brother (the one a senator of Mantua, and the other a prelat) are both famous, as well for their vertue, as nobilitie: also Francis Scotia, lord of Paine and Mondone, and other nobles of the marquisdome of Saluce, are descended from the Scots, with the large familie of the Schities (descended of James Orlando Scot,

which we have heard confirmed by the armes of that familie) are well advanced about Cremona, Mantua, and Verona, as are also the Paparons in Rome (so called for their armes and ensignes) whose ancestors to be of the Scottish nobilitie, is witnessed by a worthie monument thereof in the church of saint Marie the great, in which the father and the son called Paparons, being there buried, are both adorned with the ensignes of knighthood out of Scotland.)

The duke of Albanie, for that he understood there was purpose given to him in drinke in the kings chamber, and therefore stood in feare of his life, fled from the court unto the castell of Dunbar, whereby ensued great discord. The king fearing the displeasure of his nobles, got himselfe into the castell of Edinburgh. The earles of Angus, Buchachane, and others left the king, and assailed the duke of Albanie. And the king through counsell of certeine meane persons whom he had agone taken into him, summoned the duke and other his assistants, to come to answer for such treason, as he had to lay against them; a battell prepared an armie to besiege Dunbar, whereof the duke being advertised, fled into England, and afterwards being accompanied with the earle of Dowglas, and a great number of Englishmen, invaded Scotland upon the west marches, where manie Englishmen were slain and taken by the resistance of the lords Colpuill, Johnston, and others, the duke was put to flight, and the earle Dowglas taken and brought to the king, who because he was an aged man, and had bene long banished his countrey, was sent to the abbaye of Lymbour, where he remained the rest of his daies, and at length, departing this life, was buried there.

The duke of Albanie for the losse of that armie, was blamed of the king of England, and thereupon taking a mistaking, secretly departed over into France by the helpe of John Liddell, sonne to sir James Liddell knight, who afterwards lost his life for the same. The duke was well intertained in France by the king there; and finally running at tilt with Wolsey duke of Orleans, was hurt with the splint of a speare, and thereof died. He left behind him two sonnes, John duke of Albanie, that was after gouvernor and tutor to king James the first, and Alexander that was after bishop of Murray, and abbat of Scone. His yere the lord Hume, Torcklis, Oliphant, and Drummond, were made lords of the parliament. In the yere 1484, the king sent the archbishop of saint Andrews unto Rome, for certeine privileges which he obtained. And the same yere, pope Innocent the eight of that name, sent the bishop of Amola to treat of peace, betwixt Richard king of England, and James king of Scotland. James king of Scots, having not long before made divers incursions and rodes into England, and that to his profit, he sued thereupon for a truce, which came to passe even as king Richard wished, so that condescending to have a communication, commissioners were appointed for both parts to meet at Nottingham, the twentieth day of September next ensuing.

For the king of Scots there appeared Colin earle of Argile, the lord Campbell, the lord chancellor of Scotland, William bishop of Aberdeen, Robert lord Lile, Laurence lord Oliphant, John Drummond of Stubbhall, Archibald Maitlaw archdeacon of Latoden, and secretarie to king James, Lion king of armes, and Duncan Dundas. For king Richard, there came Richard bishop of saint Asaph, John duke of Norfolk, Henrie earle of Northumberland, Thomas lord Stanley, George Stanley lord Strange, John Greie lord Wolsey, Richard lord Fitzburgh, John Gunthorpe keeper of the kings privie seale, Thomas Barlow maister of the rols, sir

Certaine noble families in Italie and Calabria spring from the Scots.

A peace concluded for these yeres.

Douglas given

The king is for slain.

Lords are summoned.

Scotland invaded.

Earle Dowglas sent to an abbey.

The duke of Albanie is blamed.

The archbishop is sent to Rome. The pope sent to intertreat for peace.

Commissioners appointed on the behalf of the king of England & Scotland, to treat for a peace at Nottingham.

The castell of Dunbar in the Englishmans hands.

An article for the castell of Dunbar.

An article for traitors.

An article for Scottishmen already being in England. An article for the wardens of the marches.

A clause to be put in late records. An article for such as should serve either princes in warre.

Colleagues compelled in the truce.

Thomas Brian chiefe iustice of the common pless, sir Richard Ratcliffe knight, William Catesbie, & Richard Salkeld esquires. These counsellors in the later end of September, after sundrie meetings and communications had togither, concluded (as followeth) a peace to be had betwixt both the realmes for the space of thre yeeres, the same to begin at the rising of the sunne, on the 29 of September in the yere 1484, and so continue vnto the setting of the sunne on the 29 of September in the yere 1487.

During which terme, it was agreed, that not one, nor all hostilitie and warre should cease betwixt the two realmes, but that also all aid and abatement of enemies should be avoided, & by no colorable meanes or waie in anie case used. The towne and castell of Berwikke to remaine in the Englishmens hands, for the space of the said terme, with the same bounds as the Englishmen possessed it at that season, when it was deliuered to the Scottishmen by king Henrie the first. It was likewise condescended, that all other castels, holds, and fortresses, during the tearme of the said thre yeeres, should abide in the hands of those that held them at that present, the castell of Dunbar onelie excepted. This castell of Dunbar was deliuered vnto the Englishmen by the duke of Albanie, when he fled into France, and so remained in their hands at that time of concluding this truce.

Wherevpon (by reason the Scottish commissioners had not authoritie to conclude anie full agreement for that castell, vnlesse the same might be restored vnto the king their masters hands) it was accorded, that if the king of Scots, within the space of fortie daies next ensuing, did intimate his resolute refusall to be agreeable, that the said castell should remaine in the Englishmens hands aboue the space of six moneths, that then during that terme of six moneths, those that kept the castell for the Englishmen should remaine in quiet, and not be troubled nor molested by anie kind of meanes by the said king of Scots, or anie other by his procurement, so that they within the castell likewise absteyning from making anie issues or reffes vpon the Scottish people. And if after that the said terme of six moneths were once expired, it should chance that anie warre arose for defending or recouering the said castell, yet the truce should indure for all other rights and possessions, notwithstanding that it might be lawfull to doe what lay in anie of their powers, either for winning or defending the foresaid castell, as though no truce had bene concluded.

It was further agreed, that no traitor of either realme should be receiued by the prince of either realme; and if anie traitor or rebell chanced to arrive in either realme, the prince thereof to deliuer him vpon demand made. Scots alreadie abiding in England & sworn to the king there, may remaine still, so their names be certified to the Scottish king within fortie daies. If anie warden of either realme should inuade the others subiects, he to whome such warden is subiect, shall within six daies proclaime him traitor, and certifie the other prince thereof within twelve daies. And in euerie safe conduct this clause should be contained; Provided alwaies that the obteiner of this safe conduct be no traitor. If anie of the subiects of either prince doe presume to aid, helpe, mainteine, or serue anie other prince against anie of the contradors of this truce, then it shall be lawfull for him, to whome he shewed himselfe enemy, to apprehend and attach the said subiect, going, coming, or tarrying within anie of his dominions.

Colleagues compysed in this truce (if they would assent thereto) on the English part were these: the king of Castile and Leon, the king of Arragon, the king of Portugal, the archduke of Austria & Bur-

gognie, and the duke of Brittain. On the Scottish part, Charles the French king, John king of Denmarke and Norwaie, the duke of Gelderland, and the duke of Brittain. The lordship of Rone in the realme of Scotland, and the Island of Linnath lieng in the river of Seuerne, in the realme of England, were not comprehended in this agreement. This concord, peace, and amitie thus concluded, was appointed to be published the first day of October, in the most notable cities and townes of both the realmes.

For the sure obseruation, keeping, & performance of this truce & league, there were appointed for conservatores on the Scottish side, David earle of Crawford and lord Lindsay, George earle of Huntlye lord Gordon and Badzenath, John lord Darnleye, John lord Benedict, Robert lord Lile, Patrike lord Halene, Laurence lord Diphant, William lord Forthwike, sir John Kesse of Halkheid, sir Gilbert Johnston of Cliphinston, sir John Lundie, sir John Ogilvie of Arlie, sir Robert Hamilton of Fin-galton, sir William Balze of Lamington, sir John Benedict of Blarhorne, sir John Wemes, sir William Kochwen, Edward Stockton of Birke patie, John Dundas, John Kesse of Mountgrenan, & quires.

It was further agreed, that commissioners should meet at Loughmaben on the eighteenth day of November, as well for redresse of certeine offences done on the west marches, as also for declaring and publishing the peace. On the English part, the lord Dacres, the lord Fitzhugh, sir Richard Ratcliffe, sir Christopher Morelles, sir Richard Salkeld, or thre of them. For the Scots, the lord Benedict, the lord Mountgomerie, the lord Lile, John Partwell Esward of Annandale, Robert Creighton of Sanquhar, or thre of them. Also, there were assigned commissioners to meet at Koldenborne for the east marches, the first day of December; and at Baldan Stanke for the middle marches, on the fourth day of the same moneth. At which two places for Scotland, there were assigned to appeere the earle of Huntlye, the earle of Angus, the earle of Argyle chancelor of Scotland, the lord Annandale, the lord Seiton, the lord Diphant, the lord Stubhall, with others.

For England, the earle of Northumberland, the lord Greystocke, the lord Scrope of Passan, sir William Gascoigne, sir Robert Constable, and other. The same commissioners had authoritie to assigne certeine persons, to view and declare the bounds and limits appertaining to Berwikke, according to the true meaning of the league. For the battell ground it was accorded, that the same should remaine without sowing, earing, building, or inhabiting, as it had done before. Shortly after the concluding of this truce, king Richard intreated for a mariage to be had betwixt the prince of Northfate, eldest sonne to king James & ladie Anne de la Poole, daughter to John duke of Suffolke and to the ladie Anne his wife, that was sister to the said king Richard. For the concluding of this mariage, both the kings sent their ambassadors againe vnto Nottingham, where their treatie had such successe for that time, that the mariage was agreed vpon, and writings thereof drawn, ingrossed, and sealed, and affiances made and taken by proctors and deputies on both parts. The foresaid young ladie was immediately called pryncesse of Northfate, but by the short life of king Richard his vnclie she shortly after lost that name.

King James within a while after the conclusion of this league and mariage afore said, for the expelling and declaring of his opinion touching the castell of Dunbar, whether he would be agreeable that the same should remaine onelie six moneths, or else during

Lorne & Lundie  
date excepted;

Commissioners appointed to meet at Loughmaben

Commissioners to meet at Koldenborne, and at Baldan Stanke;

The battell ground.

A mariage concluded betwixt the duke of Northfate and the ladie Anne de la Poole.

A peace concluded for thre yeeres.

The castell of Dunbar in the Englishmens hands.

An article for the castell of Dunbar.

An article for traitors.

An article for Scottishmen already being in England.

An article for the wardens of the marches.

A clause to be put in safe conducts.

An article for such as should come either princes in warre.

Colleagues compysed in the truce.

King James by letters signifieth his mind touching the articles of Dunbar.

Mr. Richard would not deliver the castle of Dunbar.

1486.

Mr. Richard overthrewne by the earle of Richmond.

An ambassage sent into Scotland.

The kings answer.

His promise.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 12.

1487.

A parliament.

No pardon to be granted to offenders for the space of seven yeares.

during the tearme of the whole truce in the English mens possessions, he wrote vnto king Richard a louing letter, signifieng vnto him, that he was not minded to seeke the recouerie of the said castell by force of armes, but rather to leaue it in his hand, during the whole terme of the truce. Nevertheless, he instantlie required him for the bond of that loue and familiaritie, which now by treatie and aliance was sprung by betwixt them, that he would redeliuer the said castell into his hands, according as reason might moue him thereto; considering the Englishmen had no right to it, being onelie deliuered to them by traitors of their native countrie, without anie reasonable cause, or commission lawfullie authorized.

King Richard dailed in this matter with pleasant letters and faire words feeding forth king James, without minding to gratifie him in that sute, so that as long as king Richard lived, king James could neuer get it for anie thing he might do. In the yeare 1486, Henrie earle of Richmond comming out of France with a power of men, of the which Bernard Stewart a Scottishman was chiefe capteine, landed in Wales, and passing through the countrie into England, at length incountered king Richard, and due him, so obtaining the crowne of that realme. And after he was somewhat quietlie established in the same, he came into the north parts, where he remained the most part of the next summer, and regarding nothing more than to haue the loue and friendship of his neighbors, & to be confederat with the kings and princes joining next vnto him, he sent from Bewcastle one of his counsellors Richard For bishop of Excester, and sir Richard Edcombe knight, ambassadors vnto king James, to treat a contract, and renew the bond of peace and truce betwixt the said kings and their realmes.

These ambassadors were gladlie received of king James, who declared vnto them, that he bare great fauor and loue vnto their maister, and would be glad to pleasure him in all he might: howbeit, that his subiects were not of so good a mind towards the English nation as he himselfe wished, and therefore he willed them to be contented with a truce for seven yeares, sith further he could not do, for doubt to offend his nobilitie and subiects. But he promised secretly, that when those seven yeares were expired, he would renew the same for the tearme of other seven yeares, and so from seven yeares to seven yeares so long as he liued. This he did, because he perceived that his people had him in such hatred, that they would not consent to anie bond that he should make. The ambassadors perceiuing his good meaning toward king Henrie, confirmed the truce for those seven yeares, and so returned home to king Henrie, who was glad of that they had done.

In the meane time died the queene, a woman of singular beautie and godnesse, who was supposed greatlie to mitigat the vnbridled force of hir husband. At what time also in France died Alexander the kings brother, leauing behind him two sonnes, which were Alexander boine of his first wife (daughter to the earle of Dykeneie) and John (boine of his second wife) being after made gouernor of Scotland. Immediately after that this truce was thus concluded betwixt the two realmes, king James caused the three estates to assemble in parliament at Edinburgh the first of October in the yeare 1487, in the which order was taken, that iustice oress should be holden through all the parts of the realme, & that no pardons should be granted for anie great crime that shuld be committed for the space of seven yeares to come, so that the king began to vse sharpe execution of iustice in all parts, which was right dis-

pleasant to manie.

At the same time was an ambassadoz sent to the king of Romans, for the calling in of a letter of marque, which had bene granted against Scottish merchants, at the sute and instance of certeine Hollanders and Burgognions, and was shortly after hereupon reuoked. After the parlement was ended, the king remoued vnto Striueling, leauing his wife the queene, and hir sonne the prince at Edinburgh castell, whilst he keeping persons about him of meane calling, gaue himselfe to take his pleasure with women, & to gather by gold and siluer, greatlie to the offense of his subiects. Yet in the meane time, now after the death of king Richard, whether it was by treson or appointment, the castell of Dunbar was deliuered to the hands of king James, and that to his great ioy and high contentation; for he that ruled his kingdome more with rigor than with anie tractable mane of fauorable iustice, stood euer in feare of some troublesome tumult that might be raised by his owne people, if occasion were ministered either through hope of foreign aid or otherwise.

So long therefore as the castell was in the Englishmens hands, he doubted least through practise, some conspiracie should be contriued betwixt his owne subiects and the English nation, greatlie to the annoiance of his estate, & thereupon he was the more desirous to reduce the same castell into his possession. But the onelie meane to haue assured himselfe from the hands of such as sought his life, had bene to haue changed his wilfull manner of gouernment, & to haue leaned vnto such counsell as would haue aduised him for the wealth of his whole realme, and not vpon desire to please, haue maintained his indiscreet opinions, to the longing awfull of his commons as of the nobles and peeres of his realme; for the nobilitie of Scotland, namelie the earles of Angus, Argile, and Lenox, the lords Halls, Home, Drummond, Greie, and others, perceiuing themselves oppressed by such as from base birth had risen (without worthie deserting) to the degree of counsellors, and therewith aduanced to so high authoritie, as all things were ordered at their appointment, conspired togither, & determined by force of armes to see a reformation in such a disordered manner of gouernement.

But yet because it should not be thought that they minded the destruction of their countrie, but rather the aduancement thereof, they made the lord James duke of Rothsay sonne to the king (a child boine to godnesse and vertue) the chiefe capteine in this their enterprize, and that in manner against his will; hereby openlie protesting, that they minded and purposed the suppressing and confusion of an euill king, and not the subuersion of their native countrie. By which their craftie imagined inuention, they thought to remoue all suspicion of their purposed vntruth and shamefull disloyaltie. They had sent to the earle of Douglas, who remained prisoner (as ye haue heard) in the abbey of Lundon, and required him to assist them in their begun enterprize, promising that they would restore him againe to his lands and former dignitie, and honor him as principall of their faction. But that noble, wise, and ancient earle, being alreadye schooled with troubles, and hauing learned by experience (to his great griefe) what such matter meant, refused to breake his ward, or to assist them in anie wise, dissuading them from their enterprize, because it seemed to him neither goodlie nor honorable, sithens both himselfe and his friends had tasted for the like, great hinderance, which might be an example to him and others to beware in time to come.

The king being once informed of this rebellion and

Ambassadors sent to the king of the Romans.

The king gaue himselfe to satisfie his lust in keeping women and gathering treasure.

After the death of king Richard, Dunbar is deliuered.

The meane whereby king James might haue auoided danger of death by his subiects.

The conspiracie of the Scottish lords against king James the third.

They met in a pitched field. The king is put to the sword. His name.

Fr. Thin.

James the fourth.

1488.

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He is slaine.

Thim.

James the  
fourth.

1488.

and conspiracie against him, was sore disquieted in his mind, and to meet their mischievous attempts, gathered an armie. Yet before the vling of anie force, he sent messengers to his sonne, and to the nobles with him, to trie if he might come to some agreement with them. He sent also letters to the king of England, & to the French king, requiring them to take some paines in the matter, to procure an attonement betwixt him and his nobles. And besides this, he wrote to pope Innocent about the same purpose, praieng him to intermeddle his authoritie by sending some legate into Scotland, to appease the troubles thereof. But the Scottish nobilitie, and such of the people as were vp in armes against him, were so desperatlie set, and wholie bent on reuenge, that no wholesome counsell nor medicinable aduise might appease their furious rage, so that for answer to his messengers, they sent him word, that if he would resigne the title of his crowne and realme, & depose himselfe of his whole regall dignitie, then they would come to some communication with him or else not. The like answer was given to the ambassadoꝝ of England and France, that were sent unto them from the kings of both those realmes, which sore lamented the fortune of their friend and alie the Scottish king.

But Adrian the bishop of Rome's legat came too late, as who should say, a day after the faire: for when their grounded malice and spitefull hatred conceived against him might not be qualified by anie manner of means, but that they were now coming forward with all their puissance to Striueling, where he then remained, he would not stae till the erles of Huntlie, Erroll, Atholl, Cratsoford, Rothus, Sutherland, Cathness, & Sparthall, the barons, Forbes, Ogilvie, Granth, Fraser, and others, were arrived with their powers, amounting to the number of fortie thousand men, with the which they were coming forth of the north parts to his aid: but rashlie and without god aduise he issued out of the towne, accompanied with the earles of Glenearne & Spontros, the lords Graham, Ruthuen, Sparrwell, and certeine others, and forthwith ioined battell with his aduersaries at Banockesborne, within two miles of Striueling.

Now when nothing might quiet them, at length they met thus in a pitched field, where after great slaughter & murder made of an huge multitude of people, the king being put to the worse, fled into a mill, whither being fiercelie followed and found therein, he was cruellie slaine, and irreuerentlie left stark naked. A notable mirror to all princes, that calling to remembrance such a miserable and most dolorous sight, they may take heed by what maner of persons they suffer themselves to be led and abused. For if this prince king James the third had not followed upon a willfull pretense, and obstinat mind, the counsell and aduise of vantage, and such as (being advanced from base degree vnto high authoritie) studied more to keepe themselves in fauor, than to giue true aduertisements, and faithfull aduise vnto their prince, he might haue reigned longer by manie daies & yeres, in great and high felicitie. [In which conflict was on the kings part slaine (as faith Buchanan) Alexander Coningham earle of Glenearne.] He was thus slaine nere Striueling, on the seventh day of June, the yere after the incarnation 1488, being also the 29 of his reigne.

Now then, after that the barons of Scotland had thus slaine their soueraine lord and liege king James, the third of that name: his eldest son James the fourth was crowned king of Scotland, and began his reigne the 24 of June, in the yere 1488, being not past sixteen yeres of age, who notwithstanding

that he had bene in the field with the nobles of the realme against his father, that contrarie to his mind was slaine, yet neuertheless afterwards, he became a right noble prince, & seemed to take great repentance for that his offense, and in token thereof, he wore continually an iron chaine about his middle all the daies of his life. He was greatlie giuen to deuotion and praier, visiting religious houses, and bestowing on them sundrie gifts. He gouerned his realme in great rest, peace, iustice, and quietnesse, riding him selfe in proper person diuerse daies and nights, to suppress and take thieues, robbers, and oppressors of his subjects in all parts of his realme, till he had brought the countrie to great quietnesse. He was learned and liberall, and indued with manie other good vertues and qualities.

Anon after his coronation, the earle of Lennox, and the lord Lile, with diuers other their assistants, notwithstanding that they had bene with him at the slaughter of his father, seeing that things went not as they wished, raised an armie, and caused the dead kings bloudie shirt to be borne afore them for a banner: and coming forwards toward Striueling against the young king, were ouerthrowne at Tolsmoss, where the Lennox men, and sundrie other of the barons side were slaine, as the lord of Kilstruth, and other taken and hanged for their offences. The king called a parlement at Edinburgh, which was holden the first of October, where he being moued by clemencie, granted a generall pardon to all those that came in field at Striueling with his father against him, and appointed euerie one to haue speciall pardons thereupon vnder his seales. He likewise dispensed with the heires of them that were slaine with his father there in field, appointing them their particular dispensations vnder his seales, after the same manner. Further it was ordeined, that all iustices, shiriffes, stewards, bailiffes, lieutenants, and other which had offices in heritage, and had bene with his father at the field, should be suspended from the same offices for the tearme of three yeres: and those which had offices for life, or for terme of yeres, should be vtterlie excluded from the same.

Moreover, he took order that all such goods as had bene taken from landed men and burgeses, should be restored to them againe, except that which was taken from such landed men and burgeses as were in the field against him; for that was deemed a lawfull preie. It was also iudged that the death of his father came vpon him through his owne default, and that king James the fourth then reigning, and all his adherents and partakers in that field, were innocent and guiltlesse of all slaughter made there at that time, and clearlie acquit of all pursute and occasion thereof: the three estates granting to giue their seales to testifie the same, with the kings great seale of the realme, to be shewed vnto the pope, the kings of France, Spaine, Denmarke, and other princes their confederats. And for the ceasing of these, reiffe, & such other great enozimities, the king was appointed to ride in person once euerie yere through all parts of the realme. And certeine noble men were ordeined to exercise iustice in euerie shire next adioining to the places where they had their chiefe residence: and herevnto they gaue their othes to be diligent in the administration of iustice. These ordinances were right well obserued all the daies of King James the fourth his life time, so that the realme was reduced to great tranquillitie, and gouerned in good peace and iustice. Furthermore, all gifts made by his father in prejudice of the crowne, were reuoked, from the second day of Februarie immediatlie preceeding his death, to the day in which he was slaine.

The king  
was repen-  
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The king  
wore an iron  
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He was a  
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He was lear-  
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The nobles  
raise an armie  
againe.

They were  
ouerthrowne.

A parlement.

A generall  
pardon.

\* About

Fr. Thin.  
Buchan.lib.13.

\* About this time was a monster bozne of a strange forme, hauing from the nauill downeward the perfect parts of one man, not different from the right propozition of a man: but from the nauill vppward, it was double bodied, hauing all perfect parts answering euerie of those bodies, sundered to all actions and thews. This monster the king commanded to be diligentlie nourished and instructed, but chieflie in musike (wherein it profited verie much.) Further also learning diuers sorts of languages, whose seuerall wits and natures manifestlie appeared by diuers dispositions of their minds. For sometime they would fall out one with another, and when anie thing displeased them, they would most bitterly contend the one with the other: contrariwise, when anie thing happened to their liking or desire, they would consult and agree together as friends. In which this was worthie remembrance, that if the legges or loines had bene hurt below, they both together felt the paine; but if they were pinched or grieued in any part aboue seuered from the other, then that bodie onelie felt the same which had that hurt done vnto it. Which different sence did more plainelie appeare in the death of the one of them: for when the one bodie died manie daies before the other, that which liued, did after by little and little consume, by the putrification of the other bodie then dead; which monster liued 28 yeres, and in the time of John the gouernor: of which thing we doubt not to write (more boldlie) sith there are men yet liuing of honest fame which saw these things.)

Buchan.li.13.

This king in the beginning of his reigne, to make his estate the surer, and more faithfull to reconcile the harts of such as had maintained factions against him, determined to marie the daughters of his aunt by two husbands, to two of those noble men: for which cause he married Gretina Boid to Alexander Forbys, and Margaret Hammliton to Matthew Steward, by which in time there followed a most singular peace in the kingdome. Also an esquier, and an herald were sent into France, Spaine, and other places, to learne where the king might be a suter for some great ladie to ioint with him in marriage. Moreover beside these, there were sent honorable ambassadoys into France, Spaine, and Denmarke, to renew the old amities & leagues betwixt those realmes and Scotland, as had bene vsed in the daies of this kings progenitors. His two brethren, the duke of Rothscie, and the earle of Mar, he caused to be brought vp in good nourture and vertuous exercise, appointing to them such livings for maintenance of their estates, as his father had assigned them.

1486  
A marriage sought for the king.

For his counsell he chose a certeine number of the prelates, noble men, and barons of his realme, such as were thought most meet, taking this order, that six of them at the least should continually remaine about him, by whose aduise he should doe all things that touched the affaires of the realme: and in case any thing was done without their aduise, the same should be indged void, & not to be obeyed, & this was inuoluable kept all his daies. When the esquier and herald were returned againe into Scotland, which had bene to visit strange countries, and made report of that they had seene, there was a parlement holden, in which it was ordeined, that the bishop of Glasgou, the earle Bothwell, and others, should go as ambassadoys to sue for the kings marriage in place where it should be most expedient, and most to the kings liking. Great variance rose betwixt the archbishop of saint Andrews, and the bishop of Glasgou, touching the prebeminence of their iurisdiction, which drew the noble men into factions, till the king commanded the same to cease, and that they

Two archbishops strive for the prebeminence.

should trie it by laie before competent iudges.

\* James Dgiluie knight of Aire, was sent ambassadoy to the king of Denmarke, to whome the king gaue in charge, that he should labor to renew the old league that was betwene the Danes and the Scots, which he wiselie executed and obtained, with certeine priuileges for the benefit of the merchants. By means whereof at his returne, he purchased such fauour of the king, as that he was advanced to the title of a lord, in which the name of the Dgiluies was first increased with anie honorable title. The king about the same time took order for increase of some number of ships to be had in his realme, and that euerie haven to some should build some, as well for fishing, as to transport merchandise from place to place.

Fr. Thin.  
Lelles lib. 8.  
pg 332.

Provision made for ships.  
1492. Lell.

Provision made for learning.

The lords and barons, and such other as would, were commanded to helpe the merchants toward the building of such ships: and for good example, the king caused to make certeine ships at his owne charges, which might vse the trade of fishing. Moreover, the king considering the ignorance that was amongst the landed men of his realme, when they should passe vpon inquests, he ordeined that euerie landed man should put his eldest sonne to schole, that he might learne perfectlie the lawes of the realme, and that vpon great forfeiture. Thus in the beginning of his reigne, diuers good lawes and constitutions were made, for the advancement of the common-wealth, which he caused to be duly obserued and kept during his time. The pope sent a protonotarie called Forman into Scotland, with a rose and a scepter of gold, to be presented vnto the king, desiring him to perseuere in godlinesse, honor, and vertue, as he had begun. The most part of this yere the king spent in riding abroad through all parts of his realme to see iustice ministered, speciallie in the north parts, where the people are commonlie furthest out of order.

1494. Lell.  
A protonotarie sent into Scotland with a rose.

1495. Lell.  
1492.  
The king goeth on pilgrimage.

1496. Lell.

There was shortly after some appearance of warres betwixt England and France, whereupon king Charles sent vnto king James, requiring him of assistance, if it came to passe that the Englishmen did invade France: and further declared, that he had one with him called Richard duke of Yorke, second sonne to king Edward the fourth, who had bene preferred now manie yeres secretlie by his aunt Margaret duchess of Burgognie, and therefore was iust inheritor to the realme of England, whom he would send into Scotland, praieing the king to assist him to recover his rightfull heritage, the said realme of England. And shortly after hereupon, the said seined duke (whose right name was Perkin Warbecke, as in the English historie it appeareth) arrived in Scotland well and honorable accompanied, to trie what purchase he might make there for succors to attaine his pretended right to the crowne of England.

Perkin Warbeck.

\* After whose arrivall he was brought to the presence of king James, before whom he did lamentable bewaile (as he well could) the fall of the house of Yorke, and his owne calamities: most humble and vehementlie beseeching him, to ransom the kingly blood from that contumelie. For answer wherevnto at that present time, the king bid him be of good heart, for he would so worke, that he should find his sute not defrauded: of all due effect, in obtaining succor in his distresse. Few daies after, the king assembling together his counsell, commanded this (counterfeit) duke of Yorke to be brought vnto him, who now (more than before) did in this assemble bitterlie complaine of his misfortune, shewing, that being bozne to great hope of a kingdome (as the sonne of the noblest king of that age) he was left

Fr. Thin.  
Buchan.lib.13.

Lelles lib. 1.  
pg 334.

bold of all helpe by the death of his father, & had like to haue fallen into the tyrannie of his vncle Richard duke of Glocester, before he could vnderstand what calamitie or misfortune might signifie.

But aided by diuine assistance, he (when his elder brother was murdered by his vncle) was preserved by the helpe of his fathers friends, and conueied away from the bloodie hands of the blurping king Richard, who (not able in that kingdome, whose heire by right he was) to lead a bare and begged life, did so liue in forrein countries, as he counted the condition of his brother (taken from those miseries by sudden death) to be happy in respect of his owne troubles and extremitie: for he was referued aliue to the scoene of fortune, not daring at the first to bewaile his calamitie amongst strangers, whereby he might moue their pitie towards him: yea (and after) when by little and little he came to open what person hee was, how noble borne, whose heire, and to whome alied, he was (to increase all his former miseries) more grieuouly assaulted by the malice of fortune than before. For then he could not almost liue in safetie in anie place, because of the subtiltie of his enemies, who would haue bought his life (of those with whom he remained) ymagine soliciting them to discover his secrets, and (vnder the colour of feined amitie) to corrupt his true friends, to search out and discover his hidden friends, and to defame him amongst the common people.

Wherewithall not yet satisfied, they reuile (said he) the ladie Margaret his aunt, and imprison the nobles of England that seemed to fauor his cause; notwithstanding all which (the vsing the truth of his owne conscience against the slanders of hir and his enemies, and moued with pitie for the distresse of his kinsman) did with his abilitie relieue his necessitie. But at length, when he saw no sure defense in a woman and widow (whose authoritie could not stretch to the command of hir people in that liberall sort as he would) he was driuen to seeke the aid of other princes, and to request them to looke into the misfortunes that might light vpon such great estates, and that they would not suffer kinglie blood (oppressed by tyrants) to lament in such extremitie. For yet he was not so base minded (although he were in manie great miseries) that he would not hope at one time or other to be restored to his kingdome, by the helpe of such friends as he had in Ireland and England: adding therunto the helpe which he should haue out of France, whereof he had already made some trial by the singular benenolence of the same king, hauing liberallie imparted manie benefits vnto him.

Besides which, not supposing this to allure the kings mind to his fauor, he began by flatterie to extoll him, not doubting but he (whose fauor had bene liberallie shewed to the distressed) would now diminish the same to him; but that he hoped that he would (for his singular humanitie to all banished persons, for pitie towards a miserable creature, for loue towards his kinsman, for necessities cause towards his friend, and for the nécessitie of league that ought to be among princes) succor and relieue him with men and monie, thereby to helpe him to the recouerie of his kingdome. Wherefore againe he importunately requirerth the king of aid in this extremitie, since the same was honorable to himselfe, acceptable to God, beneficiall for his realme, and a singular fame among other princes in ioining with them determined to restore him. Which if he might obtaine (and that the rather by his furtherance) he did liberallie promise alwaies to stand a most firme friend to the Scots, for whose cause he would spend his crowne and life.) Thus Perkin Warbecke did vse the matter in

such subtill wise, that king James either giuing, or seeming to giue credit to his words, after aduise and deliberation had and taken with his counsell, receiued him in honorable wise, naming and reputing him duke of Bozke, and therefore promised him to aid him in all that he might. And shortly after, he married him to his nere kinswoman the ladie Katharine, daughter to the earle of Huntley, and moreouer raised a great armie, speciallie of the borderers, and with the same hauing this pretended duke in companie with him, inuaded England, burnt towns spoiled houses, and took great booties and rich prizes both of goods and prisoners, & allured with the sweetnesse of such spoile and gaine, wasted all the countrie of Northumberland, and had gone further, but that he could perceiue no aid comming vnto this new found duke, contrarie to such golden promises as he had made, that as soone as they were entered into England, there would flocke vnto him both of the nobilitie and commons, and that in great numbers.

King James perceiuing no such matter, thought it better to returne with assured gaine, than to facie this new sprong dukes doubtfull and vn certaine victorie. And so hauing his people laden and pestered with spoile and prisoners, he drew backe into Scotland. The king of England aduertised hereof, made preparation for the raising of an armie, meaning to send the same against the Scots: but the rebellion of the Cornishmen, which chanced the same time about a tere leuited then of the people, constrained him to imploie that armie to represse the enterprize of those rebels. Yet neuertheless he sent the earle of Surreie to the borders, that with the power of the countrie adioining, he might defend the same from the inuasions of the Scots, if they attempted to breake in; and so the earle laie on the borders all that yere.

King James then perceiuing that no maine armie came against him, inuaded oftentimes the borders of England, and laied siege to the castell of Roxham, sending his light horsemen abroad into Northumberland, and the bishopricke of Durham, where they burned and spoiled all about in the countrie: but hearing that the earle of Surreie had raised an armie, and was comming towards them, they returned to the host lieng before Roxham, where king James perceiuing he could not win the castell, notwithstanding he had done great hurt and damage thereto, he raised his siege, retired into his countrie, and left great companies on the borders for defense thereof. And so before the comming of the English armie, king James was returned. The earle of Surreie yet (as the English writers affirme) followed into Scotland, and took diuerse castles and towers, remaining within the countrie the space of six or seuen daies, and then came backe without battell or anie notable skirmish offered.

About the same time was one Peter Hyalas sent ambassadoe from Ferdinando king of Spaine, to treat as a mediator for the concluding of peace betwixt the kings of England and Scotland, which Hyalas travelled so earnestlie in the matter, that at length it was agreed, that certaine commissioners of both the realmes should meet at Melrose, where (for the king of England, doctor For, then bishop of Durham, with this Hyalas, and other graue personages, met the Scottish commissioners. After long conference and much talke had, for the conclusion of a generall peace, finally nothing but a truce might be accorded for certaine yeres, though Hyalas did what he possiblie might, to haue agreed them for all manner of matters, quarrels, demands, and causes, wherby the same had bene, that a perpetuall peace might haue bene concluded, because he was thither sent

Perkin Warbecke marieth the earle of Huntleys daughter.

1495.

King James inuadeth Northumberland.

1496.

1497. Lesle: King James returneth without profect of battell.

A rebellion in Cornwall.

The earle of Surreie sent into the north:

1498.

The Scots inuade the borders of England.

The earle of Surreie raised an armie.

The Scots raise their siege.

The earle of Surreie went into Scotland.

Peter Hyalas an ambassadoe from the king of Spaine.

Commissioners met at Melrose for the concluding of peace.

A truce concluded for yeres.

The cause why Hyalas was sent.

C. e. j.

for

Thin.  
leus lib. 8.  
332.

ouision  
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18.  
92. Lesle.

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4. Lesle.  
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25. Lesle.  
492.  
e king go.  
in ppe-  
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96. Lesl.

leus lib. 1.  
334.

kin war-  
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hin.  
an. lib. 13

for that intent.

An article for  
Perkin war-  
becke.

King James  
reasoneth  
with the coun-  
terfeit duke  
of York.

The king of England required to haue the coun-  
terfeit duke of Yorke (otherwise named Perkin  
Warbecke) deliuered to him: but king James (e-  
steming his honor more than anie earthly thing)  
would in no wise same to betray him that fled to  
him for succour, and with whome he had copled one  
of his owne kinswomen in marriage: but he was  
contented to couenant, that the same Perkin should  
be constrained to depart out of Scotland, and not to  
be further aided by him, or by anie other through his  
meanes or procurement. The king of Scots to keepe  
promise made in the said treatie of peace, and know-  
ing himselfe to be abused by the said Richard, whom  
he had reputed to be verelie duke of Yorke (although  
he was not so) called him before his presence, and de-  
clared to him the great fauour and good will which he  
had borne towards him, putting him in remem-  
brance that for his sake he had taken warre in hand  
against England, and invaded the countrie in hope  
of assistance by his friends within the land, where not  
one reforted to him.

And albeit he had married his nere kinswoman,  
yet might he not keepe longer warre with England  
for his sake onelie; except he might be sure of some  
aid through his meanes, whereof he could see no ap-  
pearance. He desired him therefore to withdraw forth  
of his realme, either into Flanders to his fathers sis-  
ter the ladie Margaret; or into some other place  
where it pleased him to abide, and expect some better  
time more conuenient for his purpose. The said Ri-  
chard gaue the king thanks, and obeyed his pleasure,  
departing thortlie after out of Scotland, and sailed  
into Ireland, from thence to transport into Flan-  
ders. But finally making an attempt into Eng-  
land, he was taken prisoner in the abbey of Beaulieu,  
together with his wife, whose beantie was such,  
as king Henrie thought hit a more meet preie for an  
emperour, than for souldiours, and therefore vied hit be-  
rie honorable, appointing hit to remaine in the court  
with the queene his wife, where she continued so long  
as the said king liued.

1499.  
The truce  
like to be broken.

This yere, the peace being well kept betwixt  
England and Scotland, the same was nere at point  
to haue bene broken; by reason that the English-  
men which laie in garrison within the castell of Por-  
tham, did make a state with certaine Scottis-  
men that came riding nere to the castell, as it had bene  
to haue besieged it. But although they ment no euill,  
yet diuers of the Scottis-  
men were slaine, and ma-  
nie wounded and lay hurt; so that king James ha-  
ving information thereof, was sore displeased there-  
with, thinking and saing, that there was no more  
uncertaine thing, than to haue peace with England.  
And hereupon he sent his herald Merchmont with  
sharpe and vehement letters vnto the king of Eng-  
land, making great complaint for this iniurie and  
wrong done to his subiects; by those within the cas-  
tell of Portham. But receiuing most reasonable let-  
ters for excuse of that which was done, as well from  
the king of England himselfe, as from the bishop of  
Durham owner of the castell, he was indifferentlie  
well pleased and satisfied, so that he required to haue  
the bishop to come into Scotland upon safe conduct  
to conuene with him, as well for the full quieting of  
this matter, as for other things which he had to talke  
with him of.

King James  
requereth to  
talke with the  
bishop of  
Durham.

King James  
requereth to  
talke with the  
bishop of  
Durham.

King James  
requereth to  
talke with the  
bishop of  
Durham.

The bishop by licence of the king his maister, ac-  
complished the Scottis kings request; so that com-  
ing into Scotland, he was receiued by him verie  
honorable at Perth, where (after certaine talke  
had betwixt them for the appeasing of this last dis-  
pleasure) the king brake with the bishop for the ha-  
ving of the ladie Margaret, eldest daughter to Hen-

rie the seventh, as then king of England, to be giuen  
him in marriage: and further declared that he was  
minde to send his orators vnto hir father the said  
king Henrie, about the same matter. And forsomuch  
as he knew that the bishop was one that might do  
much with king Henrie, who highlie fauoured him  
for his singular wisdom and learning, he desired  
him to be a meane to further his sute, which if it were  
obtained, he trusted it should highlie rebound to the  
honor & wealth of both the realmes. The bishop con-  
sidering herein as much as the king was able to  
tell him, did not onelie promise to do all that in him  
lay, but also encouraged him to send his orators with  
all speed, trusting that they should receiue a verie to-  
wardlie answer.

King James following the bishops aduise, anon  
after his returne into England, sent certeine per-  
sons ambassadoys vnto king Henrie, to moue him  
to the effect aboue mentioned. These ambassadoys  
were highlie welcomed, and verie well heard, so that  
to be briefe, their request seemed so agreeable to king  
Henries mind, that the marriage was thortlie there-  
upon concluded (but not consummate betwixt the  
foresaid James king of Scotland, and the said ladie  
Margaret daughter to king Henrie) in the seuen-  
teenth yere of the said king Henries reigne. At the  
same time, when this marriage was so agreed vpon, a  
peace was also concluded betwixt the kings of  
England and Scotland, for the terme of their two  
liues. And to auoid that none of either of the said  
kings subiects that had offended the lawes, should be  
receiued into anie of their dominions; it was accor-  
ded, that no Englishman should come within Scot-  
land, without his princes letters supplicatorie vnto  
the king of Scots, nor anie Scottis-  
man to come  
within England, without the like letters from his  
prince, desiring safe conduct and passeport.

Ambassadors  
sent into  
England.

1500.  
A marriage  
concluded be-  
twixt king  
James and  
the ladie  
Margaret.

A peace con-  
cluded be-  
twixt Eng-  
land & Scot-  
land.

The consum-  
mation of the  
marriage be-  
twixt king  
James the  
fourth, and  
the ladie  
Margaret.

The king of  
Denmarke  
cometh into  
Scotland.

In the yere next ensuing, Robert Blakater the  
bishop of Glasgow, Adam Hepburne the earle Both-  
well, and other noble men of Scotland, were sent in  
ambassage from king James vnto the king of Eng-  
land; for the perfecting of the foresaid marriage be-  
twixt king James, and the ladie Margaret, eldest  
daughter to king Henrie, which earle by letters of  
procuracie and mandat, in the name of his maister  
king James, affied and handfasted the foresaid ladie  
Margaret in all solemne wise, according to the ma-  
ner: which assurance and contract thus made, was  
published at Pauls crosse in London, on the day  
of the conuersion of saint Paule, in reioysing whereof  
Te Deum was song, and fiers made, with great fea-  
ring & banketting throughout that citie. This done,  
the ambassadoys returned into Scotland, and then af-  
terwards was great preparation made in England  
for the conuening of the said ladie into Scotland, and  
likewise great purueiance there for the receiuing of  
hir.

1501.

This was in  
the yere 1501.

He is restored  
to his king-  
dome by the  
rate of 300  
pounds yearly  
to king  
James.

The land  
was obedi-  
ent to  
lawes.

1505. Lell.  
1504.

R. Thin.

A desire to  
see the king  
name.

1503. Lell.

On the sixteenth of June, king Henrie toke his  
iourne from Richmond, with his daughter the said  
ladie Margaret, and came to Colkewell, where his  
mother the countesse of Richmond then laie. And af-  
ter he had remained there certeine daies in pastime  
and great solace, he toke leaue of his daughter, gi-  
uing hir his blessing with a fatherlie exhortation,  
and committed the conuenance of hir into Scotland  
vnto the earle of Surreie, and others. The earle of  
Northumberland, as then warden of the marches,  
was appointed to deliuer hir vpon the borders vnto  
the king of Scotland. And so this faire ladie was  
conueied with a great companie of lords, ladies,  
knights, squires, and gentlemen, until she came to  
the towne of Berwike, and from thence vnto Lan-  
berth church in Hamer more within Scotland, where  
she was receiued by the king and all the nobles of  
that

1506.

that realme, and from the said place of Lamberton church, she was conueied unto Edinburgh, where the day after hir comming thither, she was married unto the said king with great and solemne triumph, to the high reioysing of all that were present.

The consum-  
mation of the  
marriage be-  
tween king  
James the  
fourth, and  
the lairie  
Margaret.

And verelie the English lords (as the earle of Surreie and others) which gaue their attendance on the said ladie till the mariage and feast were ended) at their returne home, gaue great praise not onelie to the manhood of the Scots, but also to their manners and heartie intertainment. For aswell the noble men as the ladies and gentlewomen of Scotland at that present, were nothing behind the English lords & ladies in costlie apparell, massie chaines, and other furniture, as well for themselves as their hostesses, and made great bankets to the English men, and shewed them such iusts and other pleasant pastimes in honor of the mariage, so well, as after the manner of the countrie could be desired. By reason of this mariage and alliance, men were in great good hope that perfect peace and sincere amitie should continue betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland a long time after: and verelie during the life of king Henrie the seventh, no cause of breach was ministred betwixt him and his sonne in law, but that they liued in great loue and amitie.

The king of  
Denmarke  
cometh into  
Scotland.

About this time, the king of Denmarke, through disuision that did rise betwixt him & his lords, was constrained to forsake his countrie, and to come for aid into Scotland, where the king receiued him lovinglie, and vpon his earnest sute, for that he was both his cosine and confederat, and also the rather, at the contemplation of the French kings request and perswasion, he prepared an armie of ten thousand men, the which vnder the conduct of the earle of Arrane, he sent with the said king of Denmarke to assist him against his aduersaries. The earle of Arrane according to his commission, attending the Danish king into his countrie, restored him to his kingdom and former gouernement, and so leauing him in peaceable possession thereof, returned with his armie againe into Scotland, with great honor both to himselfe, the king, and realme.

He is restored  
into his king-  
dome by the  
raie of Fr.  
the legate-  
sent to king  
James.

Shortlie after was a parlement called, during the which the queene was crowned, and manie good acts and constitutions made, especiallie touching the limiting of places where iustice should be ministred in the Isles and hie lands: whereby it came to passe, that the king was aswell obeyed, & his lawes were as duellie obserued and kept by the hie land men, as by those that dwelled in anie part of the low land. The king then being at peace with England, and iustice so ministred amongst his owne subiects, that they liued in great rest and quietnesse, certeine of his counsell [as William Glanstone bishop of Aberdeen] deuised waies to win the king great profit and gaines, by calling his barons & all those that held anie lands within his realme, to shew their euidences by way of recognition: and if they had not writings to shew, according to the ancient instruments and lawes of the realme sufficient for their warrant, the lands should remaine at the kings pleasure.

The hie land  
men obeyed  
his lawes.

1505. Lell.  
1504.

R. Thin.

Deuise to  
put the king  
name.

But when the king perceiued his people to grudge herewith, and not without cause, as with a thing deuised to disquiet his people and the whole countrie, of his owne courteous & gentle nature he easilie agreed with the possessors of such lands: for the which he purchased great loue amongst his people, & the deuilers of that ordinance wan passing great hatred and malice. This yeare in Maie the king held his court of iustice at Lotoder, and remouing it to Edinburgh, there continued the same, where the lord of Arhometon was convicted for killing his wife, and therefore

1506.

lost his head [at Edinburgh by the kings sentence.] There came an ambassadoz this yeare also from the duke of Gelderland, to renew the league betwixt the king and the said duke. Also an herald came out of France, who brought newes which the king liked well.

Fr. Thin.

This yeare also, the king caused a mightie ship to be made, the which was put forth into the roade the seventh of Iulie, and the king sailed himselfe into the Maie, an Island in the Forth, and was diuinen in againe with tempest: but the same ship was after appointed forth, and sent to the sea with sundrie valiant gentlemen in hir, to meet with the Hollanders which had taken and spoiled diuerse Scottish ships, and thowne the merchants and other that were in the same ouer boord. For reuenge thereof, Andzeu Barton took manie ships of the Hollanders and filled certeine pipes with their heads, which he sent vnto the king for a witnesse how he had sped. A star like a comet appeared the tenth of August, giuing great light in the night season like to the sun beams. A Frenchman named sir Anthonte Darcie knight, called afterward Le sir de la Balotie, came through England into Scotland to seeke feats of arms. And comming to the king the foure and twentieth of September, the lord Hamilton fought with him right valiantlie, and so as neither of them lost anie peece of honor. This yeare James prince of Scotland and of the Isles was bozne in the abbey of the Holie rood house, the one and twentieth of Ianuarie; and on the thre and twentieth of the same moneth, he was baptised in the said abbey church. His godfathers were these, Robert bishop of Glascow, and Patrike earle Bothwell; and the countesse of Huntlie was his godmother. The queene, after she was brought to bed, was verie weake and troubled with great sicknesse, so that she lay in great danger: for recouerie of whose helth the king went on foot vnto saint Pirrins in pilgrimage; and afterwards in Iulie, both the king and the queene went thither to visit the same saint.

A great ship  
made.

The Hollan-  
ders ships ta-  
ken.

A bright star  
appareth in  
the skie.

Anthonte  
Darcie.

1507.  
Prince James  
is bozne.

The king  
went on pil-  
grimage.

Pope Julius the second sent an ambassadoz vnto king James, declaring him protectoz and defendoz of the faith, and in signe thereof sent vnto him a purple diadem or crowne wrought with flowers of gold, together with a sword, hauing the hilts and skabbert of gold set with pretious stones, which were presented vnto him by the said ambassadoz, and the abbat of Dunfermling, within the abbey church of Holie rood house. At that time the peace contracted betwixt the two kings of Scotland and England was there confirmed. The lord of Aruer or Camfire in Zealand (whose ancestors not long ago came forth of Scotland) sent his messenger the balliffe of Aruer to the king, who presented vnto him certeine great horses and other rich presents, in remembrance that he came of the Scottish race; and the king in recompense thereof, sent vnto the said lord his order, and made his ambassadoz knight, rewarding him at his departing (which was in August) with right honorable gifts.

The pope de-  
clared king  
James pro-  
tectoz of the  
faith.

Horses pre-  
sented vnto  
the king.

The whole realme remained in such peace and quietnesse in these daies, that the king rode one day himselfe alone in poss from Sterling, by S. Johns towne, and Aberdeen, vnto Elgin; and reposing a little part of the night in the house of maister Thomas Lesleie then parson of Angus, went to horse againe, and came to saint Dunthols in Kosse, by that time they were ready to go to masse. This was on the one & thirtieth day of August. About the latter end of September, the archbishop of saint Andrews, and the earle of Arrane, were sent ambassadoz into France. They took ship the seven and twentieth of September. The seventeenth of Februarie, James

Peace and  
quietnesse in  
Scotland.

An ambassage  
into France.  
Ce. ij. prince

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Scots

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was in  
1502.

Lesle.

Fr. Thin.  
Lefleus lib. 8.  
pag. 345.

prince of Scotland departed this life at Striueling, and the bishop of Galloway also, who was appointed to be his gouernour.

\* About this time, the k. (to tell you here, as faith Lesleus, a matter that to this day is remembred amongst the Romane people with great laughter) created a certeine Italian (with whose wit and pleasant speech he was delighted) abbat of Tungleland. This man (being a noble framer of deceit, & boaster of his wit) did on a time persuade the king, that he was so conuersant in all hidden knowledge of naturall things, and in the secret science of Alchymie, that he could turne all other mettals into pure gold, if anie would beare the charge thereof. But after much time spent thereabout (with long looking of the king, and the nobilitie, to see the effect hereof) there was nothing done, but that their purses were emptied, and the vaine man was defamed by the breach of his promise. At length when he was fallen into the hatred and offense of all men, he did (partlie to gather againe an opinion & report of his vaine glorie, and partlie to recover the kings fauor) giue out a rumour, that he would (by sleight) be in France before the ambassadors (which were sent thither, and had losed from thoe to take their iourne) should come thither. For the performance whereof, he appointed a day for them to meet at Striueling, from whence he would take his flight, and begin his iourne. At what time, and to what place, manie resorted together, desirous to see this new bird; amongst whom (for recreations cause) came the king also.

What need manie words. This man fastening (which he had caused to be made of the fethers of diuerse foules) vnto both his sides, lifted vp himselfe from the castell of Striueling, into the aire to take his iourne: but this deceiuer suddenlie fell headlong to the ground, not able to be holpen by the force of his wings: wherewith the people (uncertaine whether they should rebuke the follie of the man, or pittie his misfortune) flocked about him, demanding this winged abbat how he did: to whom he answered, that he had broken the bone of his thigh, and was out of hope to see anie more hereafter. To conclude, they all were like to die with laughing, to see him, which before would flie like Icarus; did now lie like Simon Magus, with all his bodie almost broken in peces. At length when euerie one had laughed their fill, this worthy abbat, to salue all the matter, referred the default of his sleight wholie to his wings, because they were not made of eagles fethers and such like, but onelie of pullens fethers, not meet or accustomed to cut the aire with flight; and which by a certeine inward vertue (working according to the nature of those foules) did draw the fethers downe toward the donghill (whereupon those birds lue) as the adamant draweth iron.]

1508.

An ambassage sent vnto the king.

The kings answer.

The 9 of Aprill in the yeare after, the lord D'obignie, and the president of Tholous, came from Le wes the French king as ambassadors to declare vnto king James, that he ment to match his eldest daughter in marriage with Francis de Wallois of Vien, and duke of Angolement; notwithstanding that Charles king of Castile that was after emperor, made sute for hir. Because therefore he ment not to conclude anie thing in such a weightie matter without consent of his confederats, of which he esteemed king James as chiefe, he required him of his aduise and counsell therein; who after aduise ment taken, made answer, that albeit the king of France had sufficient counsell about him, yet sith he had desired his aduise, he would friendlis giue the same: which was that he should rather marie his daughter within his owne realme, vnto such as should succeed him, than to bestow hir vpon anie foreyn prince, sith otherwile

some claime might be made in time comming vnto the crowne by such as should match with hir. And so with this answer, the president of Tholous departed, reporting the same at his comming home vnto the French king, who thereupon followed his owne determination therein, confirmed and allowed thus by his confederat the king of Scotland.

The lord D'obignie took a sicknesse and died thereof at Corfozphim, in the moneth of June, and caused his heart to be sent vnto saint Minians in Galloway; because he had vowed a pilgrimage thither whilst he remained the French kings lieutenant in Naples, where he had atchieued manie high enterprises against his enemies. His name was Bernard Steward, lieutenant of those men of warre which Charles the eight of that name king of France did send with Henrie earle of Richmond into England, when the same earle came against king Richard, whom he vanquished, and thereby got the crowne. And so after manie noble victories and valiant acts atchieued, this lord D'obignie ended his life in his owne countrie of Scotland, where he was borne. This yeare also in Aprill and June, there were kept great iusts and tourneies in Edenburgh, by one calling himselfe the wild knight, who counterfeited the round table.

There were diuerse ambassadors sent forth this yeare also, as the archdeacon of saint Andrews, and sir Anthoine Darcie into France, and the bishop of Murray into England. The fifteenth of Julie, the queene was deliuered of a daughter, which shortly after she had receiued baptisme, deceased, and the queene in that childbed was againe in great perill of death. The bishop of Glasgow died this yeare in his iourne to Jerusalem, the nine and twentieth of Julie; James Beton succeeded him in that see. The thirtieth of Julie, there was a great fraie betwixt the lord Partwell, and the lord Creighton of Sanchar, where the lord Creighton was chased with his companie from Dunfreis, & the lord of Dalzell and the young lord of Crauthlaie with diuerse other were slaine. The nineteenth of September was a great earthquake in manie places both of England and Scotland, namelie, the same was perceiued in churches.

The king of England sent a gentleman with hostes trimlie trapped with hards of Steele to be presented to king James, who thankfullie receiued them, and right honozable rewarded the messenger. The archdeacon of saint Andrews returned forth of France in a great ship called the treasurer, which ship was cast away on the coast of England, and the archdeacon, and foure hundred persons that were in hir, were brought to the king of England: but the archdeacon in Nouember following returned home and came to Edenburgh. Adam earle of Bothwell and lord Hales departed this life at Edenburgh the seventeenth day of October, and earle Patrike succeeded him. Henrie the seventh king of England, passed out of this world the two and twentieth of Aprill, in the yeare 1509, and his sonne Henrie the eight succeeded him, after whose coronation king James sent an honozable ambassage of certeine lords and a bishop to congratulat him at his first entrie into the rule of his kingdome, as to the maner in such cases appertineth.

\* At this time, John and Andzew Barton (obteining letters of marque from the king against the Dotingals) pretens on the borderers of Dotingale did take manie of their ships (landed with rich merchandise) which they brought into Scotland. Which kind of pilles being often made by the Bartons vnto the Dotingals, gaue them cause greuouslie to complaine to their king, of the wicked pilasie of the Scots.

The lord D'obignie died.

This was the king himselfe.

Ambassadors sent.

The archbishop of Glasgow died.

A bickering.

A earthquake.

Hostes sent vnto king James.

The archdeacon of saint Andrews came out of France.

The earle Bothwell died.

1509.

King Henrie the eight succeeded his father.

Fr. Thin.  
Lefleus lib. 8.  
cap. 250.



Prince Ar-  
thur deceased.

Two scorpions found in  
Scotland.

Stoape gal-  
lant a sickness.

Katharine  
Gordon.

The Trum-  
bils with o-  
ther are taken  
by the king.

1511.

An ambassage  
from the king  
of England.

1511. Lestle.  
1512.

Two ships  
taken by the  
Englishmen.

perour of Turkie at the citie of Caſtre, who reteined him in ſeruitice, and gaue him good intertainment, ſo that he remained with him, till he heard that the liuing of Faſt caſtell was fallen to him by lawfull ſucceſſion; notwithstanding that when he departed out of Scotland, there were eight ſeueral perſons befoze him to ſucceed one after another, which in the meane time were all deceaſed. The 14 of Iulie, Arthur prince of Scotland and the Iles, departed this life in the caſtell of Edenburgh. Two ſcorpions were found, the one quicke, and the other dead, in the orchard of the caſtell of Cragmiller, which thing was reputed for a maruellous great wonder, that anie ſhould be ſene within the Ile of Britaine. In the moneth of September, an vniuerſall ſickenſſe reigned hrough all Scotland, whereof manie died. It was verie contagious, and they called it Stoape gallant.

There came alſo a paſſing faire woman into Scotland about the ſame time, naming hir ſelfe Katharine Gordon, wiſſe to Perkin Warbecke, that had named himſelfe duke of Bozke, but at length being brought to the king, the confeſſed that ſhe was, and ſo auoided the realme. In which meane while, the ladie Katharine Gordon hir ſelfe remained in England, and had right good maintenance, ſo that ſhe liued there verie well and honorable manie yeres after. Furthermore, the king vpon the eighth day of Nouember comming from Edenburgh to the water of Rule, toke diuers miſgouerned perſons, & brought them to Jedworth, where the principall of the Trumbils, wiſh naked ſwords in their hands, and wiſhs about their necks met him, putting themſelues in the kings mercie, which were ſent to ſundrie places to be kept in ward, wiſh diuers other of thoſe countremen, where by the marches were moze quiet afterwards: and from thence the king paſſed to ſaint Johns towne, where iuſtice were holden the reſidue of the winter.

The next yere in the beginning of Maie, the quene went from Dunfermling toward ſaint Dunthois in Koſſe, and was all the way right honorable vſed and interteined. About the tenth of Iulie, ſhe returned to Edenburgh, where ſhe found the lord Dacres, and ſir Robert Duriſ knight come thither as ambalaſſadors from the king of England hir brother, who were honorable receiued. In the yere next inſuing, in Iune, Andzew Barton being on the ſeas to meet the Portugals (againſt whom he had a letter of marque) ſir Edmund Halward lord admerall of England, and the lord Thomas Halward, ſonne and heire vnto the earle of Surrey, were appointed by the king of England to go likewiſe to ſea wiſh certeine ſhips, and met wiſh the ſaid Andzew as he returned homewards nere to the Dolones, hauing wiſh him onelie one ſhip and one barke.

The Engliſhmen at the firſt made ſigne vnto the Scots as though they ment none euill, ſaue onelie to ſalute them as friends; but getting wiſthin them, they ſet vpon them right fiercelie, and the Scots for a while did as valiantlie defend themſelues, ſo that manie were ſlaine on both ſides: but in the end the Engliſhmen got the vpper hand, wounded Andzew Barton the chiefe capteine of the Scots, that he died of the hurts that he there receiued, and the ſhip called the Vnicorne, and the barke called Iernie Peruine, were both taken, wiſh all the Scottiſhmen that remained alieue in the ſame, which were had to London, and ſtaied as priſoners in the biſhop of Bozke his houſe for a time, and after ſent home into Scotland. King James was ſore offended wiſh this matter, and therevpon ſent an herald wiſh letters, requiring reſſeſſe for the ſlaughtre of his people, and reſtitution of his ſhips, ſith otherwiſe it might ſeeme

to giue occaſion of breach of the peace. But the king of England denied, that the ſlaughtre of a pirat (as he toke Andzew Barton to be) ought to breake anie bond of peace, yet neuertheleſſe he promiſed to ſend commiſſioners to the borders, that ſhould intreat of that matter, and other enozmities chanced betwene the two realmes.

About this time was Alexander Hume the onlie gouernor of all the marches of Scotland (which befoze were accuſtomed to be diuided into three parts) deuſelie beloued to king James, being a man of a fiercer diſpoſition than was conuenient for the proſit of the common-wealth. This man promiſed to the king (troubled wiſh the cares of warre, and carefull to wipe alwaie the reproch of late receiued by the Engliſh) that thoſtli he and his folowers wiſh their kindezed and aliances, would ſo bying the matter about, that the Engliſh ſhould as greatlie lament for their loſſes, as they had now conceiued ioies of their victories. To the performance whereof, he gathered three thouſand ſouldiers, wherewith he entered England, and there ſpoiled ſeuſen towines befoze anie ſuccour might come to reſcure them: but as he returned backe laden wiſh booties of all kinds, his men (being accuſtomed to pilſtries and robberies) impatient of delate, preſentlie diuided the prey in the hoſt, euerie one departing home to his owne as it was neuerſ vnto him. Yet Alexander did not diſperſe ſuch as he might keepe togiſther: but aſſembling as manie of them as would tarie, wiſh a ſmall companie aboue the end of all things, alwaies hauing an ete to ſee if anie purſute were made after them. But when he perceiued no bodie to follow, and that there was no doubt of danger (paſſing the time moze careleſſ than befoze) he ſell vniuares into the hands of three hundred Engliſh laid in wait for him, who (taking the opportunitie of the time) did ſet vpon him and his, and (driving them into extreme feare) they killed and put to flight all ſuch as they incountered. In which tumult diuers of the Scots were ſlaine, and two hundred taken, of whome George Hume, brother of the ſaid Alexander (exchanged for Comarck, Veron, and Frowd, taken priſoners, and long reteined in Scotland for reuenge of the death of Robert Car) was one, and the chiefeſt, whereby he departed quietlie into Scotland.

The French king and the duke of Gelderland, perceiuing that the king of England was minded through pprocurement of the pope & others, to make them warres, either of them ſent ambalaſſadors into Scotland vnto king James, requiring his aſſiſtance againſt England: but king James minding to mainteine peace and concord betwixt the parties, ſent an ambalaſſador vnto the king of England, deſiring him in brotherlie and moſt louing wiſſe to liue in peace and quietneſſe, and not to make anie wars againſt his confederat friends, offering himſelfe to agree and compound anie difference that was fallen betwixt the king of England and the ſaid princes. The king of England, who had already ſent aid vnto the ladie regent of the low countreies againſt the duke of Gelderland, made ſuch faire anſwer herevnto as he thought ſood wiſh reaſon, and ſo diſpatched the ambalaſſador backe againe to his maiſter, wiſhout anie moze adu in that matter, about the which he came for that time.

About theſe daies, there was called a provinciall ſynod of biſhops, abbats, and other religious perſons at Edenburgh, in the monaſterie of the Dominicke friers, Balomanie the popes legat being preſent. In which by the common voice of them all (although againſt the will of manie of them) it was ordeined that heretikes or priſtles living (whoſe reueries did partly exceed the value of 40 pounds) ſhould

Fr. Thin.  
Buchanan.  
lib. 12.

The kings  
ſallard  
named.

The biſhop of  
Surrey came  
home.

A young prince  
borne in  
Scotland.

The French  
king ſent to  
perſuade the  
king of Sco-  
tland to warre.

Fortaine  
pyles of  
Engliſhmen  
taken.

ſpittle of  
ſilke.

The quene  
brought to  
of a child.

1512. Le  
The leaſt  
renewed  
France.

Purſeuant  
ſent into  
England  
France.

1513. Le  
Doraz  
ſent into  
Scotland  
ambalaſſad

1511

ſummitte  
ſouereign  
of Dorn

Proſiſio  
out of F

Fr. Thin.  
Leſſeus. lib.  
pag 316.

The king of  
France requi-  
red aid againſt  
England.

King James  
perſuaded  
to peace.

pay a pension of the tenth to the pope; and should give to the king (when he required) such summes as he liked to demand: which unto this day is called the *Salomane monie* or tax. John lord Gordon, sonne and heire to Alexander Gordon erle of Huntley, returned out of France, and was married unto the kings bastard daughter, in November following, in this present were 1512, of whome the house of Huntley is descended.

Shortlie after came the bishop of Murray home, having bene at Rome, in France, and England, bringing with him from the pope, and the kings of France and England, manie good and pleasant letters: and with him came a cleark of Spaine in ambassage unto the king. This yere the eleventh day of April, the quene was deliuered of a young prince in the palace of Luthgo, who was shortlie after baptised, and named James the first prince of Scotland, and of the Isles, that after succeeded his father in the kingdome. The lord Dacres, and doctor West came in ambassage from the king of England, and Monsieur de la Mot came with letters also from the French king, to perswade king James to make warre against England, promising him monie, munition, and all other necessarie provisions of warre. In his waie as he passed the seas towards Scotland, he had drowned three English ships, & brought seven alive with him unto Leth for prizes, in the which were but three Englishmen left alive. Shortlie after, maister James Ogilvie abbat of Dyrburgh came forth of France with letters of the like effect. After this Robert Barton went to the sea, and in Julie brought into Scotland 14 prizes of English men which he had taken.

About this season, the lord of Drumweldie was slain in Edenburgh by two persons, which took sanctuary in Holie rood house, and so escaped. John erle of Atholl deceased the nineteenth of September, & Lion Harold king of armes deceased the first of October. Great misrule was exercised on the borders in this season, and therefore the king assembled the lords in Edenburgh for reformation thereof; and while they were there, the quene was brought to bed of a child, which died shortlie after it was christened. There came a great ship into Scotland; which the king of France had sent unto the king, laden with artillerie, powder, and wines, & then was the league and band renewed betwixt Scotland and France. The same ship landed at Blacknesse the nineteenth of November. King James sent a pursuivant called Unicorn into France; and another into England called Flaie, which Flaie requested a safe conduct for an ambassage to be sent from the king his maister unto the king of England: but this would not be granted.

Upon the said Flaies returne, Monsieur de la Mot was sent backe into France, and with him sir Walter Ogilvie, and a messenger whome the pope had sent into Scotland. On the firste day of March next following, doctor West came as ambassage into Scotland from the king of England, appointing that certaine commissioners should meet on the borders for redresse of all quarrels betwixt the two realmes, in the moneth of June next ensuing. And this appointment was kept, but no good could be done, as after shall appere. The king sent Forian bishop of Murray into France, to signifie unto the French king the message of the said doctor West, and other things. In the moneth of Maie, there came certein ships out of Denmark laden with guns, powder, and other kind of munition. Also upon the first of June, the lord of Dyrburgh came in the west part of Scotland, with four ships fraught with wine and flower, and returned againe the nineteenth

of the same moneth.

The great Odonell of Ireland came to king James at Edenburgh, the first of June, offering his friendship and service to him before all other princes, and speciallie against the king of England; whereupon he was thankfullie received, honorable intertained, & richlie rewarded. And so the band of friendship being with him concluded, he returned into his countrie. The king prepared a great naue of ships, the principall whereof were the Michaele, Margaret, and James. They made saile towards the sea the twentieth seventh of Julie; and the king sailed in the Michaele himselfe, till they were past the Island of Waie, James Gordon son to George erle of Huntley being one of the captains of the same ship.

The commissioners met on the borders in June, according to the appointment: but because the Englishmen would not consent to make any redresse or restitution, till the fifteenth of October next, thinking by that delaie and continuance of time, they should understand the state of their kings proceedings in France, and in the meane time retaine in their hands the Scottismens goods which they had taken both by sea and land (as the Scottish writers affirm) the king of Scots being thereof aduertised, sent Lion king of armes unto king Henrie then lying at siege before Teruine, with letters of complaint, commanding him that if king Henrie refused to accomplish the contents of his said letters, he should denounce warre unto him. Whereupon Lion arriving in the English armie with his cote of arms on his backe, about the middell of August, desired to speake with the king, and was within a short space by Carter chiefe king at arms of England brought to the kings presence, having his nobles and councillors about him, where, with due reverence, & some good words first bitered, he deliuered his letters, the tenor whereof insueth.

### The tenor of the king of

Scots letters.

**R**ight excellent, right high, and mightie prince, our deare brother and cosine, we command us unto you in our most hartie manner, and received fra Rast Herald your letters, wharvntill be approued and allow the doings of your commissioners, latelie being with ours at the borders of bathe the realmes, for making of redresse quhilk is thought to you and your counsell should be continued and delat to the fifteenth day of October. As ye write last by us ought not comper personalle, but by their attowneys. And in your letters with our herald Flaie, we ascertaine by ye will naught enter in the tredd taken betwixt the most christian king and your father of Aragon, because ye and others of the hale liege neither should nor may take peace, trew, nor abstinence of warre with your committment, without consens of all the confederats. And that the emperor, king of Aragon, yea and every of you be boundes to make actual warre this instant summer against your common enemy. And that so to do is concluded and openlie sworn in Paules kirke at London, upon S. Markes day last by past. And farther haue denied safe conduct upon our request that a servant of ours might have redressed to

Odonell yre = fred friendship unto king James.

A naue sent.

Commissioners met at the borders.

The English men protest at the time.

A king of armes sent unto R. Henrie of England.

The kings scholar named.

The bishop of Murray came home.

A young prince borne in Scotland.

The French king sent to perswade the king of Scots to warre.

fourteen prizes of Englishmen taken.

Whilste exercised.

The quene brought to bed of a child.

1512. Lesle.

The league renewed with France.

Pursuivants sent into England and France.

1513. Lesle.

Doctor West sent into Scotland ambassage.

Mission for warre sent out of Denmark.

Promission sent out of France.

king of France required against him.

James adertise.

him. us. lib. 8. 56.

to your presence (as our herauld Flaie reports).

Right excellent, right high, and mightie prince, our dearest brother and cousing, the said meeting of our and your commissionners at the borders, was peremptorily appointed betwixt you and vs after diuerse diets, for reformatioun befoze continuet to the commissionners meeting, to effect that due redresse shuld haue bene made at the said meeting, like as for our part our commissionners offred to haue made that time. And for your part, no malefactor was then arrested to the said diet. And to glose the same, ye now write that slaars by law need not compere personallie, but by their attourneis, quhilk is again law of God and man. And gif in criminall action all slaars shuld naucht compere personallie, na punishment shuld follow for slaughter, and then wane it were to seke farther meetings or redresse. And hereby apperes (as the deed shewes) that ye will nouthet kepe gud waies of iustice and equitie nor kindnes with vs.

The great wrongs and unkindnes done befoze to vs and our lieges we ponderate, quhilk we haue suffred this long time in bybearing, mainfowering, noundrelling of attemptates, so as the bill of the taken of inhalding of bastard Heron and his complices in your cuntrie, quha slue our warden vnder trust of daies of meeting for iustice, & thereof was filat & ordeint to be deliuerd in slaing our liege noblemen, vnder color by your folks, in taking of others out of our realme prouonet and chanet by the crags in your cuntrie, withhalding of our wiues legacie promiss in your diuerse letters for despise of vs, slaughter of Androm Barton by your awn commaund, quha than had naucht offended to you nor your lieges breidest, and breaking of the amity in that behalf by your deed, and withhalding of our ships and artillarie to your vse.

Quharbypon, eft our diuerse requisitions at your wardens, commissionners, ambassadors, & your selfe, ye wrote and als them by others vnto vs, that full redresse shuld be made at the said meeting of commissionners, and sa were in hope of reformatioun, or at the lest ye for our sake wald haue desisted fra inuasioun of our friendes and coussings within their awne countries that haue naucht offended at you, as we first required you, in fauour of our tender coussing the duke of Gelder, quham to destroy and disinherit ye sent your folks, and dud what was in them. And right sa we lately desired for our brother & coussing the maist christen king of France, quham ye haue caused to tye his countrie of Millaine, and now inuades his selfe, quha is with vs in second degree of blude, and hase bene vnto you kind without offense, and moze kind than to vs.

Forwithstanding, in defense of his person we mon take part, and thereto ye haue caused others, haue giuen occasion to vs

and to our lieges in time by past, nouthet doing iustlie nor kindlie toward vs, proceeding alwaies to the vtter destruction of our nearest friendes, quha mon doe for vs quhan it shall be necessarie; in euill example that ye will hereafter be better vnto vs, quham ye lightly fauour, manifestlie wronged your sister for our sake in contrarie our wits: and saieng to our herauld that we giue you faire wordes, and thinke the contrarie, in deed such it is, we gaue you wordes as ye dud vs, trusting that ye shuld haue emended to vs, or woorthin kinder to our frends for our sakes, and shuld naught haue stopped our seruitors passage to labour pear, that they mought as the papes halines exhorted vs by his breuites to do. And thereupon we were contented to haue ouersene our harmes, and to haue remitted the same, though other informatioun was made to our halie father pape Iulie, by the cardinall of Poike, your ambassador.

And sen you haue now put vs fra our gude beleue through the premises, and speciallie in denieng of safe conduct to our seruants, to resort to your presence, as your ambassador doctor West instantlie desired we shuld sende one of our counsell vnto you vpon great matters, and appointing of differences debatable betwixt you and vs, furthering of pear if we might, betwixt the most christen king & you, we neuer hard to this purpose safe conduct denied betwixt Infidels. Herefoze we write to you this time at length plainesse of our mind, that we require and desire you to desist fra farther inuasioun and vtter destruction of our brother and coussing the maist christen king, to quham by all confederatioun, blude and alie, and also by new band quhilk you haue compelled vs latelie to take through your iniuries & harmes with out remedie done dailie vnto vs, our lieges and subiects, we are bounden and oblist for mutuall defense ilk of others, like as ye & your confederates be oblist for mutuall inuasiouns and actual warre.

Certifieng you, we will take part in defense of our brother and coussing the maist christen king, and will do what thing we truit may cause you to desist fra pursute of him, and fordeuit and postponit iustice to our lieges we mon giue letters of marque according to the amitie betwixt you and vs, quharto ye haue had little regard in time by past, as we haue ordaint our herauld the bearer hereof to say, gif it like you to heare him and gif him credence: right excellent, right high & mightie prince our dearest brother and coussing, the trinitie haue you in keeping. Geuen vnder our signet at Edinburgh the twentieth sirt day of Iulie.

King Henrie hauing read the letter, and considered thereof with advise of his counsell, sent to the herauld againe, and told him that he had read and well perceived the contents of the letters which he had deliuered to him, and would make him answer with condition,

The herauld  
answers.  
cc  
r  
b  
o  
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r  
i  
f  
f  
cc

The heralds  
reluctant.

condition, that he would promise to declare the same to his maister. Whereunto Lion made this answer: Sir, I am his naturall subiect, and he is my naturall lord, and what he commandeth me to say, I may boldly say with fauour; but the commandements of others I may not, nor dare say vnto my soueraigne lord. But your letters sent by me, may declare your maisters pleasure, albeit your answer requireth doings and not sayings, that is, that you immediatlie should returne home. Then said the king: I will returne at my pleasure to your damage, and not at thy maisters summons. And herewith he caused an answer to be written to the king of Scots, in foure as followeth.

## King Henrie his answer.

**R**ight excellent, right high & mightie prince, &c. We haue receiued your writing dated at Edinburgh the twentieth first day of Iulie, by your herald Lion this bearer, wherein after rehearfall and accumulation of manie surmised iniuries, griefs and dangers down by vs and our subiects to you and your lieges, the specialties whereof were superfluous to rehearse, remembering that to them and euerie of them in effect reasonable answer founded vpon law and conscience, hath tofore bene made to you & your counsell; ye not onelie require vs to desist from further inuasion and vtter destruction of your brother and cosine the French king, but also certifie vs that you will take part in defense of the said king, and that thing which ye trust may rather cause vs to desist from pursute of him, with manie contriued occasions and communications by you causelesse sought & imagined, sounding to the breach of the perpetuall peace passed, concluded, and sworn betwixt you and vs, of which your imagined quarrels causelesse deuised to breake to vs, contrarie to your oth promised, all honor & kindness, we can not maruell; considering the ancient accustomed manners of your progenitors, which neuer kept longer faith & promise than pleased them.

Howbeit, if the loue and dread of God, mightinesse of bloud, honor of the world, law and reason had bound you, we suppose ye would neuer haue so farre proceeded, specially in our absence. Wherein the pope and all princes christened may well note in you dishonorable demeanour, when ye lieng in wait, like the waies to doe that in our said absence, which ye would haue bene well aduised to attempt, we being within our realme and present. And for euident approbation hereof, we need none other proofes nor witness, but your owne writings heretofore to vs sent, we being within our realme, wherein ye neuer made mention of taking part with our enimie the French king, but passed the time with vs till after our departure from our said realme. And now percase ye supposing vs so farre from our said realme, to be destitute of defense against your inuasions, haue vttered the

old rancour of your mind, which in couert manner ye haue long kept secret.

Nevertheless, we remembering the brittleness of your promise, & suspecting though not wholly believing so much unstedfastnesse, thought it bette expedient and necessarie to put our said realme in a readines for resisting of your said enterpises, hauing firme trust in our Lord God, and the righteousnesse of our cause, with the assistance of our confederats & allies, we shall be able to resist the malice of schismatiks and their adherents, being by the generall counsell expresse excommunicate and interdicted; trusting also in time conuenient to remember our friends, and requite you and our enimies, which by such vnaturall demeanour haue giuen sufficient cause to the disherison of you and your posteritie for euer, from the possibilitie that ye thinke to haue to the realme, which ye now attempt to inuade.

And if the example of the king of Nauarre, being excluded from his realme for assistance giuen to the French king, can not restraine you from this vnaturall dealing, we suppose ye shall haue like assistance of the French king, as the king of Nauarre hath now, who is a king without a realme, & so the French king peaceably suffereth him to continue, whereunto good regard would be taken. And like as we heretofore touched in this our writing, we need not to make anie further answer to the manifold griefs by you surmised in your letter: forsomuch as if anie law or reason could haue remoued you from your sensuall opinions, ye haue bene manie and oftentimes sufficientlie answered to the same: except onelie to the pretended griefs touching the denieng of our safe conduct to your ambassadoz last sent vnto vs.

Whereunto we make this answer, that we had granted the said safe conduct: and if your herald would haue taken the same with him, like as he hath bene accustomed to solicit safe conducts for merchants and others heretofore, ye might as soone haue had that, as anie other: for we neuer denied safe conduct to anie your lieges to come vnto vs and no further to passe, but we saw well, like as your said herald had heretofore made sinister report contrarie to truth, so hath he done now in this case, as it is manifest and open. Finallie, as touching your requisition to desist from further attempting against our enimie the French king, we know you for no competent iudge of so high authoritie to requite vs in that behalfe. Wherefore (God willing) we purpose with the aid and assistance of our confederats and allies to prosecute the same; and as ye doe to vs and our realme, so it shall be remembered and acquitted hereafter by the helpe of our Lord & our patrone saint George, who right excellent, right high and mightie prince, &c. Dated vnder our signet in our campe before Cirwine, the twelfth day of August.

This

This letter being deliuered vnto the Scottish herald, he departed with the same into Flanders, there to haue taken ship: but for want of readie passage he staid, and returned not into Scotland till flooden field was fought, and the king slaine. For king James persecuting all the Englishmens doings to send vnto war rather than to peace, hauing taken order for the assembling of his people, immediatlie after he had sent forth his herald with commandment to denounce the warre, he determined to invade the English confines, and first besoze his maine force was come together, the lord Humes that was lord chamberlaine and warden of Scotland, the thirteenth day of August, hearing that the Englishmen had fetched a bottie within the Scottish ground, assembled a power, & followed them into Forthumberland, but yet he could returne he was forelaid [in Bowne house, or Bowne field] by the Englishmen, which breaking out of their ambushes, put the Scottishmen to the worse, and of them toke and slue manie.

Englishmen  
fetched a bottie  
in Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib 13.

These wars thus begun, the king determined to go to his armie (as it seemeth) not yet fullie assembled. Whereupon coming to Lincolne, he went to the church to heare euen song; as the manner was. To whome, after he had entered the chappell, there came an old man, whose heare was somewhat whitish red, hanging downe vpon his shoulders, his forehead high with baldnesse, bare headed, hauing his bodie couered with a blewish garment, girded with white, and verie reuerent in his countenance. This man seeking the king, passed through the companie standing there, and drew nere to the king. Who being now come vnto him (and with a certaine rude behaviour, leaning vpon the seat wherein the king was placed) in homelie sort said vnto him: "King James sent vnto thee, to giue thee admonishment that thou hasten not forward to the place which thou hast determined: which warning if thou dost despise, it shall succeed ill with thee, and with all such as shall attend vpon thee. Further I am commanded to giue thee intelligence before hand, that thou eschue the familiaritie, custome, or counsell of women, and if thou dost otherwise, it shall succeed to thy hurt and reproch. After which thus spoken, he mingled himselfe with the other companie, neither could after be found (the euen song being ended) when he was sought for by the king: for he was neuer scene after that he had thus deliuered his message. Which seemed the more strange, because that manie which stood nere him (marking all his order, and desirous to haue heard more things from him) could not perceiue his departure; amongst which persons (of those that meant to haue asked him further questions) David Lindsay (a man of approued credit and vertue, verie well learned, and whose life was far estranged from lieng and falshood) was one, who told this same to me (saith Buchanan) as a thing most certaine; or else I would haue ouerpast it as a fable caried about by common report."

King James  
approched  
nere vnto  
England  
with his  
power.

The king of  
Scots made  
too much  
hast.

Forham.  
The States.

In the meane time was the whole power of Scotland assembled, with the which king James approaching to the borders, and nothing abashed with the euill lucke thus at the beginning chanced to his people, purposed with greater advantage of victorie to recover that detriment; and hereupon he made such hast, that he would not staie for the whole power of his realme, which was in preparing to come forward vnto him; but coming to the borders, he passed ouer the water of Tweed the two and twentieth of August, and entered into England, lodging that night at Westham nere to the riuer of Tuisell, and the next day laid siege vnto the castell of Forham, and within short space wan the States, ouerthrowing the

Barnekin, & slue diuerse within the castell, so that the capteine and such as had charge within it, desired the king to delate the siege, while they might send to the earle of Surreie already come with an armie into the north parts, conuenanting if they were not rescued by the nineteenth day of that month, they should deliuer the castell vnto the king. This was granted: and because none came within the time to the rescue, the castell was deliuered at the appointed day; a great part of it was ouerthrowne and beaten downe. After this he wan the castles of Forth and Cull, & diuerse other places of strength, of which, part were ouerthrowne. He also toke manie prisoners, and sent them away into Scotland, and diuerse he assured: and thus he abode an eightene daies within England, till two parts of his armie were scaled & departed home from him, which they did vpon this occasion.

Barnekin.

Forth and  
Cull taken.

The king was determined & perswaded to haue besieged Berwik (beyond which he was now passed) since the same alone was more honor (than all the other places besides) if they wan it; the taking whereof they supposed not to be verie hard, because they were sure that the towne and castell were furnished of all things for the defense thereof. Whereupon, the king (deeming nothing too hard for his armie, especiallie, since the English were set on worke as much as they might in the French wars) being nourished in that vanitie (by his flattering courtiers) did leaue the same vndone at this time, meaning in his returne easilie to haue obtained it. But as they were yet at Forth, a herald of the English came vnto them, requiring that they would appoint a day and place, where and when both the armies might foine in battell. Whereupon, there was a counsell called amongst the Scots, in which it was agreed by the greater part, that the Scots should returne home into their countrie, least with so small a companie they might hazard the state of the whole countrie; especiallie, since that they had already sufficientlie obtained fame, glorie and riches, and to the uttermost satisfied the band of amitie with the French; for there was no iust cause, why they for number (so few) and for trauell (in ouerthrowing so manie forts) so much weakened, should now againe be laid open to so great a multitude of the English battie increasing with succors. For it was said at that time; that Thomas Watward brought into the field (besides the rest of his armie) 6000 of chosen and valiant souldiers from the English campe (in France) before Turuaine.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib 13.

To which persuasion (to make the matter more strange) it was further added, that if the king did depart; the English host of necessitie must be dissolved, and could not that yeare againe be repaired, because their souldiers were set from the furthest parts of the realme; and that if the king would needs fight, that he then should doe it in his owne realme, keeping the time & place in his power alwaies to be appointed. But when the French ambassador (and certaine other, fed with the French pensions) labored to the contrarie; the king being by nature fierce, and greedy of warre, was easilie perswaded to abide his enimie in that place. In the meane time, when the English came not forth (at the day appointed to them by the herald, which before had bene with the Scots) the noblemen of Scotland, taking occasion thereof, did afresh go to the king, declaring that their not coming to battell was onelie a traine and deceipt, deferring the matter from day to day, to the end that their force might be increased, and the Scots diminished.

Wherefore said they, we should vse the like policie against them. For since they haue not attended the time

time prescribed vnto them, it is no shame to the Scots to retaine into their countrie without battell, or to fight within their owne limits. Of both which, the surer counsell were to follow the first; which if it be not liked, then is there good occasion offered to execute the other. For since the river of Till (hauing his banks) is not passable, but at certeine miles hence (except it be by a bridge) some few may there resist a great multitude. Besides which, when a part of the English armie is passed the bridge, the same bridge maie easilie (by engins placed therefore) be cut in sunder; so that there shall not be passage for anie more: by means whereof, the one part of them shall be subdued on the one side of this riuer, before that anie aid can come vnto them from the other banke. The king liked neither of these deuises and persuasions; but answered, that he would not suffer the English to depart (vntoughten with) although there were an 100000 against him. At which rash answer, the whole nobilitie was greivoulie offended.

Whereupon Archibald Dowglas earle of Angus (which farre excelled all the others both in yeeres and authoritie) laboured to turne the kings mind with all gentle persuasions, and began to make a more ample discourse vpon the two former counsels giuen by the nobilitie. For he shewed that the king had fallie satisfied the request of the French, in that he had now turned the greatest part of the English armie before bent against the French, against himselfe and his owne people; and had so wrought, that those great armies should neither hurt France nor do anie iniurie vnto the Scots, sith they were not able long to remaine in campe in those cold places, and in a barren countrie unfurnished of all things (by the calamities of the last warres) and in which there was no corne; and if there were, it could not be ripened (the winter coming on so fast) in those northerne parts of the realme.

And where the French ambassadoz doth so much urge vs vnto the battell, I suppose that the same should not seme either new or strange vnto vs, that a strange man (which doth not respect the common euill of the realme, but the priuat commoditie of his owne nation) be ouer laushly in potwizing out the blood of other men. Besides which, his request is ouer impudent, to demand of the Scots that which the French king (a man of singular experience and wisdom) doth not iudge conuenient for his owne kingdom or dignitie, if we be ouerthrowne. Yetther should the losse of his host seme more light vnto him (although we are few in number) because that all they of Scotland (which excell in force, authoritie or counsell) are assembled here together, who being slaine, the rest of the realme would seme to be a preie to the victor. What? Is it more safe for vs, and more profitable to the eschewing of all danger, for him to fight at this present? No trulie. For if Lewes do suppose, that the English (by imagined meanes) may be either made needie of monie, or else wteried by de laie; what can be done more necessarie for the present state of things, than to compell the enimie to diuide his armie; to the end that we may ease the weight of warre against the French by one part of the host to be sent against vs, and still to hold them plate as it were alwaies to kepe them readie to set vpon vs, & by removing to giue them cause to follow vs? For so I suppose shall the glorie and shew (which these men I feare rather balliant in words than deeds, do with their rashnesse so much pretend) be fulfilled answered. For what can happen more honorable to the king, than that we (by the ouerthrow of so manie castles, by the spoile of so manie countreies with sword and fire, and by the burning home of so great booties and preies) haue done that iniurie to them,

as that their countrie shall not by the peace of manie yeeres reconer his former estate: What greater profit may we looke for by warre, than in so great tumult of warres, with great praise and honor to vs, and with shame and reproch to our enimies, to obtaine quiet, ioined with gaine and glorie for the refreshing of our selues? Which kind of victorie (that is gotten more by words than by sword) chieflie belongeth to men, and of men speciallie to the leaders and capteins, as such a glorie whereof the common souldiours may not challenge anie part.

Which being thus spoken by earle Dowglas, although all they which were present seemed (by their countenance) to giue consent thereto: yet the king (who had with other bound himselfe to fight with the English) receiued these counsels with contrarie cares; and in heat commanded Dowglas to depart home, if he were afraid of the enimie. Whereupon he conceiuing some unkindnesse, and inwardlie beholding wherevnto all these things would come by the kings rashnesse forthwith burst out in teares. After which (as some as he could settle himselfe thereto) he spake these few words. If (said he) my former life did not cleare me from the reproch of a coward, I know not with what reason or persuasion I might cleare or defend my selfe. For trulie so long as this my bodie was able to susteine anie labor, I neuer spared to spend the same in the defense of my countreies helpe, and my souveraigns honor. But since I see their cares to exclude my counsell (which is the onelie thing wherewith I can now be profitable) I here leaue my two sonnes (who next vnto my countrie are most deare to me) and the rest of my kinred (of whom I greatly account) as a certeine pledge of the truth and loue of my mind towards thee, and the common helpe of my countrie. And I pray God that he make this feare of mine to be false, and that I may rather be counted a lieng prophet, than behold those things which I feare will happen vnto vs. Which words when the Dowglas had said to the king, he departed thence with his companie. The rest of the nobilitie (because they saw they could not draw the king to their mind) looke that place for battell which was next vnto them, to the end (seeing they were much inferior in number to their enimies, for there were 26000 fighting men in the English armie, as it was knowne by the scouts) to defend themselves with the benefit of the place, and thereupon got the hill next vnto their campe.)

In which meane time, the earle of Surrie, lieutenant to the king of England, hauing raised all the power of the north parts of England, came with the same towards the place where he heard that king James was incamped, and approaching within three miles of the Scottish campe in full sight of the Scottishmen, pitched downe his tents, and incamped with his whole armie. Although king James had great desire to fight with his enimies thus lodged in full view of his campe; yet because he was incamped in a place of great advantage, so as the enimies could not approach to fight with him; but with great losse and danger to cast themselves away, he thought good to keepe his ground, speciallie because all those of the nobilitie, who were knowne to be of experience, did not hold with their aduise that counselled him to giue battell.

At what time the earle of Surrie had sent an officer at armes vnto him, requiring him to come forth of his strength vnto some indifferent ground, where he would be readie to incounter him, & name the earle of Huntlee, a man for his high balliance ioined with wisdom and policie, had in most reputation of all the residue, affirmed in plaine words (besides that which Dowglas had before said) that

The power of the north countrey raised.

The English campe in full sight of the Scottish campe.

King James was minded to keepe his ground.

Paulus Iouius.

The earle of Huntlee his counsell.

Fr. Thin.

nothing

His persua-  
sions.

Frome swea-  
ther.

Prodigious  
chances.

In hare.

The buckle  
leather of his  
helmet gnawed  
with mice.  
The cloth of  
his tent of  
blodie colour.

nothing could be either moze fond or folish, than to fight at pleasure of the enimie, and to let all on a maine chance at his will and appointment, and therfore it should be good for them to remaine there in place of advantage, and with p[ro]longing the time to trifle with the enimie, in whose campe there was alreadie great scarcitie of vittels, neither was it possible that they should be vittelled from the inner parts of the realme, by reason of the cumbersome waies for cariage to passe now after such abundance of continuall raine as of late was fallen, and not like as yet to ceasse, so that in sitting still and attempting nothing rashlie without aduise, the king should haue his enimies at his pleasure, as vanquished without stroke striken through disadvantage of the place, and lacke of vittels to susteine their languishing bodie.

And suerlie beside the want of vittels, the soule and enill weath[er] fore annoied both parties; for there had not bene one faire day, no scarce one houre of faire weath[er] of all the time the Scottish armie had lien within England, but great cold, wind & raine, which had not onelie caused manie of the Scots to retorne home, but also fore beyed the Englishmen, as well in their iourneie thitherwards, as also while they lay in campe against the Scottish armie. There was sending of messengers betwixt them to and fro, and the king had sent his quarell in writing vnto the earle of Surrie by his herald Flaie the night before the battell, containing as follooweth.

#### King James his quarell vnto the earle of Surrie.

**W**here it is alledged that we are come into England against our bond and promise, thereto we answer: that our brother was bound as farre to vs as we were to him, and when we swaie last before his ambassadors in p[re]sence of our counsell, we expressed speciallie in our oth, that we would keepe to our brother, if our brother kept to vs, and not else. We sweare that our brother brake first to vs, and of his breach we required him diuers times of amends: and latelie we warned him, as he did not vs yet we brake. And this we take for our quarell, and by Gods grace shall defend the same at your assized time, which with Gods helpe we shall abide. Thus was the king verie desirous to trie the matter by battell, although the wisest sort of his nobles wished not that he should doe anie thing ouer rashlie.

There chanced also manie things taken (as y<sup>e</sup> would say) for warnings of some great mischance to folloow, which though some reputed but as vaine and casuall haps; yet the impressiō of them bred a certeine religious feare and new terro[ur] in his heart. For as he was in counsell with his lords, to vnderstand their opinions touching the order of his battels, there was an harte start amongst them, which hauing a thousand arrowes, daggers, and other kind of things bestowed at hit, with great noise and shouting, yet the escaped from them all safe and without hurt. The same night also, mice had gnawed in sunder the buckle and leather of his helmet where with he should fasten the same to his hed. And mozeouer, the cloth or velle of his inner tent (as is said) about the b[re]ake of the day, appeared as though the deawie moisture thereof had bene of a bloudie colour.

Hereupon the king keeping himselfe within his tent, the earle of Surrie constrained by necessitie to take all waies whereby to traine the king downe from the hill where he was lodged, remoued his campe towards the hills of Floddon, where the king of Scots late incamped: and on the ninth day of September passed the water of Till at Twissell bridge; the reerward going ouer at Milford, putting themselves as nere as they could betwixt the Scottish campe and Scotland. King James perceiuing the Englishmen to passe the water, iudged that they had ment to win an hill that laie betwixt them and his campe, and therefore to p[re]uent them, he caused his field to be raised, and fier to be set on the litter & cabins which they had made of boughs, and so with all speed remoued to the other hill, being gotten thither yet the English men could perceiue him to be remoued out of his former lodgings, because the smoke of the fiers which the Scots had made, covered all the countrie betwixt the two armies.

In the meane while were the Englishmen advanced to the foot of Floddon hill, hauing thereby gotten double aduantage: for the Scottish ordinance could not much annoie them in marching v[er]wards vnder the leuill thereof, and they againe might gall the Scots in shooting off at them, as they came downetowards vpon them. For king James hauing disappointed the Englishmen of the hill, thought verelie it should be an easie matter for him to ouerthrow them, which being put beside the place where they intended (as he thought) to haue camped, would neuer abide the countenance of his puissant armie, if he might attaine to some with them. Therefore the Scottish armie [after they had appointed the same into three wards, whereof (as saith Lelous) the earle of Huntlee and the lord Hume led the right wing, the left had the earle of Crawford and Montrose; and the king himselfe kept the middle ward, with the earles of Argyle and Lennox] making downetowards, encountered with the English host nere to the foot of the mountaine called Brannton, and first sir Edmund Howard leading one of the out wings of the English armie, hauing with him three thousand men, being fiercelie assailed by the Scots on foot, hauing speares and long weapons, and also by certeine horsemen, was in the end discomfited, and his people beaten downe and put to flight, so that being of them forsaken, he was constrained to folloow. But yet he and diuerse other which escaped, ioined themselves to the next battell as well as they might. This so prosperous a beginning, who would thinke should haue turned to the losse of the Scots part, and aduancement of the English side. But so it came to passe, for king James no sooner saw that wing of the English host overthrowne and discomfited, but that he deemed how all the whole power of the Englishmen had bene fleeing away: and therefore alighting beside his horse, and commanding those that were about him to folloow, prepared himselfe to pursue the chase.

His capteins did what they could by words to remoue him from his purpose, declaring to him the dutie of a p[ri]nce: which is not rashlie to enter the fight, but to p[ro]uide and see that euerie thing be done in order: and whereas comming to trie the matter by hand blowes, he can doe no moze than another man; yet keeping his place as apperteineth to his person, he may be worth manie thousands of other. The king nothing moued with these exhortations, breaking his arraie of battell, with a companie of noble men, rushed forward into the foze ward, where accomplishing the office of a footman, he found the Englishmen not fleeing, but manfullie standing at resistance,

The English  
campe reman-  
ued by the  
earle.

Sir Edward  
Howard inua-  
ded the backe  
of the reer-  
gard.

King James  
aine.

The lord  
chamberlaine  
and his  
hall.

The Scots  
campe reman-  
ued also.

Aduantage  
gotten by the  
ground.

The lord  
chamberlaine  
beneath the  
mane.

King James  
his practice.

The English  
men thanked  
God for this  
valle victorie.

Fr. Thin.

1000. Buchan.  
1000 men  
aine.

Sir Edmund  
Howard was  
fiercelie as-  
sailed.

A good begin-  
ning had an  
euill ending.

King James  
deceived him-  
selfe and alight-  
ed from his  
horse.

The capteins  
god counsell  
not regarded.

The Scot-  
men retorne  
home againe.

They were  
victorie of their  
people.

The kings  
hardinzie  
marred all.

resistance, so that there was a right hard encounter, and manie arrowes shot on euerie side, and great hurt done therewith.

At length sir Edward Stanlie with the ceregard of the Englishmen came fiercelie downe from the hill of Bzantton, vpon the backe of the kings armie, wherein they fought cruellie on both parts for a long space; but at length the victorie inclined to the Englishmen. For the king himselfe was there beaten downe and slaine, with all that whole battell which first entered the fight. The other part of the Scotch host, thereof Alexander Hume lord chamberlaine had the gouernance, although he saw where the other Scotchmen were in danger, and closed in on euerie side, yet would he not once remoue one foot forward out of the place (where he stood) to aid them. Moreover, the lacke of discretion in the king, which would needs run vpon his owne death, amazed the minds of all men, and brought them into such perplexitie, that they knew not what to do; but looked one vpon another without stirring to or fro, as those that were in despaire now after the death of their king to recover the victorie, which by so strange a chance seemed as it were slipped out of their hands.

Howbeit, the lord chamberlaine bare the most blame, for that he did not cause a new onset to be giuen. But it happened well for the Englishmen: for if king James had ordered himselfe wisely in this battell, or that after he was slaine, a new furie had moued the Scots to haue renewed the fight in reuenge of the kings death, as had bene expedient, the victorie vndoubtedlie had bene theirs (as was thought by men of great vnderstanding.) Wherevpon the Englishmen remembzng how manifestlie Gods godnesse appeared towards them in this battell, confessed themselves long after bound to God for their safetie and deliuerance out of that present danger. The fight began about foure of the clocke in the after noone, and continued thre houres, in the which fiftene thousand men were slaine on both parts: and of that number a third part at the least was of Englishmen (as was credible reported) but (as our English writers affirme) there died of Englishmen not past fiftene hundred.

But yet the Scotchmen hold, that there died more of the Englishmen than of their nation at this field, and that manie thought it was not the bodie of king James which the Englishmen found in the field, and toke it for his; but rather an other Scotch mans corpes, called the lard of Bonehard, who was also slaine there. And it was affirmed by sundrie, that the king was seene the same night alieue at Helso: and so it was commonlie thought that he was liuing long after, and that he passed the seas into other countries, namelie to Ierusalem to visit the holie sepulchre, and so to discharge the residue of his daies, in doing penance for his former passed offences: but he appeared not in Scotland after as king, no more than Charles duke of Burgognie did appear in his countries after the battell of Rancie, although his people had the like vaine opinion that he escaped from that discomfiture alieue.

But now to returne to the truth of the matter where we left. In the night following after this terrible battell, the residue of the Scotch armie returned homewards the same way they came, waisting and spoiling the English borders as they passed. At their comming home, euerie man spake euill of them, for that as cowards and naughtie persons, they neither sought to reuenge the death of their noble king, nor yet to succour their fellowes that were beaten downe and slaine before their faces. But namelie Alexander Hume lord chamberlaine was reprovued, as cause of all that mischiefe, which beha-

ued himselfe not as a captetie, but as a traitor to his countrie. \* Upon the honoz of his victorie, Thomas Howard earle of Surrie (as a note of the conquest) gaue to his seruants this cognifance (to weare on their left arme) which was a white lion (the beast which he before bare as the proper ensigne of that house) standing ouer a red lion (the peculiar note of the kingdome of Scotland) and tearing the same red lion with his pawes.]

Thus haue you heard how through rashnesse and lacke of skilfull order, the Scotch armie was overcome, and that worthie prince king James the fourth brought to his fatall end, on the ninth day of September, in the twentieth and fift yeare of his reigne, and thirtie and ninth of his age, which was in the yeare from the incarnation 1513. For his politike gouernment and due administration of iustice, which he exercised during the time of his reigne, hee deserued to be numbez amongst the best princes that euer reigned ouer the Scotch nation. All theft, reiffe, murder, and robbrie ceased in his daies, by such rigorous execution of lawes penall as he caused to be exercised through all the bounds of Scotland: inasmuch that the sauage people of the out Isles soyled themselves through terroz and dread of due punishment to liue after the order of lawes and iustice, where otherwile of themselves they are naturally inclined to sedition, & disquieting of each other. To conclude, men were in great hope, that if it had pleased the hie determinate power of almightie God to haue lent to him longer life, he should haue brought the realme of Scotland to such a flourishing estate, as the like in none of his predecessors times was yet euer heard of.

There died with him in that infortunate battell, of noble men (beside others of the meaner sort) the archbishop of saint Andrews his bassard sonne, the bishop of the Isles: the abbats of Inchastreie and Killwinnet: the earles of Montrose, Craibford, Argyll, Lennox, Glencar, Cathnes, Castelles, Bothwell, Arrell high constable of Scotland, Adell, Atholl, and Morton: the lords Louet, Forbois, Clueston, Ross, Jnderbie, Saintclare, Martwell, and his thre brethren, Daunlie, Sempill, Bothwicke, Bogonie, Arskill, Blackater, and Cowin: knights and gentlemen of name, sir John Dowglas, Cuthbert Hume of Fast castle, sir Alexander Seton, sir Davie, maister John Grant, sir Dunkin Catwells, sir Sander Lowder, sir George Lowder, maister Martshall, maister Key, maister Elliot, maister Catwell clerke of the chancerie, the deane of Clesster, Spacke bene, Spacke Cleue, with manie others.

\* This James the fourth was of a firme bodie, of iust stature, of most comelie countenance, and of sharpe wit, but altogether vnlearned, as the fault of that age was. But he did diligentlie applie himselfe to an old custome of the countrie, cunninglie to cure wounds, the knowledge whereof in times past was a thing common to all the nobilitie, being alwaies vsed to the warres. He was easilie to be spoken vnto, gentle in his answers, iust in his iudgements, and so moderat in punishments, that all men might easilie see he was vntwillinglie drawn vnto them. Against the detraction of the euill, and admonishment of the good, there was such worthinesse of mind in him (confirmed by the quiet of a good conscience, and the hope of his innocencie) that he would not onelie not be angrie, but not so much as vse a sharpe word vnto them. Amongest which vertues, there were certeine vices crept in by the ouermuch desire to please the people, for which he labored to auoid the note of couetousnesse (objected to his father) and sought to win the fauour of the common sort (with sumptuous feasts, gorgeous shewes, and large gifts) he fell into

Fr. Thin.  
Buchan, li. 13

The sauage  
people refoz  
med them-  
selues.

Fr. Thin.  
Buchan, lib. 13.

English  
remou-  
the

Edward  
Stanlie  
the backe  
of the re-  
gard.

King James  
slaine.

Scots  
remou-  
so.

The lord  
chamberlaine  
was slaine.

image  
n by the  
nd.

The lord  
chamberlaine  
was the  
slaine.

James  
reife.

The English  
men thanked  
God for this  
victorie.

him.

1000. Buchan.  
1000 men  
slaine.

Edward  
ward was  
slaine.

and begin  
y had an  
ending.

g James  
used him  
and alight  
from his  
le.

captaine  
counsell  
regarded.

The Scotch  
armie  
was againe.

They were re-  
med of their  
people.

e kings  
dine  
red all.

that pouertie, that it seemed (if he had liued long) that he would haue lost the fauor of his people (wone in old times) by the imposition of new taxes. Wherefore his death was thought to haue timelie happened vnto him.)

*James the  
fift.*

*An assemble  
at Striueling  
1513.*

*The king  
crowned, and  
the queene ap-  
pointed re-  
gent.  
Fr. Thin.  
Buchan. lib. 13.*

After the death of that worthy prince king James the fourth, slain at Banrton (as before ye haue heard) his sonne James the fift succeeded him: for after the returne of those that escaped from the said field, the queene assembled the lords and estates of the realme together at Striueling, where the 21 day of September 1513, his sonne the foresaid James the fift, a child of one yere, five moneths, & ten daies of age, by vniuersall aduise and consent was crowned king, and his mother the queene appointed regent of the realme, vsing the counsell of the reuerend father James Beton archbishop of Glasgou, the earles of Huntlie, Angus, and Arrane. \* This gouernement the queene obtained by reason of his husbands testament, who making his last will (before that he went to the warres) did appoint thereby that the whole administration of all things should remaine with him, so long as he continued a widow: the which though it were against the custome of the countrie (being the first example of a womans gouernement amongst the Scots) yet it seemed tolerable to most men (giuen to peace) especiallie since there were not men sufficient at that time for honor and experience to take that charge in hand, by occasion of the great slaughter of the nobles at Floddon field, which gouernement she did not long inioy.]

*A debate.*

*The duke of  
Albanie is  
sent for.*

*Monsieur de  
la Baultie is  
sent into  
Scotland.*

*An assemble  
had at Stri-  
ueling.*

*The great  
disquietnesse  
reigning in  
Scotland dur-  
ing the mi-  
noritie of  
James the  
fift.*

*Fr. Thin.  
Buchanan.  
lib. 12.*

For shortly after they fell at variance amongst themselves, about the bestowing of those benefices which were vacant by the deaths of those persons which had bene slain at the field; by reason whereof, some of them writ letters secretlie into France to John duke of Albanie, willing him to come into Scotland to be tutor to the king, and gouernor of the realme, as he that was next of blood to the king, and nearest to the crowne, in case the kings children deceased without issue. He therefore sent monsieur de la Baultie into Scotland, who in companie of the earle of Arrane, the lord Fleming, and Lion the herald (which long had bene in France) landed on the west coast the third of Nouember. And shortly after, the said monsieur de la Baultie deliuered his letters to the queene and lords, who thereupon met at saint Johns towne, and there by vniuersall consent it was accorded, that the duke of Albanie should be admitted tutor and gouernor to the king & realme, and that the same should be confirmed in parlement by the three estates which should be kept at Edinburgh, the thirteenth day of March next, for the same intent.

To rehearse the troubles and great disquietnesse that chanced, during the minoritie of this king, though lacke of due administration of iustice, and by discord & variance daillie rising amongst the lords & pères of the realme, a man might haue iust cause greatlie to wonder thereat, and in weighing the same throughlie, no lesse lament the oppression done to the poore commons in that wicked and most miserable time, when iustice seemed to sleepe, and rapine with all the other sorts and rabble of inturious violence invaded his emptie seat, triumphing ouer all as a conqueror. \* During the times of which disorder, there was (amongest those which preyed and spoiled others) a great captain of the same faction, called Macrobert Struan, who (ouerrunning Atholl and the adioining places) was accompanied for the most part with eight hundred thieues, and sometime more. Which Struan was at length (whilst he spoiled euerie man at his owne pleasure, and at that time remaining with his uncle John Creighton) taken by

wait laied for him, and inforced to depart with his life.]

The queene sent louing letters vnto the king of England his brother, requiring him of peace. Whereupon a truce was taken betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, for the space of one yere and a day. In the beginning of Februarie, the king of England, hearing that a parlement should be holden in Scotland, for the bringing in of the duke of Albanie to be tutor, wrote to his sister that she should in anie wise impeach and staie his comming thither; declaring how dangerous it was, not onelie for him, but also for his sonne to haue him gouernor, which was to succede, if his son were once out of the way. But the chiefest cause that moued the king of England to labour, that the duke should haue nothing to do in Scotland, was (as manie thought) for that he knew how the duke, in fauour of the king of France, would shew himselfe an enimie against England, with all the force he might make or procure.

Now shortly after that the peace was concluded betwixt him and the king of France, he sent a letter also, requiring him not to suffer the duke to passe into Scotland, for the reason first alleged. But notwithstanding the labor that king Henrie made to the contrarie, it was concluded by the states in parlement assembled in Edinburgh, at the time prefixed, that sir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion king of armes should be sent into France, to procure the duke to come into Scotland, being now confirmed tutor and gouernor, according to the lawes of the realme in such cases provided. Whereupon, in Aprill then next following they took the seas, and passed into France, accordinglie as by the states had bene deuised.

This yere came a legat into Scotland from the pope, with certeine priuileges granted to the king and realme. The thirtieth of Aprill was the queene deliuered of a prince in the castell of Striueling, which was baptised by the postulat of Dunfirmling, and the archdeane of saint Andewes, and instantlie confirmed by the bishop of Cathnesse, by the name of Alexander. During the time that the queene lay in childbed, great discord fell out betwixt the lords of the west parts, and the other lords of the realme: but shortly after the queene called an assemble at Edinburgh the twelfth of Iulie, where they were all well agreed. And herewith two of the cleargie were sent into England for peace. And the 28 of the same moneth, maister James Ogilvie abbat of Dunburgh, and sir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion the herald came south of France with articles in writing from the king there, and the duke of Albanie; by the which the dukes comming was excused, because the king could not want him, till some end were had touching the warres betwixt him and the king of England, which was concluded in October next insuing.

This yere, the first of August, the queene married Archibald Doolgassle earle of Angus, and immediallie after in saint Johns towne took the great scale from the bishop of Glasgou, that was chancelor of the realme. Whereupon the said bishop got him to Edinburgh, where manie lords assisted him, and kept out the queene and his new husband, so that they might not enter there: whereof great discord rose within the realme amongst the nobles and pères of the same. In the peace contracted betwixt Lewis the twelfth of that name, king of France, and Henrie the eight king of England, no mention was made of the realme of Scotland: for the which the Scottishmen thought great salt in the French king, seeing that for his cause the warre had bene attempted betwixt them and England. The same yere, a

*The king of  
England writ  
to his sister.*

*Monsieur de  
la Baultie.*

*1514.*

*The castell of  
Dunburgh taken.*

*The duke of  
Albanie con-  
firmed tutor  
by parlement.*

*The popes  
bulls publi-  
shed.  
1515. Lelle.*

*Contention  
about the in-  
stency of the  
legat of saint  
Andewes.*

*1514.  
A legat from  
Rome.  
The queene  
deliuered of  
her second son  
Alexander.*

*1515.  
Truce be-  
twixt Eng-  
land and  
Scotland.*

*The duke of  
Albanie his  
arrival in  
Scotland.*

*The marriage  
of the queene  
mother.  
The great  
scale taken  
from the bi-  
shop of Glas-  
gou.*

*A peace con-  
cluded be-  
twixt Eng-  
land & France*

*The duke of  
Albanie re-  
turned into  
Edinburgh.*

The decessie  
of the bishop  
of Aberdeen.

Signeur de  
la Bantie.

1514.

The castell of  
Dunbarton  
taken.

The popes  
bullis publi-  
shed.  
1515. Lesle.

Contention  
about the in-  
terme of the  
law of saint  
Andrews.

514.  
gas from  
re.  
queene  
reuered  
of second son  
andor.

e marriage  
of queene  
bet.  
e great  
taken  
the bis-  
of Glas-

ence com-  
ed be-  
st Eng-  
of France

1515.  
Once be-  
twixt Eng-  
land and  
Scotland.

The duke of  
Albanie his  
arrivall in  
Scotland.

The duke of  
Albanie recei-  
ved into E-  
dinburgh.

about the twentieth fift of October, William Elphing-  
ston bishop of Aberdeen, and lord keeper of the priuie  
scale departed this life at Edinburgh. He had bene  
a faithfull counsellor to James the third & to James  
the fourth, by whose helpe he founded and indowd  
the college in the old towne of Aberdeen, for the in-  
crease of learning & vertue, which hath flourishd with  
god wits of students ever since, till these our daies.  
The 20 of Nouember, Le sire de la Bantie receiued  
the castell of Dunbar in the name of the duke of Al-  
bantie, at the hands of the deane of Glasgou brother  
to the bishop of Murray, called Forman. Shortly  
after, John Hepburne the prior of saint Andrews  
then elect archbishop of that see, besieged the castell  
of saint Andrews, and won it by force from the kee-  
pers of it, which were appointed to defend it in the  
name of Calvin Dowieglas, wherewith the queene  
and the earle of Angus were highly offended. The  
twelfth of Ianuarie, being a verie darke & windie  
night, the earle of Lennox, and the maister of Glen-  
carne undermined the nether groundsoile of the ca-  
stell gate of Dunbarton, & entered thereby into the  
castell; & so toke it, putting out thereof the lord Er-  
skin. Shortly after (that is to say) the fiftenth of  
that moneth, a great assemble was made betwixt  
the earles of Angus and Arrane, the one to haue  
fought with the other, which was the cause and be-  
ginning of great trouble that ensued.

The same day in Edinburgh were the bulls pub-  
lished, which Forman the bishop of Murray had pur-  
chased at Rome, for the obtaining of the archbishop-  
rike of saint Andrews, the abbasies of Dunferme-  
ling, and Arbroth, through supplication of the queene  
and duke of Albanie. From which bulls the prior of  
saint Andrews appealed, pretending title to the arch-  
bishopricke by election and generall gift of the lords  
of the realme; and herupon got together his friends  
in Edinburgh, as the maister of Hales and others.  
And on the other part, the lord chamberleine, and di-  
uerse of the bishop of Murreis friends got the kings  
letters, by vertue whereof they proclaimed the said  
maister of Hales, and the prior of saint Andrews  
rebels, with all their assistants, putting them to the  
horne: whereupon they were constrained to depart  
out of Edinburgh. And in spate following, the pri-  
or went vnto Rome, there to iustifie his appeal.

The foure and twentieth of Februarie, a parle-  
ment was assembled at Striueling; but because the  
lords could not agree amongst themselves, it was  
proposed till the coming of the duke of Albanie,  
which was looked for to be in Scotland, in Aprill; or  
at the furthest in spate next ensuing, as he had sent  
word by sir John Striueling of the Weir, that was  
latelie come from him with letters vnto the lords  
and pères of the realme. The fiftenth of spate, truce  
was proclaimed betwixt England and Scotland, to  
indure for thre yeares, or thre moneths (as saith  
Lesseus) but the same day at six of the clocke in the  
afternone, the Englishmen entered the borders of  
Scotland vpon the water of Rule, and forayed the  
countie, doing great hurt therein, notwithstanding  
the truce. The seuententh day of spate, John  
duke of Albanie, tutor and gouernor of Scotland,  
arrived at the towne of Aire, with eight ships well  
appointed, and furnished with men and all kind of  
necessarie prouision for his estate.

From thence taking the sea againe, he sailed a-  
longst the coast till he came to Dunbarton, and there  
came on land, & on the next day passed forth to Glas-  
gou, where all the westland lords receiued him with  
great semblance of reioysing for his arrivall. The  
first and twentieth day of spate, he was receiued into  
Edinburgh, a great number of lords meeting him  
on the way. The queene also came from hir owne lod-

ging and met him, to do him honoz. Sumorie con-  
ceipts, pageants, & plaies were shewed by the burgeis-  
ses, to honoz his entrie in the best maner they could  
deuise. Shortly after his coming to Edinburgh,  
there came thither forth of all parts of the realme,  
the lords and barons, where they being assembled  
in counsell, he toke vpon him the gouernement of  
the realme, which he promised to vse by their aduise,  
so that they would assist him in setting forth of iu-  
stice and god orders, which they undertooke to do.

Hereupon was the parlement, which had bene  
proposed till his coming, summoned to be kept at  
Edinburgh the twelfth of Iulie, in the which diuerse  
acts were concluded and made; and the lord Dum-  
mond was aduindged in the dukes mercie, for stri-  
king Lion king of armes. The duke pardoned him  
of life and honoz, but his lands and goods remained  
in the kings hands: notwithstanding, he was after-  
wards restored to the same againe. In this parle-  
ment also, the duke of Albanie was confirmed by  
the thre estates of the realme tutor and gouernor to  
the king, the scepter and sword being deliuered to  
him: his oth also was taken by the lords, and theirs  
giuen to him, that each of them should be faithfull to  
others, and namelie to their king and gouerneigne  
lord, and also should mainteine iustice to the utter-  
most of their powers, for the aduancement of his  
honoz, and suertie of the realme.

In the meane time, whilest this parlement was  
in hand, the gouernor was aduertised that the king  
should haue bene conueied forth of the realme se-  
cretlie into England: whereupon he suddenlie de-  
parted in the night time from Edinburgh, with his  
men of warre in god order, & came to Striueling,  
where the king, with his brother Alexander, laie with  
the queene; which castell, together with the kings per-  
son, and the other within it, were deliuered to him  
the third day of August: whereupon he committed  
them and the castell to the keeping of foure lords of  
the realme, whereof the earles of Eglington and  
Montrose were two. The lord Hume, because he  
had assisted the earle of Angus and the queene a-  
gainst the gouernor, was denounced a rebell; and  
the earles of Lennox & Arrane, with manie others,  
were sent to his houses to seize the same into the  
kings hands. In the castell of Hume was laid gun-  
powder by a traine, wherby diuerse of them that en-  
tered first into the castell were burned.

The lord Hume himselfe got him into England,  
and soze disquieted the marches, so that no day of  
truce was holden, neither on the east nor middle  
marches. The twelfth of August, the queene, the  
earle of Angus, and his brother George Dowieglas,  
went from Tempallon vnto Berwik, and from  
thence passed to the nuntie of Caustream; where-  
upon aduertisement being giuen to the K. of Eng-  
land, and his pleasure therein knowne, the six and  
twentieth of that moneth she was receiued by the  
lord Dacres, & conueied to Harbottell castell, where  
she remained till she was deliuered of a daughter,  
called Margaret Dowieglas, afterwards married to  
the earle of Lennox, as in place convenient it shall  
further appeare. There was no Scottishman at this  
time receiued into England with hir. The gouernor  
perceiuing the rebellion of the lord Hume, passed to  
the borders with his Frenchmen, where the first of  
October, the said lord Hume came & submitted him-  
selfe to the gouernors pleasure, and his brother Alex-  
ander shortly after did the same, and they were both  
deliuered to the earle of Arrane, who was appointed  
to keepe them in safetie within the towne of Edin-  
burgh.

But the twelfth of October next ensuing, the said  
earle of Arrane departed from thence in the night  
ff. ij. season,

The king de-  
liuered to the  
keeping of cer-  
taine lords.

The lord  
Hume de-  
nounced a re-  
bell.

The birth of  
the countesse  
of Lennox.

The lord  
Hume sub-  
mitted him-  
selfe.

The earle of Arrane fleas-  
letly away.

The lord  
Hume and o-  
ther commit-  
ted of trea-  
son.

The old coun-  
tesse of Arrane  
purchaseth hir  
sons pardon.

A commotion  
betwixt the  
earles of  
Hurreie and  
Huntleie.

Lion king of  
armes flaid  
by the lord  
Humes.

A truce con-  
cluded be-  
twixt Eng-  
land & Scot-  
land.

The earle of  
Arrane est-  
ablishes reuol-  
teth from the  
gouernor.

The earle of  
Lennox furm-  
isheth Dunbar-  
ton.

The earles of  
Lennox and  
Arrane take  
a respit.  
Foorman re-

season, with those his prisoners, scaling their waies on foot. Whereupon, the gouernor causing the parlement to be holden that was summoned to begin the foure and twentieth of October, the said lord Hume, maister William Hume, and Dauid Hume, were commit of treason by all the states, to lose their liues, lands, and goods. This parlement was proroged till fiftene daies after, within which time the earle of Arrane was appointed to make appearance, or else it was agreed that they should proceed against him in like manner. And in that meane space, the gouernor went to besiege the castell of Hamilton, where that noble aged ladie, the old countesse of Arrane, daughter to king James the second, & mother to the earle of Arrane, and aunt to the duke by his fathers side, caused not onelie the castell to be surrendered at the dukes pleasure, but procured also the earle of Arrans peace, which earle, the twelfth of November next insuing, came with the bishop of Glasgowe vnto Edinburgh, and there submitted himselfe to the dukes will.

About the same time, certeine lords toke part with the earle of Hurreie the kings bastard brother, and the earle of Erroll, against the erle of Huntleie, and raised a commotion; so that being got into Edinburgh, there was much adoe, & the towne greatly disquieted. The gouernor lieng in the abbey, came into the towne, and toke the earles of Huntleie, Erroll, Hurreie, and others; and committed them to ward within the castell, while he tried the cause, and finding that maister William Haie being with the earle of Hurreie had raised that sturre, he sent the same Haie into France, there to remaine during his pleasure, and forthwith the said earles were set at libertie. Lion king of armes appointed to go into England with letters to king Henrie, was stopped at Caldreame by the lord Hume, who toke his letters from him, and kept him prisoner, till Alexander Humes mother, that remained prisoner in Dunbar, was exchanged for him. The eighteenth day of December, Alexander duke of Rothe the kings brother departed this life at Striueling.

The seuenteenth day of Januarie, a truce was taken betwixt Egglan and Scotland, till the feast of Pentecost next. This truce was agreed vpon at Coldingham, by certeine commissioners, appointed on either part there, to treat for peace. For the realme of Scotland were these: Monsieur de Plaines the French ambassador, archdeacon of saint Andrews, maister Gatwin de Dunbar, and sir William Scot of Baluerie knights. The Englishmen compised for their part, the earle of Angus and the lord Hume within the compasse of this truce. In the meane time, the earle of Arrane departed from the gouernor againe, and repaired to the west parts, where he confederated himselfe with certeine lords, notwithstanding that sir James Hamilton, and the lord of Cauder remained pledges for his good demeanour within the castell of Edinburgh. The earles of Lennox, Glencarne, and other caused the castell of Dunbretton and diuerse other to be furnished, and toke the castell of Glasgowe with the kings great artillerie that laie within it, and spoiled the same.

The gouernor aduertised thereof, raised an armie & went to Glasgowe, where, by the laboz of the bishop of that place, an appointment was taken, so that the castell was deliuered into the bishops hands. The earle of Lennox came in to the gouernor, and toke a new respit, and about the beginning of March next following, the earle of Arrane and the lord Hume did the like. Foorman the archbishop of saint Andrews, against whom the prior of saint Andrews did stand (as ye haue heard) for that same benefice, to

the great diquieting of the realme, by such partakers as chanced thereabout among the lords, came now to the towne of Edinburgh, and resigned all the thre benefices, whereof he had purchased buls of the pope, that is to say, the archbishopricke of saint Andrews, the abbasies of Arbroth and Dunfirme, ling in the gouernors hands; to bestow the same at his pleasure: who by the counsell of certeine lords, to satisfie such as claimed interest to the same, and pacifying of all debates, bestowed them as followeth.

First, the said archbishopricke he gaue to the said foorman with the abbasies of Dunfirme, and to maister James Hepburne he gaue the bishopricke of Galloway, and benefices worth a thousand marks by the yeare vnto the prior of saint Andrews for a recompente; the abbasie of Dunburgh he gaue vnto maister James Ogilvie, and the bishopricke of Aberdeen (then vacant) vnto Alexander Gordon, and to the archbishop of Glasgowe called Beton he gaue the abbasie of Arbroth; assigning to the earle of Hurreie a large pension out thereof. One of the Hamiltons was made abbat of Kilwinning; and George Dundas was made prior of the knights of the roads. And thus he bestowed the benefices which had bene vacant euer since Flodden field, vnto diuerse lords, or to their kindred, that by such liberalitie shew towards them, all debates, and discords might cease, which had happened amongst them, speciallie about the bestowing of the same benefices. This was done in the moneth of February.

Shortlie after, the gouernor, by counsell of the lords, to the end the realme might come to a perfect quietnesse, and the noble men united together, received into fauor the earle of Angus, & maister Patrick Pantoun secretarie, who for his cause had bene kept as prisoner in Insche galle. He likewise receiued the lord Hume, and his brother, pardoning them all their offenses past. And in parlement holden the first of Maie, they were restored to all their lands, heritages, fees, and honors. About that time, the lord of Strathuen in Atholl committed diuerse great offenses and crimes, for the which he was taken by the earle of Atholl, and beheaded at Lograith by the gouernors commission.

All this while, the parlement was not dissolved but vpon prorogation, and so the same began againe the first day of Iulie, at what time the king of England, at request of his sister the queene of Scotland, wrote letters to the lords now assembled in parlement, requesting them to expell the gouernor forth of the realme. But all the lords and states with vniuersall consent sent Albanye the herald with letters to the said king, excusing them, that they might not in anie wise satisfie his desire therein, the same being against reason and the lawes of their countrie.

In the moneth of September, the gouernor commanded the lord Hume, with his brother maister William Hume, and Dauid bar of Fernhurst, to be arrested and bestowed in seuerall places, that better rule might be kept vpon the borders: but they lieng now in ward, sundrie informations were giuen vp against them: and thereupon, the eight of October, the said lord Hume and his brother were commit of treason, for assisting and mainteining of the theues vpon the borders, and other crimes; for the which he was beheaded: and on the morrow after, his brother the foresaid William Hume was likewise beheaded, and their heads were set vpon the Tolbuth in Edinburgh: Dauid bar was spared.

Alexander lord Hume left yet thre brethren in life, who were all by the iniuries of those times grievously afflicted with diuerse misfortunes. For George, being banished for the slaughter of a man, remained

Agath his  
tie to the arch-  
bishops see.

Bestowing of  
benefices.

Fr. Thin.

1515.

The earle of  
Angus and o-  
thers receiued  
into fauor.

The parlem-  
ent began to  
gaue.

The king of  
Englands  
letters to the  
lords.

The lord  
Hume and o-  
ther arrested  
and commit-  
ted to ward.

The lord  
Hume behead-  
ed.

Fr. Thin.  
Buchan lib. 14.

The duke of  
Albanie visi-  
teth the bor-  
ders.  
Another par-  
lement.  
The duke of  
Albanie se-  
cond person o  
f the realme.

The gouer-  
nor ethely li-  
cence to go i  
to France.

The earle o  
Lennox in  
ward.

Monsieur  
de la Baulti  
made wards  
of the mar-  
shes.

1517.  
Ambassado  
from Fran

Ambassado  
into France

The gouer-  
nor goeth i  
France.

Gouernors  
appointed t  
the kings p  
son.

remained in England amongst his friends. John abbat of Jedburgh was banished beyond Lake. Daus the younger brother, which was prior of Colvingham two yeares after the death of his brethren, was (by James Hepburne, the husband of his sister) slaine by a traine, under color of a meeting and parlie, whereunto he was called; whome all men did pittie, because he was a harmelesse yong gentleman, of a singular wit, and folie betrayed by those of whom he ought not so to have bin intrapped.

The duke of Albany visited the borders.  
Another parliament.  
The duke of Albany second person of the realme.

Shortly after, the duke rode to Jedburgh with a great companie of men, & staid the great robbing & reaving which had bene used on the borders, & left there good wardens to keepe good rule in those parts, and so returned to Edinburgh. The third of November, another parliament was holden, in which it was decreed, that the gouernour should be deemed and reputed for second person of the realme, notwithstanding the claime made by his elder brother Alexander Steward, that was begotten on the daughter of the earle of Dykeneie, which was alleged to have bene first married to their father the duke of Albany, before he was married to the earle of Bullognes daughter, on whome he begot the gouernour. Whereupon this Alexander made protestation to be heire to his father; but they were afterward agreed, and Alexander renounced his title in his brothers favor, and was made bishop of Gurrie, and abbat of Secone. At this parlement, the gouernour required licence to go into France, and to be absent there six moneths: but this sute was not granted till Aprill following.

The gouernour asked licence to go into France.

The earle of Lennox in ward.

Monsieur de la Bantie made warden of the marches.

1517.  
Ambassadors from France.

An ambassage into France.

The gouernour went into France.

Gouernours appointed to the kings person.

At the same time was the earle of Lennox put in ward within the castell of Edinburgh, till he had caused the castell of Dunbarton to be deliuered unto one Alane Steward in the constables name, & then he was set at libertie. In the moneth of December, Monsieur de la Bantie was made warden of the east marches in stead of the lord Hume, and kept daies of truce: which procured such hatred, that it cost him afterwards his life. In the moneth of Januarie, the gouernour went to saint Johns towne, and there held his seat of iustice, where the lord Fleming for the time was made great chamberlaine of Scotland, with all the fees thereof. In the yeare 1517, there came ambassadors from Francis the new french king, to desire, that the ancient league might be renewed betwixt him and the king of Scotland, their realmes, dominions, and subjects.

For this cause, all the lords of the realme were assembled at Edinburgh, where, by them it was concluded, that the gouernour himselfe should passe the seas into France; and also that the bishop of Dunhelie, the secretarie, and the maister of Glencarne as ambassadors should go thither: the which the thirteenth of Maie, went a shipboard, and by the east seas sailed thither, and the gouernour toke ship at Petermarke beside Dunbarton the seventh of June, taking his course by the west seas, and so passed into France, where it was agreed, that he should have remained but onelie foure moneths, he having appointed the bishops of saint Andrews and Glasgow, the earles of Huntlie, Argile, Angus, and Arrane, to gouerne in his place, whilste he was absent. Als he ordeined Anthonie Darcie, or Monsieur de la Bantie lieutenant of the borders.

He also had caused the king to be brought into Edinburgh castell, within the which he should remaine in the keeping of the earle Sparthall, the lords Erskin, Roxburgh, Withen; of the which, two at least should be alwaies present. The queene that remained as then in England, after the understood that the gouernour was departed towards France, returned to Edinburgh the seventeenth of Iulie, but

she was not suffered to see the king till August following: at that time, for feare of the pestilence to be crept into the castell, he was removed to Cragmiller, where the queene oftentimes came unto him; but at length, through some suspicion conceived, least the queene might conueie him away from thence into England, he was with force brought unto the castell of Edinburgh, in which he was kept after, according to the order taken in that behalfe.

The king removed.

The doubt which the Scots had in the queene.

Fr. Thin.  
Lellous lib. 9.  
pag. 386.

Such about this time in the which these things were done, John Gordon (the eldest sonne of that Alexander earle of Huntlie, which for the praise of his singular goodnesse obtained the surname of good) returning out of France (whither a little before he had sailed with the gouernour) was singularly welcomed and interteined of all men, who going unto his owne people (in the north parts) was vexed with such grievous sicknesse that he died therewith, and by his father (to whom he should by course of nature erecte the same office) shortly after buried in the abbey of Kilroffe, with a goodlie towne erected on him by his said father. The death of which John gave (for manie causes) manie griefes unto manie persons: but amongst other the chiefest to his father, who lived not long after his sonne. Which Alexander when he died, left the said earledome to his nephew, sonne of his sonne John; who because he was but ten yeeres old, was committed to the earle of Angus, to be instructed in all goodnesse of maners answering to the excellencie of that wit wherewith he was indued.

This earle Huntlie adorned with excellent sweetness of maners and pleasantnesse of wit, the earle of Angus would neuer or verie hardlie suffer to depart out of his companie. For which cause when the earle of Angus, for certeine suspicions of treason was banished Scotland into England, he attempted by all deuises and persuasions to intise the child to haue gone with him: but the yong boie could not be allowed with anie flatteries or persuasions to submit himselfe to the least note of reproch, in forsaking his king and countrie. Wherefore when the earle of Angus was departed into England, the child lifting up his craning hands to the king, did grant himselfe and all he had to the king and his countrie, whome the king received with all kind of humanitie; and provided that he should be instructed in euerie sort of vertue and learning, that was to be desired in such a prince; because the said child was borne of his sisters mariage.

The lords and other nobles highly offended (as well for the death of the lord Hume, as for that they saw Anthonie Darcie lord Bantie the french advanced to greater credit than themselves, and not onelie to be made warden of the marches, but also capitaine of Dunbarton, the strongest fort of Scotland) began to raise tumults in the land. For William Cockburne (uncle of Comarck Landon) who (expelling the gardians of the papill) did keepe the castell of Landon, assisted with the helpe of David Hume lord of Woodburne (whose sister the said Cockburne had married) first began a commotion in those parts. For when they saw that all means were taken from them openlie to reuenge the same, and to set upon Bantie, they determined to performe the same (with some secret deuise) by lying in wait for him.

Buchan. lib. 14

For the castell of Landon or Landon, being kept in the possession of Woodburne (and such as toke his part against the king) he the said Woodburne appointed subtil fellows secretlie to enter the castell, and to reteine it in the kings name. After which, this Woodburne feining a counterfeit anger (for he was a man full of all subtiltie) that this castell was so intencionally taken from him, and kept to the

Lellous lib. 9.  
pag. 387.

ff. lii.

kings

1517.

Monsieur de la Bantie slain by the lord of Woodburne. Fr. Thin.

A parliament called.

The lord of Woodburne indicted.

The earle of Arrane cometh into the Wers.

The maister of Hales.

The bond of league betwixt Scotland & France Captaine Doyers.

1518.

The abbat of Glenluce.

The Scots evill bled at the French kings hands.

The bishop of Aberdeen a builder.

kings behofe, he laid siege to the castell (as though he went about to recover the same with all the power he could) to the intent that Bantie might be intited to come thither to raise the siege. For which cause Bantie (supposing in truth that the castell had bene kept to the use of the king) hastening the rescue thereof, came forth of the castell of Dunbar to assemble the men of the countrie to raise the siege, as lieutenant of the borders, he was chased by the said lord of Woodburne and other so fiercelie, that in the end he was slaine, and foure Frenchmen with him: his head was cut from the shoulders, and set by in the towne of Duns [upon the castell of Hume] the nineteenth of Januarie.

The lords regents were herewith mervelouslie offended, & chose the earle of Arrane to be warden of the borders in de la Banties place, who was also chosen to be prouost of Edenburgh: wherewith the earle of Angus was highlie displeased. But the erle of Arrane, not seeming to passe much thereof, toke George Dowglas the said earle of Angus his brother, and sparke kar, committing them to ward within the castell of Edenburgh, because of the fauor he bare unto the said lord of Woodburne & his complices. Moreover, for due punishment of the murder of the foresaid de la Bantie, there was a parliament called the nineteenth of Februarie next, in the which, David Hume lord of Woodburne, and his three brethren, William Cockburne & John Hume, with diuerse other their partakers, were indicted for the besieging of the castell of Langton, the slaughter of monsieur de la Bantie, and for the setting vp of his head, intercommuning with the Englishmen, and diuers other misdoings.

Immediately after the end of this parliament, the earle of Arrane came into the Wers, with a great armie, and having with him the kings great artillery, ment to haue besieged such places as would haue resisted him. But at his being in Lowder, the heires of the castell of Hume were brought vnto him, which on the next morrow he receiued, and put men within it to keepe it, as he did in Langton and Woodburne, which he receiued at the same time. The maister of Hales was also sought for at that time, that he might haue bene apprehended to answer the slaughter of David Hume, prior of Coldingham, whom he had slaine traitorously. A litle before this parliament, the bishop of Dunkeld was returned from the French king with a bond of the league renewed betwixt Scotland and France. And at that same time was one captaine Doyers a Frenchman sent forth of France, with a certeine number of men, to receiue the castell of Dunbar into his keeping, which accordingly he did, the same being deliuered vnto him.

The earle of Lennox, who had bene with the gouernor in France, returned home into Scotland, & with him came a French herald from the king with letters, and maister Walter Steward abbat of Glenluce came likewise from the gouernor. And about that time, because the queene and lords were aduertised that the French king had contracted new bonds of peace and amitie with the king of England, without making mention of Scotland, they thought themselves euill bled, being his confederat friends, and therupon sent sharpe letters to the king of France, and to the gouernor, by Albanie the herald. In the moneth of June, maister Gatten Dunbar, archdeane of saint Andrews, and cleark of the register, was preferred to the bishops see of Aberdeen that was vacant by the death of Alexander Gourdon.

Whis Gatten founded an hospitall in Aberdeen, and indowed the same with lands for sustentance of

twelue poze men, with a prouost to haue care ouer them. He also builded a faire bidge, with seuen arches ouer the water of Dee beside Abberden, and purchased lands for the perpetuall vpholding thereof. He also builded two steeples in the cathedrall church, with halfe of the crosse church, and a faire palace for the small prebendaries, called the chapleins. Moreover, he bestowed manie rich & pretious ornaments vpon the same church of Abberden, as copes, chalices, and other such like things, which remained there long after. Manie right commendable works were accomplished by this diligent prelat, greatlie to his praise and high renowne; for he spent not the fruits of his benefice in vaine, but on such maner of buildings.

The seuenteenth of June, there rose great fur in Edenburgh, by the falling out of the earle of Rothes, and the lord Lindsey, about the iniointing of the thirritieth of Jife, by reason wherof, they were put in ward, the one in Dunbar, and the other in Dunbretton. About the beginning of August, the queene remaining in Edenburgh, understood that the earle of Angus hir husband, as then sojourning in Dowglas dale, had taken a faire gentlewoman in those parts, and kept hir as his concubine; for the which ad the conceited such hatred against him, that there was neuer no perfect loue betwixt them afterwards. In the beginning of Februarie, there came a cleark as ambassador from the French king with letters, concerning the concluding of the truce betwixt Scotland and England, which message the lords made small account of, because the king had omitted to comprehend Scotland in the league which he lastlie made with England. The seuenth of June, a mad man in Dunbar die in his mad fit a ladie of inheritance, a nun, with two other women, the one of them being great with child, and also two men.

The king of England wrote letters vnto the French king, desiring him to staie the duke of Albany, that he might not come into Scotland; and furthermore, he laid ships of warre in the pale vpon the seas to watch for his coming, and to take him by the waie as he should passe. In September the king was removed forth of the castell of Edenburgh vnto Dalkith, for donbt of the pestilence, which was suspected to be in the castell of Edenburgh. And from Dalkith the erle of Arrane rode to Edenburgh to haue bin effones elected regent & prouost of that towne: but he missed his purpose, for the townesmen would not suffer him to enter, but repelled him backe, so that diuerse were hurt on both sides.

Here vpon, great dissention rose betwixt the said earle of Arrane, and the earle of Angus, because of his repulse in that sute: whereby the whole realme was diuided into partakings, so that sundrie slaughter thereof ensued, as of the prior of Coldingham, and six of his men murdered, by the lord of Woodburne at Lamerton, the first of October. About the same time, the king returned to the castell of Edenburgh, and in the towne there were remaining at the same time the earles of Angus, Erroll, and Crau, for; the lord Glames, and other; the bishops of saint Andrews, Abberden, Breckinche, and Dunblane, with diuerse abbats and other prelats. And in the towne of Glasgow was the bishop of Glasgows chancellor, with the earles of Arrane, Lennox, Eglington, and Castels; the lords Rothe, Scrimpl, the abbat of Dalkeith, the bishop of Galloway; and other noble men of the west. As the lords were diuided, and would not take any order for the good government of the commonwealth.

In December, monsieur de la Faict, and a French cleark called Cordell, with an English herald called Claractur, came from the kings of France and

Contention betwixt the erle of Rothes and the lord Lindsey.

The cause of the hatred betwixt the queene and hir husband.

1519. Lelle.

1519. A mad man.

The king of England sekerth to kepe the duke of Albany forth of Scotland.

The earle of Arrane.

Dissention betwixt the earles of Arrane and Angus.

The peace proclaimed.

152  
Dissention betwixt the earle of Angus the lord of Lennox

Fr. Thin  
Buchan.

The lo  
Hume  
taken

and England, with an ambassado: also from the gouernor, with a conclusion of peace taken for one yere, betwixt Scotland and England: who coming to Edinburgh, were receiued by the earle of Angus, and the other lords there with him, the which sent for the chancelor: the earle of Arrane to come thither, but they would not come anie nearer than to Linlithgo. The ambassado: therefore toke in hand to perswade, that an assemble might be had in Strirling: but the earle of Angus would not come there. <sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, the said ambassado: went thither, where the earle of Arrane and his partakers, as the chancelor and others, receiued them thankfullie, and proclaimed the peace, according to the treatie which they had brought, and so with courteous answer and great rewards licenced them to depart. But in their returne toward England, the earle of Angus with a great number of men met them at Carliarok, reproaching them sharpelie for their demeror, and for taking their answer of the chancelor, so that they were not a litle afraid, least the earle in his displeasure would haue vsed some outrage towards them, which otherwile than in words it should appere he did not.

The peace proclaimed.

intention  
with the  
of the  
the lord  
ndley.he cause of  
harred be-  
ter the  
ene and  
husband.1520.  
Romance be-  
dient the earle  
of Angus and  
the lord of  
Fermhurst.

19. Lesle.

1519.  
mad man,he king of  
England se-  
th to haue  
e duke of  
Albanie forth  
Scotland.The earle of  
Arrane.dissent  
twixt the  
ries of Ar-  
ne and  
Angus.Fr. Thin.  
Buchan. li. 14.The lord  
Hume's head  
taken downe.Honsent de  
Faiot.

celor, and some other of that faction there. But mis-  
sing of their purpose, they returned to Edinburgh a-  
gaine, and causing solenne funerall obsequies to be  
kept in the blache friers, for them that ought those  
heads, with offerings and bankets, they afterwards  
returned home to their owne dwellings, without at-  
tempting anie other thing for that present.

In November, the duke of Albanie arrived in  
Scotland on the west parts, at an haven called Cra-  
loch, the nineteenth of the same month; and on the  
thre and twentieth he came to Edinburgh, accom-  
panied with the quene, the archbishop of Glasgowe  
chancelor, the earle of Huntclie, and manie other  
lords, knights, barons, and gentlemen; and within  
six daies after their coming thither, the provost and  
bailliffes were deposed, because they had bene chosen  
in fauour of the earle of Angus, and other appointed  
in their places. Then was there a parliament sum-  
moned to be kept at Edinburgh, the six and thirtieth  
of January next following; and on the ninth of  
January, a generall summons of foisalture was  
proclaimed at the market crosse in Edinburgh, where  
in were summoned the earle of Angus and his bro-  
ther, the prior of Coldingham, the lord of Glod-  
burne, the lord of Dalehouse, John Summerlast of  
Cathoherne, and William Cockburne of Langton,  
with their complices, to make their appearance in the  
said parliament, to be tried for sundrie great offenses  
by them committed.

The duke of  
Albanie re-  
turneth into  
Scotland.  
1521. Buch.The provost &  
bailliffes of E-  
dinburgh de-  
posed. 1521  
A parliament  
summoned.

1521.

Maister Gawin Dowglasse, bishop of Dunkeld,  
bearing of this proclamation, fled into England, and  
remained in London at the Savoy, where he depar-  
ted this life, and is buried in the church there. He was  
a cunning cleark, and a verie good poet: he transla-  
ted the twelue booke of the Aeneidos of Virgill in  
Scottish meter, and compiled also The palace of ho-  
nor, with diuerse other treatises in the Scottish lan-  
guage, which are yet extant. The earle of Angus fear-  
ing the sentence of foisalture to be laied against  
him at the parliament; procured his wife (although  
there was small liking betwixt them) to labor for his  
pardon to the gouernor. Whereupon it was agree-  
d, that the earle and his brother George Dowglasse  
should passe out of the realme into France, and there  
to remaine during the gouernors pleasure; and so  
they departed into France, and remained there all  
the next yere following.

Gawin Dow-  
glasse bishop  
of Dunkeld  
fled into  
England.The earle of  
Angus fear-  
eth the sen-  
tence of fois-  
alture.He and his  
brother ban-  
ished.

The king of England, hearing that the duke of  
Albanie was arrived in Scotland, and had taken  
the rule upon him, doubting lest he should perswade  
the Scottishmen to assist the French king, against  
whome, by persuation of the emperor he ment to  
make warre, sent his brother Clarence into  
Scotland, to require the duke to depart from the  
kingdome, alleging, that it was promised by the king of  
France at the last entercourt betwixt them, which  
chanced the summer before, that he should not come  
into Scotland. And moreover, whereas the king of  
England was uncle unto the king of Scots, he say-  
d, that by nature he was bound  
to defend his nephew, as he ment to do; and therefore  
he thought it not reason, that the duke being next to  
the crowne should come, to the kingdome, to the  
king, should haue the gouernment of him; least he  
might be made a slave, as other young kings had  
bene. He further complained, that the earle of An-  
gus should be sent out of the realme, so that he should  
not enter the companye of his wife, sister unto the  
king of England. And thus he went on, till that  
Clarence had spent his time in Scotland, and that  
the duke refused to depart, and did the worst of  
Scotland: he should inuade Scotland, and should  
haue againe him: which the king of England  
declared by his message, but to the duke's discontent

Clarence  
an English  
duke sent  
to Scotland.The king of  
England dou-  
teth to haue  
the duke of  
Albanie go-  
uernor to the  
king his ne-  
phew.warre de-  
nounced by  
Clarence  
against the  
duke of Al-  
banie.warre de-  
nounced by  
Clarence  
against the  
duke of Al-  
banie.

The dukes  
answer.

point at Holie rood house, as he had in commande-  
ment. To whome the duke answered, that neither the  
king of France, nor the king of England should  
steale him from comming into his countrie. And as  
touching the king, who was as yet young in yeres, he  
loued him as his soueraigne lord, and would keepe  
him, and defend both him and his realme against all  
other that would attempt to invade the same, accor-  
ding to his conscience, honor, and dutie. And as tou-  
ching the earle of Angus, he had used towards him  
all clemencie and mercie, notwithstanding his euill  
demerits, and that principallie for the queenes cause,  
whome he would honor as mother to his soueraigne  
lord. This answer being reported vnto the king of  
England, contented him nothing at all, and there-  
fore prepared to make warre.

1522.

The death of  
the archbishop  
of saint An-  
drewes.  
James Be-  
ton succeeded  
him.

A fur in E-  
denburgh.

The emperor  
commeth into  
England.  
Scots and  
Frenchmen  
banished forth  
of England.  
The earle of  
Shrewesburie  
invadeth  
Scotland.

Fr. Thin.  
Lectus lib. 3.  
pag. 400.

The tenth of Aprill, there came seven great ships  
into the Forth, vnto Inchkeith, to haue spoiled the  
ships, and invade the coast there: but they were so  
frontlie resisted and kept off, that they were not suf-  
fered to doe anie great exploit, and so they returned  
without preie or prise. In this season, Andrew For-  
man bishop of saint Andrews deceased, and bishop  
James Beton archbishop of Glasgou, chancellor of  
Scotland, was removed to saint Andrews, & made  
abbat also of Dunfermling, and the archbishoppke of  
Glasgou was giuen a young man one Gavin Dun-  
bar, that was the kings scholemaster. In the mo-  
neth of Maie, there was great adu in Edinburgh,  
by the falling out of the seruants of the earles of  
Gurrie and Erroll, with the seruants of the earle of  
Huntlie, by reason whereof, the whole towne fell to  
partakings; but the duke comming suddenlie from  
the abbey of Holie rood house, stated the matter, and  
committed the said earles vnto ward within the ca-  
stell.

The emperor came into England, and persuaded  
the king there to moue warres against the French  
king, and so not onelie the Frenchmen but also the  
Scots were commanded to stou out of England,  
their goods confiscated, and they conueied forth of  
the land, with a white crosse sowed vpon their tyer-  
most garment. In Iulie, the earle of Shrewesburie  
was sent by the king of England vnto the borders,  
with commission, to raise the power of the north  
parts to invade Scotland, who vpon the sudden en-  
tered and came to Kelso, where he burnt one part of  
the towne, but the borderers of the Scots and Len-  
dale, not being halfe so manie in number as the o-  
ther, set vpon them, slue, and toke manie prisoners,  
and so constrained them to returne into England  
with small honor.

The gouernor after this (when he saw the Eng-  
lish ouerrun all the borders of Scotland) called a  
parlement at Edinburgh, the 9 kalends of August,  
to cure the same wound. Beside this, the French fear-  
ing them selues (because of a prepared and well fur-  
nished nauie of the English which did euerie waie  
coast and keepe the sea) sent manie (and those wise  
and of excellent knowledge) vnto the gouernor, to re-  
quest him that he would either by counsell persuade,  
or by authoritie enforce his Scots to take arms a-  
gainst the English. After which (the matter being  
with great consultation and manie reasons tolled  
insequient to and fro) it was decreed by common  
consent of the parlement, that a chosen number of  
souldiers should be prepared, to defend the borders  
from the invasion of the enemy, & the more strong-  
lie to repell the English force) it was concluded,  
that the children of such as were slaine in that expedi-  
tion, should be free from all charges or troubles  
that might light on them during their minority:  
and further, that the towne of all such which had ante  
lains (during their times) fell in that conflict) should

after the death of their husbands keepe the same for  
the terme of five yeres.)

The duke of Albanie, hearing of the great prepa-  
ration that the earle of Shrewesburie made, to raise  
an armie of foure score thousand men to invade  
Scotland, he likewise (as it was before decreed) sent  
vnto all the earles, lords, and nobles of the realme,  
willing them to raise all such power as they could  
make in defense of their countrie; which they did. And  
so being assembled, the duke with a mightie armie of  
Scotishmen and certeine Frenchmen, with great  
artillerie, marched forward, till he came to the water  
of Cleue ouer against Carleill: and perceiving that  
the English armie came not then forward, he did  
that he could to persuade the noble men to enter in-  
to England: but as they were in counsell together  
about that earnest motion made to them by the duke,  
a certeine graue personage said to them in this ma-  
ner.

My lords, hither we be come by the commande-  
ment of my lord gouernor duke of Albanie, and albe-  
it we be readie to defend our awne native realme,  
contrarie the invasion of our auld enemies of Eng-  
land, yet neuertheless it seemeth not good, nor for  
the wele of our realme of Scotland, to passe with-  
in England with our armie to invade the same at  
this time. And the earnest persuasions quhill the go-  
uernor makes to vs to doe the same, proceeds ala-  
nerlie for the pleasure of France. It appereth to be  
sufficient enough for vs so long as the king our soue-  
reigne lord is within age to defend our awne realme,  
and not to invade: otherwisse, we may put the baile  
countrie and nobilitie thereof in hazard of tinfall:  
for king James the fourth brought the realme of  
Scotland to the best that it euer was, and by the  
war it was brought to the worst almost that might  
be: for by that warre, was he and his nobilitie tinte,  
quhill Scotland saw lamentations. Wherefore by mine  
aduisse, let vs go to the gouernor, and know of him  
the cause why he would persuade vs to invade Eng-  
land.

Then they all came to the gouernors tent, and the  
earle of Arrane, an auncient wise man spake for  
them all, and said: My lord gouernor, by your will  
and commandement, here is assembled the mass  
of the nobilitie of Scotland with their power, by  
on a pretense to enter within England. My lords  
here would know the cause and quarrell why this  
warre is begun, gif it might please your goodnesse, it  
should well satisfie their minds. The duke studied a  
little space, and said: This question would haif bin  
demanded yet now, for well you know, that I for  
berie tise I beare to the realme of Scotland (of the  
quhill I haue my name, honor, and lignage) haife  
palled the seas from the noble realme of France, in-  
to this realme of Scotland. And great cause there  
was for me so to doe, to bring you to a unitie, when  
ye were in distoun, by reason whereof, your  
realme was like to haue bin conquered and destro-  
ed. And also the king of France, by my suites and  
intercession, will toine with you in aid against the  
English nation: and when this warre was deter-  
minate in the parlement, you made me captaine, au-  
thorizing me to invade England with banner dis-  
played. Then was no demand made of the cause or  
quarrell, and that I haif done, is by your assent and  
agreement, and that I will iustifie. But to answer  
your demand, me thinkes you haif iust cause to in-  
uade England with fire, sword, and blood, gif ye be  
not forgothfull, and without you will beare withone  
and reproche, euer. For ye know that this realme of  
Scotland is due inheritance, as a portion of the  
world was of to our nation, and our ancestors whome  
we succeed. When there may here be better warre,  
than

The duke of  
Albanie rais-  
eth an armie  
to invade  
England.

The words  
of a counsellor.

1522.  
The replis o  
a wise coun-  
sellor.

The earle of  
Arrane decla-  
reth to the go-  
uernor the  
mind of the  
lords.

The gouer-  
nor answer  
to the presi-  
dents replis

Speaks in  
the peace.

The lord  
reys.

than to mainteine this our naturall inheritance: Is it not daile sene, the great inuasions that the Englishmen on vs make, the great manlaughters and murders, with thefts and spoiles that they do daile: Is not this one cause of warre: To defend the countrie is the office of a king, the honoz of noble men, and the verie seruice of chualtrie, and the dutie naturall of the communalitie: for I thinke it a iust quarrell, gif we might conquer the realme of Englaund, and annex it to our owne realme, for the great iniuries and wrongs done by that nation to vs and our predecessours. For sene the beginning of our habitation in this Ile of Britaine, the Englishmen and we haue euer bin enemies, and vs haif they cuer hated, and yet haue we euer withstand them. Suppose, we at the last battell of Floddoun field by chaunce lost our soueraigne lard, & diuerse noble men, quhilk was rather by treason of the lard chamberlaine, than othertwise, who would not relieue the kings armie when he might. And yet I thinke we wan the field, quhilk murder all we noble men ought to reuenge. Therefore I wauld that you suld couragiousely aduance your selues in this quarrell to get honoz, and to be reuenged.

1522.  
The receipt of  
a wise coun-  
sellor.

Then one wise man that was president of the counsell, answered the gouernoz, saient: App lard, fortune of weir is led by him that all leides, and he striks the stroke, we can warke na miracles, & heare are the lards of Englaund ready to encounter vs. And gif we inuade their realme, suerlie they will fight, for their power fall increafe daile, and ours will diminish. And gif God graunt vs the victorie (as I trust he fall) yet haue we not won the field, for ready comming is the earle of Shewesburie a mikell dread in Fraunce (as ye knaw well) with an great puissant armie, and there is na doubt, but the king of Englaund will send oʒ bying another armie gif we suld chance to get the first battell. And gif we get the secound field, that will not be without great losse of manie nobles, by reason whereof, the realme shall be weaker. And gif we be ouercommen how manie suld be slaine, God knawes. They that are wrothie to be reputed as traitors to the king, and so by wilfulnesse and fule hardinesse, the realme may be in ieopardie to be vndone. I say, while the king is within age, we aught to moue na weir, least by weir we may bying him to destruction.

The gouernoz  
says to the presi-  
dents replie.

Then said the balliant gouernoz: Here is an puissant armie of Scotland, gif we retorne, we fall incourage our enemies. Therefore sene you thinke it not gude to inuade, my counsell is that we campe still on the bordures, while we see what the Englishmen pretends to do against our realme. To the which the nobles consented, and laie still there in campe certeine daies after. After this conference had betwixt the nobles and the gouernoz, the quene as then being not with them, but aduertised of all the proceedings and determinations, sent word to the gouernoz, and desired him that there might be a treatie of peace had, and she promised to get the warden of the English marches to come to the gouernozs campe, upon pledges, wherunto the gouernoz condescended. Whereupon, the lord Dacres, warden of the west marches of England [with Thomas Bulgraue] came vnto the gouernozs campe, and thither also at that time was the quene hir selfe come, and so vpon the eleuenth of September, an abstinence of war was taken and couenanted, that in the meane time the duke and quene should send ambassadoz into England, to treat and conclude a resolute peace.

Spears made  
for peace.

The lord Da-  
cres.

In the moneth of October next ensuing, there were three ambassadoz sent into England, accord- ing to the agreement in the last treatie, but there were so hard and extreme conditions proponed on

the king of Englands behalfe, that the same could not be accepted, as being contrarie to the honoz and weale of the realme of Scotland, as the Scottishmen toke the matter. And so those ambassadoz returned without agreement oʒ conclusion of peace: thereupon followed great trouble betwixt them of the borders of both realmes. The earle of Northumberland was made warden of the whole marches, but shortly after, he began to make sute to be discharged of that office, & ceased not till he obtained it: and then was the earle of Surreie made generall warden, and the lord marquisse Dorset, warden of the east & middle marches; the lord Dacres continuing still in his office of wardenship ouer the west marches.

About the first day of March, the said lords came to the borders, about which time, the duke of Albanie considering that the warres betwixt Scotland and England were irksome to the nobles of the realme, because the same wars were taken in hand chieflie to serue the French kings turne, therefore he passed by the west seas into France. And in the beginning of March, where he was verie hartlie and glablie receiued of the king, his request was onlie to haue five thousand horsemen, and ten thousand footmen of Almaines, to be transported into Scotland: and doubted not, if he might haue this granted, but that with that power, and the assistance of the Scots, he should be able to ouerthrow the king of England in battell, or else to driue him out of his realme. But the French king neither beleued this baine brag, nor yet might spare anie such power, hauing warre at that time both against England, and the emperor: neuertheless, he promised him some aid, whereupon the duke abode and waited for the same a long season. In the meane while, the lords of Scotland caused certeine noble men to lie vpon the borders mo- nethlie, in defense of the same against the Englishmen, daile looking for support from France. Cerie companie remained their moneths, and then departed home as the custome is, and thus they continued still till September following. Much hurt was done on either part, and diuerse houses were ouerthrowne and destroyed both in England and Scotland.

During which time, the king of France prepared certeine ships, with men, and munition, to passe with the duke of Albanie into Scotland. But the king of England, to catch him by the way, had laid a great naue of ships in the pale on the seas, as he should make his course. But the duke imbarquing himselfe with his people at Brest in Britaine, sailed by the west parts of Scotland: and the one and twentieth day of September landed at Kirkcubize in the west part of Scotland; he brought with him (beside a good number of Frenchmen) Richard de la Poole, a man of great parentage, borne in England, and banished his countrie. Whilest the duke was on the sea making saile toward Scotland, the earle of Surreie, with an armie of twentie thousand men, entered into Scotland, and comming to Edinburgh, burned the towne and the abbey: [But Lesleus, lib. 9. pag. 407. saith it was Jedburgh which the earle burnt.] It was thought they ment to haue passed further, but the Scottishmen assembling themselves against their inuasions, they were constrained to retorne with losse (as some Scottishmen haue written.)

\* In this place, Buchanan (before he cometh to the parliament assembled by the duke of Albanie after his retorne out of France) writeth in this sort. While haue thewes (saith he) how miserable the state of Scotland was the last summer (through the diffention which was amongst the nobilitie) by the English (with all kind of slaughter) spoiling the places bordering nere vnto them, and besetting the

The earle of Northumberland made lord warden. The earle of Surreie. The lord marquisse Dorset. The lord Dacres.

The duke of Albanie goeth over into France. His request.

His baine brag.

1523.

The borders watched.

The duke of Albanie re- turneth into Scotland.

Fr.Thin.

The earle of Surreie inuadeth Scotland.

Fr.Thin.

Buchanan. lib. 14.

The duke of Albanie rather an armie inuade England.

The words a counsellor.

The earle of Albanie decla- ry to the go- uernoz the id of the war.

The dukes wer to the le of Fr- e.

The dukes wer to the le of Fr- e.

the sea on euerie side, whereby we might be out of hope of all forren aid. For the deuile of the enimie tended to compell the fierce minds of the Scots (abated with such euils) to conclud a league with him; wherewith the Scots were not behind (by reason of the French faction) that by the means of the quene there might be a perpetuall truce taken betwene them. For when the lord Hume was (by death) taken away, the Dologlasse banished, and all the rest of the nobilitie rather met for companions than leaders in battels; such as had withstood their mind from the French, applied themselves to the quenes faction.

Whereupon she (to gratifie hir brother, and to wrest all the gouernement into hir owne hands) did (dissembling hir greedie desire to rule) persuaue them, to deliuer their sonne (almost now past childish yeares) out of the hands of strangers, and themselves from the yoke of other mens bondage. For the quene did well foresée, that preparation and succor was made, and did come against hir husband, whome before she had begun to hate extreamlie. The king of England also did commend and prefer to the Scots the counsell of his sister, by manie letters sent, and with faire promises offered; because he had none other mind, but that a perpetuall friendship might alwaies remaine betwene the adioined kingdoms; the which, as he had at other times desired; so now he mostlie wished it, not for anie commoditie to himselfe, but to the end that all men might well perceiue that he would embrace, defend, and as much as rested within his abilitie, seeke the commoditie of his sisters sonne by all the means he might. And if the Scots would persuaue themselves to breake the league with the French, and soine in amitie with the English; they should shortly well vnderstand, that the king of England did not seeke after soueraintie, glorie, power, or honor; but onelie studied for a concord amongst themselves, & a league betwene their nations. For which cause, he would bestow his onelie daughter Marie vpon James the king of Scotland; by which marriage, the Scots should not be subject to the gouernement of England; but contrarie, the English vnder the rule of the Scots. For by that means, besides the quenching of great hatred betwene the nations (and intercoure of merchandise, exchange of mutuall courtesies and ioinings in affinitie) there should be an indissoluble knot made for the honor of the whole Island.

And with this, they (for England) remembred the profit and disadvantage that might rise to the one from other, by the friendship or hatred of either kingdom, and the benefit that they might looke for from their English neighbours, more than by anie possibilitie they might obtaine from their French confederats. For on the one side, the English and they were borne in one continent, brought vp vnder the same influence of the heauen, and so like in all things, in tong, in manners, in lawes, in decrees, in countenance, in color, and in lineaments of bodie, as that they rather seeme one than two nations. On the other side, the French are not onelie different from them, by naturall soile and clemencie of the heauens; but more seuered from them in order and forme of liuing, being further such a people, as if they were enimies vnto them, they could not greatlie hurt them; and if they be their friends they can not greatlie helpe them. But the English are at hand with men, munition, and monie; when the French, being so far off, are onelie with allurements, inforcements, and for their owne commoditie dawning to take their part. Besides which, there can be no succor from France but by sea, which the enimie may easilie stop; and so the Scots not able

to be succored by them. But from the English they may haue aid by land with speed, and no man can hinder them thereof. Wherefore they should consider how discommodious (for the dispatch of their affairs) and how vnapt (for the defense of themselves) it should be, to hang all the hope of their succor vpon the fauor of the wind, and to place the most suertie of their estate in the vnconstant friendship of the vn-certaine elements. For (if neuer before) yet at this time the Scots might not onlie perceiue in thought but see in deed what helpe is to be hoped (in present dangers) from absent friends, when that the English can not onelie helpe you now, but at this instant do also keepe away your promised and long expected aid, which they haue so besieged vpon the sea, that you can receiue no benefit or helpe from them.

After that these things were thus laid abroad for the knitting of the English league, as there were not a few which gaue consent to that motion, so were there manie that stillie argued to the contrarie. For in that assemblie, there were manie pensioners of the French faction, who (increasing their priuat commoditie by the publike detriment) did vtterlie abhor from all peace; besides whome, there were also some, which suspected the facilitie of promise in the English: especiallie, since the whole estate of England did then chieflie hang vpon the backe of Thomas Wolseie the cardinall, an euill and ambitious person, and who referred all counsels and consultations to the amplifying of his owne priuat authoritie and dignitie; and for that cause, applied that and all other things to euerie blast of fortune. All our men although they were moued by diuerse reasons (as the varietie of diuerse wits bred diuerse minds) did yet with like endeuor tend vnto one end, which was alwaies to defend the French league; for they denied, that the same sudden liberalitie of the enimie, could anie way sort to their benefit; since this was not the first time that the English had used that policie to intrap vntwarte men: as did Edward the first, who (swearing and binding himselfe with all bonds of law, when he was chosen an arbitrator to cease the strife of the kingdom of Scotland) did with great iniurie make a king of Scots at his pleasure: and of late also, Edward the fourth king of England (when he had promised his daughter Cecilie to the sonne of James the third) did (the maid being readie for the marriage) dissolve the same, by taking occasion of warre through our ciuill dissensions. According to which, the English do now also seeke none other matter, than (casting a vaine hope before vs to gouerne them, to bring vs into right seruitude; and (when we are destitute of all forren helpe) to oppresse vs with all the power of their kingdom.

Neither is that true also (wherein the chieffest strength of their speech consisteth) that the aid of our neighbors nere at hand, is better or surer to vs than further friendship. For how may we looke for anie good from those our neighbors, since commonlie amongst neighbors there neuer want occasions of dissention; which oftentimes chance bringeth forth, and the stronger (hauing small or no occasion) will manie times seeke to offer: at what time, he which is greatest in armes, must & will appoint lawes of agreement as seemes best to his liking. Besides, there was neuer yet so sacred or firme a bond of amitie betwene adioining kingdoms, which was not oftentimes broken, either by offered or sought occasions of displeasure & breach: neither is it to be hoped, that the English will abstaine from offering violence vnto vs; that haue not spared the blood of so manie of their owne kings. For the sanctitie of leagues, & the religion of an oth, and the faith of compacts and

David Carr.  
warre castell  
besieged.

The earle of  
Dorrie with  
an armie of  
Scottish  
men.  
The marquis  
Dorset appoynted  
to be kept  
at Berwick.

Warre at  
Berwick.

The Scots  
and French  
were backe  
over the  
water.

where the  
English have  
killed one, the  
Scots have  
murdered ten  
as the court  
of their histo-  
ries will well  
prooue.

and covenants, are in truth firme bonds of amitie amongst the good: but amongst the wicked, they are nets to intrap others, if occasion of commoditie be offered for breach of them. All which benefits and injuries, doe dwell in people, whome nerenesse of bounds, conuersation of language, and not unlike maner of life hath ioined together.

And if all these things should be far otherwise, yet there be two things which we ought speciallie to foresee and prouide for; whereof, the one is, that we spend not our time in vaine by chiding and disagreement, as persons drawn into diuerse factions; the other, that we reiect not our old friends (for this new alliance) before we haue heard what they can say; especiallie in such a cause (as this) which may not be determined, but by the consent of the parliament. Upon which, the French followers did earnestlie stand; that there should not anie thing be done therein; and therefore sent certaine of the French aid as ambassadoys about the cause. This thus ended, and the comming of the gouernour spread abroad, the same made manie glad, confirmed the doubtfull thereof, and withdrew others (that were inclined to the English part) from the same opinion they were of.]

The duke immediatlie after his arriual came to Edinburgh, where he caused all the lords of the realme to assemble in that towne, where he declared the great loue and affection that the king of France bare to the realme of Scotland, inso much as hearing of the slaughters, murders and burnings, practised by the Englishmen, he thought that he felt the same done vnto him, reputing himselfe one of their members. And for reuenging thereof, he would be partner with them as their member: for more credit whereof, he shewed the kings letter, confirming his declaration. He therefore exhorted them to assemble an armie, in reuenge of injuries & wrongs done to them and their countrie; for he had brought with him monie, men, and artillerie to the furtherance thereof. Hereupon it was concluded, that the armie should assemble at Dotwglas dale the eighteenth of October: the which conclusion they kept, and from thence they marched to Caldestreame vpon Tweed, and sent ouer the water certaine of their great artillerie, with a companie of Frenchmen and Scots, by the guiding of David Car; and being got ouer, they lay siege to the castell of Warke, which was kept by sir William Leslie capteine thereof, hauing with him a strong garrison of English souldiers, and great prouision of artillerie, and all things necessarie: yet at the first assault, the vtter barnekin was woone, and the said companie of Scottish men and Frenchmen lay within the same, indamaging the castell in all they might.

The earle of Surrie and diuerse others of the English nobilitie, with an armie of fortie thousand men, were at Anwike, not far distant from Warke, and the marquess Dorset was sent with a great companie to keepe the towne of Hertofke, for doubt least the same should haue bene besieged. Also in the meane time, a new assault was made to the inner barnekin of Warke; and the same woone likewise as the other had bene before. After this was the castell assailed, and part of it beaten downe with the artillerie lieng on the Scottish side of the water of Tweed. At which breach, the assault was giuen, and the same continued, till that through darknesse and lacke of light, the assailants were driven to retire. Great slaughter was made at that assault on both sides, but especiallie of them within the house. The assailants went to haue giuen a fresh assault the next day, being the fourth of Nouember: but a foze and vehement storme and tempest of raine chanced

that night, so that they were constrained to leaue off that enterprise, and to get themselues ouer the riuer againe vnto the armie, least by the rising of the water of Tweed, they might haue bene cut off by their enemies, before they could haue bene succoured.

In the meane time, whilst this siege continued, a number of Scottishmen made a road into the countrie of Glendale within the English marches, and burnt and spoiled diuerse townes, cast downe sundrie piles, and returned without anie resistance: for the earle of Surrie would suffer none of his people to depart from the armie, nor breake order, for feare of more inconuenience. The duke of Albanie lieng on the Scottish side of Tweed, sent an herald vnto the earle of Surrie, willing him to call to remembrance, how in his absence he had invaded Scotland with fire and sword: for the which cruell dealing, he required him vpon his honoz to come forward, and he would meet him in the confines of both the realmes, and giue him battell. To the which message the earle answered, that he had no commission to inuade Scotland at that time, but it onlie to defend. And (as some haue reported) he caused a secret messenger to passe to the quene, as then lieng a good way distant from the armie, to moue for some abstinence and truce, and further to persuaade the duke to retire home: which he did, so that by his laboz, a truce was taken for that instant, and afterward confirmed for a longer time: and thus the duke returned with honoz (as the Scottishmen report.) This truce was well kept all the next winter following, and no inuasion made, till the moneth of Maie: and then was the erle of Surrie sent againe to the English borders, and the lords of Scotland on the other part monethlie laie on their borders by quarters, for defense of their countrie, as the vse is.

On Trinitie sundaie, being the one and thirtieth of Maie, five hundred Scots entered England, to surpise the English merchants, and others, going that day vnto Hertofke, where pærelie on that day the faire is kept; and so by reason thereof, they met with diuerse of them that went to this faire, and toke to the number of two hundred prisoners, whom they led with them into Scotland. But Hall faith, that by the comming of the pong lord of Fulberie to the succors of the Englishmen, the Scots were chased, and lost two hundred of their numbers. On the first of Iulie, sir William Fenwike, Leonard Pulgrau, & Bassard Heron, with diuers other, to the number of nine hundred Englishmen, entered into the Shers, and began to spoile and rob the countrie: but they were shortly compassed about with Scottishmen, & so hardlie assailed, that although they fought valiantlie a good while, yet by fine force they were compelled to giue ground, and seeke to saue themselues by flight, in which two hundred of them were taken prisoners, and Bassard Heron with diuerse other slaine. Amongest the prisoners, were sir Rafe Fenwike, Leonard Pulgrau, and diuers other gentlemen of good calling.

On the seuententh of Iulie, the lord Marwell, and sir Alexander Fordein, with diuerse other Scottishmen in great numbers, entred England at the west marches by Caerleill, with displayed banners, and began to harrie the countrie, and burne diuers places. The Englishmen assembled on euerie side, so that they were farre more in number than the Scottishmen, and thereupon set fiercelie vpon their enemies, inso much that for the space of an houre, there was a sore fight continued betwixt them. But the lord Marwell like a right politike capteine (as of all that knew him he was no lesse reputed) ceased not to incourage his people: & after that, by the taking of

Glendale burned by the Scots.

In herald sent.

A truce.

See more of this matter in England. 1524.

Scots enter into England

Englishmen inuade Scotland.

Englishmen discomfited. Bassard Heron slaine.

1524. Four thousand faith Hal.

The lord Marwell inuaded England.

David Car. Warke castell besieged.

The earle of Surrie with an armie of foure thousand men. The marquess Dorset appointed to keepe Hertofke.

Warke assailed.

The Scots and French retire backe over the water.

re the fifth haue done, the six haue heretofore done, the seventh shall do.

of Alexander Fordein & diuers others, they had bin put backe, he brought them in araine againe, and beginning a new skirmish, recovered in maner all the prisoners, took and due diuerse Englishmen, so that he returned with victorie, and led about three hundred prisoners with him home into Scotland.

An assemblee  
of the lords.

After this tournete, there was an assemblee of the lords in Edinburgh, with the duke of Albanie, where some of the lords were of mind that the warre should continue: other thought it not reason, that for the pleasure onelie of France, the realme should suffer such damage, as it had done by those three last yeres wars now passed, and therefore they persuaded peace. Moreover, there was also much debating of the matter, touching the age and gouernement of the king; some of the lords holding that he was now of age to take the rule vpon himselfe, and that the guardianship or tutorie of a king expired sooner than of another private person. The duke of Albanie perceiving how the lords were diuided amongst themselves, and neither content with his gouernement, nor willing to mainteine the warres which he had so earnestlie persuaded for the pleasure of France, he declared to them that he wold returne into France, and so taking his leaue of the nobilitie, went to Strueling where the king was, of whome he took leaue, also giuing vnto him such louing and faithfull counsell, as to his knowledge seemed expedient, and so went into the west countrie, where he took the seas in September, and sailed forth into France, [neuer to returne into Scotland.]

The duke of  
Albanie re-  
turneth into  
France.  
Fr. Thin.

The king of England [before the rumour of the departure of the duke of Albanie] hauing in the moneth of June sent ouer into France, vnto Archembald earle of Angus, that remained there vpon the commandement of the duke of Albanie, persuaded him to come from thence secretly into England, which accordingly he did; and being safely arrived in England, king Henrie procured him to passe into Scotland, that with the assistance of such lords as would be ready to take his part, he might raise war against the duke of Albanie, which fought by all meanes (as the king of England was informed) to destroy him & his: but per the earle could come into Scotland, the duke was departed toward France. On the six and twentieth of Iulie, the king by the aduise of his mother, and certeine young lords, came from Strueling vnto Edinburgh; and three daies after, the queene took the whole gouernment of the king vpon hir, and entered into the castell of Edinburgh with the king, where they sojourned the most part of the next winter. The prouost of Edinburgh was discharged, whom the towne had chosen, and the lord Marwell was appointed by the queene, prouost in his place. For the performance wherof, there was a parlement also summoned to be holden at Edinburgh the third day of February next ensuing (and the bishop of saint Andrews and Aberdeen (as saith Buchanan li. 14.) were cast into prison, who after gathering armes (and cursing all others) within the space of a moneth following were reconciled to the king.)

The queene  
taketh the go-  
uernment in-  
to hir hands.

A parlement  
summoned.  
Fr. Thin.

The king of England glad to heare that the duke of Albanie was departed into France, sent into Scotland in ambassage one maister John Wagnus, and Roger Katcliffe esquier, to declare vnto the queene and lords, that he would be content that a truce might be accorded betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, now that the duke of Albanie was returned into France, who had bene the onlie procurer of the warres. Whereupon they agreed to take truce to indure for one yere, and in the meane time they appointed to send ambassadors into England to treat vpon a continuall peace, all

A truce taken  
for one yere.

ance, and amitie to be had betwixt both the realmes. In this meane while, the earle of Angus came into Scotland: and because of the displeasure which the queene bare him, there ensued occasions of great divisions within the realme. Notwithstanding the queene by aduise of certeine lords, sent the lord Gilbert earle of Castels, Robert Cockeborne bishop of Dunkeld, and doctor Wille abbat of Cambukeneth, ambassadors into England, in the moneth of December; the which were receiued at Grænewich by the king of England the foure and twentieth of the same moneth: where the bishop of Dunkeld made an eloquent oration in Latine, declaring the cause of their coming, the which in effect was for intreatment of peace, loue, and amitie betwixt the two realmes: and for the more sure establishment thereof, they required that a mariage might be concluded betwixt their king & the ladie Marie, daughter to the king of England.

This request was well heard by the king, who thereupon appointed commissioners to common thereof with the said ambassadors. Diuerse articles were proponed by the said commissioners on the king of England his behalfe, and in especiall one; which was, that the king of Scotland should renounce the league with the king of France; and that further he should come into England, and remaine there till he came to perfect age to be married. Because the ambassadors had not commission to conclude so farre, the earle of Castels returned into Scotland, to vnderstand the minds of the lords and counsell in these points, the other remaining at London till his returne to them againe. \* Upon All saints day there was a great motion of wind, with such stormes and tempests of thunder and lightning which suddenlie arose, that the same (ouerthrowing manie private houses in Edinburgh, and the pinnacle of the tower of David in the same castell) entered into the queenes lodging with a great flame, which burnt so vehementlie, and went so farre, that it had almost consumed the same; which storme (ouerthrowing the buildings about the chamber of the bishop of Whitchurch) the bishops lodging did yet remaine safe not touched with the violence of the flame.)

When the day of the parlement appointed to be holden in the Tolbuth of Edinburgh was come, the king, queene, and lords, fearing some tumult in the towne to be raised by the earle of Angus, would not passe forth of the castell, but kept the parlement within the same. Archembald Douglas earle of Angus, and John Steward earle of Lennox, with diuerse others, to the number of two thousand men, came in the night season vnto Edinburgh, because they durst not enter the towne in the day time, for feare of the gunnes that late in the castell. The next day, being the fourteenth day of February, the said earles with the archbishop of saint Andrews, the bishop of Aberdeen, that by the queenes appointment had bene kept before in ward, the bishop of Dunblane, Calene Campbell, the earle of Argille, and diuerse other lords and barons being in the towne, sent to the castell, alledging that the king was kept as prisoner by the queene, and iustice suppressed, with great damage of the common wealth; and therefore he desired, that the king might be deliuered vnto them, to be gouerned by the aduise of the three states, and if they refused to deliuer him, they would besiege the castell, and if they wane it, all their lines within should rest at their pleasures, the kings onelie excepted.

The queene, by the counsell of the earles of Ardrane and Murray, refused not onelie to deliuer the king, but sent them word, that except they did depart the towne, they would shortly discharge all the artillerie

Ambassadors  
into England

the foresetterch  
the castell of  
Edinburgh.

The parties  
are agreed.

Counsellors  
appointed.

Crises re-  
mored.

Fr. Thin.

1525.  
Lellous lib.  
pag. 414.

Lellous lib.  
pag. 417.

Candida Cal.

The king not  
in his owne  
power.

The queene  
mother in  
armes.

The earle of  
Angus his  
request.

artillerie of the castell against them. Hereupon, great feare rose in the towne, speciallie among the burgeses, but by the diligence of certein persons that trauelled betwix the parties, an assurance was taken on either side for certein daies. In the meane time, the earle of Angus caused the castell to be forfet, that neither weat nor other thing might be suffered to be conveyed into it, except so much as might serue for the sustentation of the king's stone person. At length, all the parties were agreed, so that the fourth and twentieth day of February, the king came into the parliament holden in the Wodwath in most honorable wise, with the assistance of all the estates, having the crowne, scepter, and sword borne before him, and from thence he was brought to the abbey where he remained.

In this parliament, there were eight lords chosen to be of the king's privie counsell, the which toke the government of the king and realme upon them, as these: the archbishops of saint Andrews and Glasgow, the bishops of Aberdeen and DUBLANE: the earles of Angus, Argile, Arrane, and Lennor: the quene was aduised to be her principal, without whose aduise nothing should be done. From this parliament also was the earle of Castels sent, with answer to the king of England; who came to London the nineteenth of March. But because the king had knowledge that the French king was taken at the battell of Pante, he would not proceed in the treatie of marriage betwix the king of Scotland and his daughter, till he had the emperors aduise, whome he affirmed to be his confederat friend: and so renewing the truce for three yeers and six moneths, the ambassadoys returned into Scotland about the beginning of Aprill next ensuing, without anie contract of marriage at that time. The agreement betwix the quene and lords continued not long, for anon after died the bishop of DUBLANE or Dunkeld (as saith Lesleus) whose benefice the earle of Angus obtained of the king for his brother William Douglas, without the aduise of the quene and other lords. Whereupon the quene departed and went into Strueling, leaving the king with the earle of Angus, who toke the whole rule and government of the realme and king upon him, and made his uncle Archibald Douglas treasurer of the realme, and bestowed benefices, offices, and all other things, by the aduise of his brother George Douglas, and the earle of Lennor, who assisted him.

In this meane time, the archbishop of saint Andrews, and the earles of Arrane, Argile, and Spurrey, remaining with the quene at Strueling, alleged that the king was withholden from them by the earle of Angus for against his will: and therefore they sent unto the earle, requiring him to deliuer him. But the earle caused the king to glue the answer himselfe, that he would not come from the earle of Angus, albeit he would gladly haue bene out of his hands if he might; as by secret messages sent to sundrie of the lords, and likewise at that time it appeared, for he willed them by priue meanes to assemble an armie, and to come & fetch him out of their hands that thus detained him. Hereupon hostlie after, they raised a power, and comming therewith to Linlithgow, purposing to passe into Edinburgh, that they might get the king out of the earle of Angus his hands: the said earle, with the earle of Lennor and other his assistants being thereof aduertised, came to the field with the king's banner displayed, and brought the king with him, although partly against his will.

The quene and such lords as were with her there in the armie, for the reverence they bare unto the king's person, and also fearing the danger that might

chance to them if they buckled together in a fough ten field, they withdrew themselves to Strueling, and from thence the quene went into Spurrey land with the earle of Spurrey, and there remained a long time after. The earles of Arrane and Argile went into the west countrie, and the bishop of saint Andrews to Dunfermling: and then the earle of Angus took upon him more boldlie the government of the king and realme, and sent to the bishop of saint Andrews (who was chancelor) for the great seale, which was deliuered to them that were so sent for it. The nobles of the realme remaining thus at variance, and diuided among themselves, there was small obedience of lawes & iustice. Diuerse slaughters in sundrie parts were committed, great thefts & robberies made by the borderers upon the inland countries. Moreover, aduise this yeere (as some haue said) was sued before the archbishop of saint Andrews, betwix the quene, and the earle of Angus his husband, and then afterwarde the took to have one Henrie Stewart, sonne to the lord of Arundale, the which Henrie was after created by the king lord of Methuen.

On the foure and twentieth of Iulie, the king being accompanied with the earle of Angus, the lord Hume, the Harres & others, rode vnto Jedburgh, in purpose to haue reformed the misgovernance of the borderers; but after that they had remained there three daies with little obedience shewed towards them, they all returned. And vpon the 29 day of Iulie, at the bridge of Melrose, the lord of Boscloath, accompanied with a thousand horsemen, began to shew himselfe in sight, whose principall purpose was to haue taken the king from the earle of Angus and his assistants, being requested and commanded by the king himselfe so to do. The earle of Angus incontinentlie sent an herald vnto the lord of Boscloath, to know what his intencion was to do; who answered, that he came to do the king honor and service, and to shew his friends and power as the use is of the borderers.

The earle of Angus, with the lord Hume, and the rest, not being content with this answer, because of the great feud betwix him and the Humes, and the Harres, sent vnto him a commandement in the king's name to depart, and not to approach nere to the king's presence, vnder paine of high treason. Whereunto he answered, that he knew the king's mind well enough & would not spare for this commandement to come to his graces presence. Which answer received from him, incontinentlie the earle of Angus, the lords Fleming and Hume, the Harres, the lord of Selsford, with their friends, alighted on foot; the king remaining on horsebacke, accompanied with the earle of Lennor, the lord Spartwell, George Douglas, and Iohnian Creighton, tutor of Sainquhar.

The lord of Boscloath lighted also on foot, but because the most part of his men were of the theues and outlawes of the borders, commonlie called broken men, vpon their first comming to joining with their speares, they fled, leaving the lord of Boscloath with a small number of his owne seruants about him in all the danger: yet they defended themselves verie manfullie, and slue the lord of Selsford and diuerse other, on the earle of Angus his side: but finally, oppressed with multitude, they were put to flight, and foure score of Boscloathes men slaine in the chase. After this, the king returned to Jedburgh, and remained there the space of foure daies, and then returned to Edinburgh.

All this while, the king was gouerned and holden against his will, by the earle of Angus and his assistants, although he did not outwardlie shew so in countenance, but dissembled the matter as well as he might,

The great seale deliuered

The quene and the earle of Angus.

1526.

The lord of Boscloath his enterprise, to take the king from the earle of Angus.

The lord of Selsford slaine. The lord of Boscloath put to flight.

ambassadoys to England

he foreteller of the castell of Edinburgh.

The parties agreed.

Councillors appointed.

Emperors answer.

Thin, 1525. Lesleus lib. 9. 8414.

Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 417.

undida Casa.

The king not in his owne power.

The quene mother in arms.

he earle of Angus his just.

G. J. might,

The earle of  
Lennor ga-  
thereth a pow-  
er.

The earle of  
Arrane ga-  
thereth a  
power.

The earle of  
Lennor slaine  
Fr.Thin.  
Buchan lib. 14.

might, yet perceiving two enterprises to have qual-  
led that had bene attempted for his meliuerance; he  
thought to assaie the third; and hereupon, procured  
the earle of Lennor to assemble an armie, with as-  
sistance of the quene and his friends, to helpe to de-  
liuer him from the hands of his enemies. The earle  
of Lennor did so, and came with such power as he  
could raise from the west parts unto Linlithgo. The  
earle of Angus being aduertised, that the earle of  
Lennor was gathering men, sent to the earle of Ar-  
rane for aid, requiring him to come with such power  
as he could make, and to meet him at Linlithgo. The  
earle of Arrane immediatlie hereunto gathered a  
power; and with the same came to Linlithgo before  
the earle of Lennor came thither. The hostile after  
comming with his people, approached that towne, but  
to whome the earle of Arrane sent a messenger, re-  
quiring him to forne and fauor his enterprise, assur-  
ing him, that albeit he was his sisters sone, he  
would not spare him; if he held forth upon his  
tourne. The earle of Lennor hereunto answered in  
a great rage, that he would not staie, till he came to  
Edinburgh, or else die for it by the waie. The earle  
of Arrane therfore not staing for the earle of Ar-  
gus, his comming from Edinburgh, issued forth of  
Linlithgo at the west end of the towne, and incoun-  
tered the earle of Lennor and his companie, where  
there was a cruel onset given on both sides, but sud-  
denly the earle of Lennor his companie fled, and he  
himselfe with the lord of Hunsdon and diuerse other  
gentlemen were slaine.

The death of which Douglas the king did great  
lament, and hearing the clamor and noise that  
was made in that conflict, did send forth (but all too  
late) Androis Wood (his familiar) to haue succored  
the Lennor, if by any means he could. After this  
victorie, the faction of the Douglases (to the end  
that striking a feare in those that were enuious a-  
gainst them, they might make them alwaies to be  
in danger to them) began to moue questions and  
sutes in law, against such as had borne arms a-  
gainst the king; for feare whereof some bought their  
peace with monie, some took part with the Dou-  
glas, some followed the Hamiltons, and some  
stidie standing in the matter, were followed and cal-  
led into the law. Of which number Gilbert earle of  
Castles (when he was earnestlie pressed by James  
Hamilton the bassard, to yeld himselfe to the part of  
the Hamiltons) being a man of great stomach, gaue  
this answer, that the old league of friendship, which  
was betwene their grandfathers (in which his  
grandfather was alwaies the more honorable and  
first named) should not make him now so forgetfull  
of the honor of his familie, that he would seeme to  
degenerat from his ancestors, and willingly grant  
to be under defense (which is the next degree of  
seruitude) of them, whose head in making an equall  
league and covenant was contented with the second  
place of honor.

Wherefore, when the said Gilbert appeared in the  
law at the day appointed, for the deciding of his  
cause: Hugh Kennedie his kinsman answered for  
him, that he was present in that battell, as sent thir-  
ther by the king, and not as enemy to the king, and  
he would (if need required) bring forth the kings let-  
ters therfore, notwithstanding the Hamiltons fro-  
wing and fretting against his boldnesse: for the king  
had written as well to Gilbert (going home) as to  
many others, to ioinc with John Stewart earle of  
Lennor, who seeing the battell at hand, and that he  
had not time left to call together his friends and fol-  
lowers, did with his present companie (taking his  
tourne out of the waie) turne to Strueling. Where-  
fore (the power of the Hamiltons in that cause some-

what supposed) James Hamilton the bassard stirred  
with great hatred against Kennedie, did procure  
Hugh Campbell thirke of Aire to dispatch him out  
of the waie; which he shortly after did in his returne  
home. Afterward this Hugh, in the end he might dis-  
semble his conscience, or knowledge of this euill (the  
execution wherof he had committed to his followers)  
was remaining at the day and time of the same  
murder, with John Areskine, whose sister was the  
wife of Gilbert Kennedie.

What he (as some as the hearers of that deed) did with  
manie bitter words lay the fault vnto him, because  
by that fact the noble house of the Kennedies had al-  
most bene brought to utter subuersion, had he not  
left a young sone behind him. This young earle,  
after the death of his father, and as his kinsman Ar-  
chibald Douglas then the kings treasurer, to  
whome he committed the defense of himselfe and his  
familie. This done, Hugh Campbell was called in  
to law for the fact done, who being manifestlie con-  
uicted thereof, was banished into an other place. After  
that the Douglases with lesse bitterness, ex-  
cuse their anger against James Borton, for bringing  
their power against saint Andrews, which they spoiled, as  
after appeareth.

In the same time, the earle of Angus bringing  
the king with him, arrived, and had come to the bat-  
tell, but that the king was not willing to come forth  
of Edinburgh in that quarrell (as some haue writ-  
ten) and therefore made excuses, as he did also by the  
waie, staining himselfe sicke: but George Douglas  
droue and called upon his horse vertie charpelle, and  
constrained him to ride forth with faster pace than he  
would haue done, giuing him manie inturious  
words, which he remembred afterwards, and would  
not forget them. They went that night to Strie-  
ling, and shortly after passed through Fiffe, searching  
for the quene, and the bishop of saint Andrews; and  
because they were kept secretlie in their friends hou-  
ses, so that they could not be heard of, they spoiled the  
abbey of Dunfermeling, and the castell of saint An-  
drewes, taking a waie all the meueables which the  
archbishop had within the same.

In the north parts also, the two families of the  
Lelles and the Forboises, intangled with mutuall  
hatred, raised great flames of tumults and parts fa-  
king: which enimities did after grow to be the grea-  
ter, because there were daily manie slaughters of  
the nobles: other people committed in Spar, Car-  
reoth, and Aberdeen, whilist each faction labored to de-  
send it selfe against the others. For which cause (when  
the common wealth was much deformed thereby,  
and all iustice seemed almost bitterlie ouerthrowne in  
those parts) the earle of Angus and other of the no-  
bilitie (which were of the kings priuie counsell) did  
not cease, vntill they had made vnitie betwene those  
two families. But in the end (the heire of the For-  
boises, & the lord Lenthurke, hauing by waie killed the  
noble baron Speldurme, which fauored the Lelles)  
those buried contentions began againe to be raised  
from the dead; whose enimities being once againe  
knowne to the nobilitie (and what hurt might insue  
thereof to the common state) they attempted all pos-  
sible means once more to quench that deadlie flame,  
and afresh to ioinc their minds together in amitie,  
with this purpose, that the murderers of Speldurme  
should (for punishment of their offense) be banished  
into France, where the greatest part of them died,  
after manie miseries and reproches sustained in their  
pittifull life. Which last league so sincerelie vnitied be-  
twene the Forboises and the Lelles, was imbraced  
with such faith each to other, by renewing thereof with  
continuall marriages & other courtesies, that it conti-  
nueth most firme euen vnto this day.

The death of  
the earle of  
Castles.

1520.  
Lelles lib. 9.  
pag. 423.  
14. cc.

Rothmarcolle

Pro tumults  
in that fami-  
ly.

The quene  
sought for.

Fr.Thin.  
Lelles lib. 9.  
pag. 423.

1526.

The familie  
of Speldurme  
the cause of  
tumults.

1520.  
Calculus lib. 9.  
pg. 423.  
114. 86.

be death of  
earle of  
Miles.

114. 86.

114. 86.

114. 86.

Antymurcolle

from tumults  
in that fami-  
ly.

quene  
of Scotland

in:  
15 lib. 9.  
13.

26.

The familie  
of Spakintol  
the mile sedi-  
tions.

In which north parts also, the inhabitants (part-  
lie following their naturall disposition, and partlie  
excited by the example of the former times long sub-  
served so to be used) did in like sort overrun and spoile  
all things, by reason of overmuch libertie. But of all  
other sturs raised in those parts, that was the great-  
est and most troublesome, which was raised by the  
Spakintolches. Of which unrulie people, the one  
familie was called the Glenchattens, and the other  
was surnamed Spakintolches after the head of that  
kindred; in which, the chiefe was called Macclane  
Spakintolche a man of great possessions, and of such  
excellencie in singulartie of wisdom, that with  
great commendation he did containe all his follow-  
ers within the limits of their duties, more than o-  
thers did. Which conscripts (when they could hard-  
lie beare (as loth to live in order) having so long pas-  
sed their time licentiouslie) did withstand the hearts  
of manie men from him. Amongest whome was  
James Spalcolmeson his kinsman (who thirsting  
after the desire to rule) took occasion (by the insurie  
of the time) traitorouslie with deceit to kill this  
Spakintolche; after which (fearing further trouble to  
insue towards him) he fled to the Isle (at the lake  
Kochmurcolle) as a sanctuary or defense for him.  
But the rest of the familie of the Spakintolches did  
pursue him with such eager minds, that by force tak-  
ing him in the Isle, they worthilie killed him, and  
manie of his confederats, guiltie of that wicked-  
nesse. After which (because the sonne of Spakintol-  
che, for his tender yeares, was not sufficient with  
feare & punishment to brydle the minds of his fierce  
subjects) by common consent they chose the baird  
brother of the slaine man (called Hector Spakintol-  
che) to be head and leader of that familie, untill this  
young nephew might grow to yeeres, and might welde  
the gouernement of his owne tribe.

Now when the earle of Spurreie perceived  
that if the sonne of Spakintolche were committed to  
the rashnesse of a people somewhat fierce and cruell,  
that he should (on euerie side) be oppressed with ma-  
nie troubles; he did most godlie (for the care he had  
of him his nephew being his sisters sonne) provide,  
that he should be caried to an other place, to the  
Gillates, the childs kin on the mothers side, where he  
should be well instructed and imbued with the pre-  
cepts of all learning and vertue. Whereat Hector  
was greatlie offended, to see that the child should so  
subtilie be taken from him. Wherefore (affirming  
that much of his authoritie was thereby diminished)  
he attempted (euerie way he might) to get the child  
again into his possession, that thereby he might  
salue and recouer his credit and authoritie. But  
some there were, which supposed that the great care  
and labor which he so much employed (for getting the  
child into his hands) was to none other intent, but  
that he might make him awaie, and prepare a path  
whereby to lead his owne sonne to the gouerne-  
ment of that familie. Which conceipt being depleie  
grauen in the mind of the earle of Spurreie, caused  
him to seeke the preservation of the child, that by no  
means he might fall into the hands of Hector.

Wherewith Hector being highlie incensed (and  
determining to spue out his choler, seeking reuenge  
by anie kind of means) he did cause his brother Wil-  
liam & other of his kindred, that joining their force,  
they might stronglie ber the earle of Spurreie, and  
spoile his possessions: which they did with so great fur-  
rie, that overthrowing the fort of Dikes, and besie-  
ging the castell of Coznewaie, they executed manie  
cruelties, slaughters, spoiles, burnings, and other  
mischiefes vpon all sorts of people, men, women,  
and children, and all such as favored them. For their  
hatred not limited against the earle of Spurreie, ex-

tended further against the familie of the Gillates,  
amongest whome the child was left in custodie for  
educations cause. With which mind this Hector  
and his complices placing their campe at the castell  
of Pettens, which belonged to the lord of Durnens  
(one of the familie of the Gillates) they did so fur-  
ouslie besiege the same, as the people of the same  
were in the end forced to yield the fort: which when  
they had entred, they killed foure and twentie of  
the Gillates, whom they found therein. Whereupon  
(their minds being now advanced with spoiles and  
happie successes) they became so proud, as (trusting  
ouermuch to prosperous euent in all their actions)  
they neuer set end to their wicked crueltie, untill  
the erle of Spurreie did with force execute iust iudge-  
ment vpon them. For when the earle beheld them  
immoderatie reioicing, in spoiling his lands, and  
committing other excelsiue euils; he obtained of the  
king and his counsell, that he might be made the  
kings deputie and gouernor in that battell, to bry-  
dle the rage and boldnesse of those in that order spoil-  
ing the common-wealth.

Wherefore the earle assembling an armie, did  
with such speedie balour come vpon them and their  
countrie, that at the first he took almost two hun-  
dred of their capteins, and committed them to the  
gallowes. All whose faith was so true to their cap-  
teine, as (when life was seuerallie promised to eu-  
rie one man as he was alone lead to the gallowes)  
there would not anie one of them confesse where  
their capteine Hector had hidden himselfe. For eu-  
rie one answered (with bold spirit) that they knew  
not where he was become; and if so be they did, that  
yet they would not (by anie paine or terror of death)  
be induced to breake their faith and to betraie their  
maister. But hanging not being thought a sufficient  
reuenge (for such capteins as the earle had taken)  
there were more græuous punishments laid vpon  
William Spakintolche (brother to Hector) because  
in the beginning he nourished those coles of cho-  
ler for his brothers cause. For after that this Wil-  
liam was hanged, his head was chopped off and fast-  
ned vpon a pole at Dikes, and the other foure parts  
of his bodie were sent to the towne of Elgin, For-  
resse, Inuernesse, and Alderne, there to be set vp  
publickly to the reproch of them, and the example of  
others.

Now, after all these sturs, Hector (seeing his men  
were thus dispersed and executed, and that himselfe  
was excluded from anie other succor) fled to the  
faithfull helpe of Alexander Dunbar beane of Spur-  
reie, by whose aduise he goeth humble and secretkie  
to the king, beseeching his mercie and fauor to be  
extended vnto him: for he supposed it better, rather  
to craue the doubtfull mercie of his lord, than to  
make triall of the earle of Spurreies certeine re-  
uenge. Whereupon the king (seeing his humble  
submission) receiued him into his fauor; and did  
with all his heart louingly after embrace him, be-  
cause he was valiant and wise in warre, and in  
counsell. But God, whose iustice is alwaies thewed  
in punishing of wickednesse, would not suffer this  
filthinesse of crueltie, theft, murder, & spoile (where-  
with Hector did wickedlie defile his life) to go un-  
reuenged with most græuous paine vpon the said  
Hector. For in the citie of saint Andriew, sudden  
death (than which there can be no greater punish-  
ment) was laid vpon him by one James Spenie a  
priest, who was himselfe afterwards beheaded.

When the earle of Spurreie had thewed such re-  
uenge vpon the friends of Hector and their compa-  
nions; the people of the prouince of Glenchatten  
did from thenceforth keepe themselves within the li-  
mits of their dutie: untill that the sonne of Mac-  
clane

Ch. ij.

lane

to wonderfull  
faith of enli-  
men to their  
capteins.

lane Makintolche came to manistate and sailage. Which young man was in his first yeares imbued with such learnings and politic of life conformed thereunto, that when he was imployed about the common-wealthe, all the capitaines of them (who thato rallie speake first in the furthest part of Scotland) did embrace him as a perfect patetne of all vertue, and an excellent workemaister to frame a well ordered state: Wherefore certeine (not able to suffer the brightnesse of his vertue) did soine in counsell with such as were nêrest of blood unto him, and had before laid violent hands on his father, to take his life away by forceable means: Whereof we shall more liberallie intreat in an other place.

This yeare the king by counsell of the earle of Angus, Arrane, and others, went with eight thousand men unto Jedburgh, to set some order amongst the borders, for the keeping of better rule: and soon the eight of June, the principals of all the surnames of the clans on the borders, came to the king, binding themselves, and deliuering pledges for their good demerits. The seventeenth of Iulie, there was a great assemble of the lords at Holie rood house, at that time, there came a simple fellow (to looke upon) servant and hoskeeper sometime to the earle of Lennox, who in the midst of a great companie of people in the abbey close, strake sir James Hamilton knight verie desperatlie with a short pike or dagger in the bellie thrê feuerall stripes by the back, and yet the said sir James died not of those hurts.

1527. Lesle.

Sir James Hamilton hurt by a desperate person.

The man being taken, by & confessed the deed without repentance, saying; Why on the feeble hand quillke would not do that thing the heart thought, and was determinat to do. And being inquired what he was, and who caused him to do the same; he answered that he was a servant of God, sent by him to do that deed. And albeit he was put to great torture and paines daillie by the space of a moneth, yet would he neuer give other answer, and so he was hanged, and his head set oder one of the gates of Edinburgh towne. About the same time, there came out of Germanie maister Patrike Hamilton, abbat of Feme, brothers sonne to the earle of Arrane, who had bene scholar to Martin Luther, & others there. This man being conuicted and examined upon certeine articles, as of iustificatiôn, predestination, of free will, and such like, contrarie to the doctrine taught by the church in that time, because he did asserme, and constantlie defend them, he was declared an heretike and burned.

The abbat of Feme burnt.

Edinburgh castle besieged. 1528 Lesle.

The king being leuenteine yeares of age, refuseth to be longer under gouernement.

The eighteenth of March, the king besieged the castle of Edinburgh, the queene and hir husband Henrie Steward; with James his brother being within it. But as soon as the queene understood, that hir sonne the king was there in person, she caused the gates to be set open, and upon hir knees besought him of grace for hir husband and his brother; and would not rest, till she had obtained the same; but yet they were kept in ward within the castle, till the king afterwards released them. In the yeare following, the king being now come to the age of leuenteine yeares, and of good discretion and wit for his time, would not longer remaine vnder the gouernement of the earle of Angus and his companie. Thereupon he assembled diuerse noble men of Striueling, & by their counsell sent an herald vnto the earle of Angus & his assistants resident as then in Edinburgh, commanding them on paine of high treason, that they should depart forth of that towne, & that none of them should come within foure miles of the court, where soeuer the same chance to lie. Shortly after, the king himselfe with two thousand men, followed the herald: whereupon the earle of Angus, both being charged by the herald, and ad-

uertised of the kings coming toward the towne, departed thence immediatlie. And shortly after, the same herald was sent vnto him againe with commandement from the king, that he should remaine prisoner within ward in the countrie of Murray, till the kings pleasure were further knowne: which he would not obeye; wherefore both he and his adherents were summoned to appeare in parliament to be holden at Edinburgh, in September next following. In this parliament begun at Edinburgh the first of September in this yeare 1528, the earle of Angus, with his brother George Douglas, his uncle by his father Archibald Douglas, Alexander and Dominick of Carnocke, and diuerse other, were by vote of parliament attainted, and forfeited for diuers offenses, and especially, for assembling the kings people to haue assailed the kings person; and because he had detemned the king against his will with him the space of two yeares and more; all which time he stood in feare of his life.

1528.  
The earle of Angus forfeited.  
The earle of Angus attainted by parliament.  
Henrie Steward created eric of Northumberland.

Fr. Thin.  
Buchanan.  
lib. 14.

In this parliament Henrie Steward the queenes husband was created lord of Methuen; and made maister of the exchequer. Besides which, in place of earle Douglas was Gavin Dunbar, the kings schoolmaister made chancelor, a good and a learned man, and one in whome manie did desire more ciuill policie; and in the place of Archibald Douglas the treasurer was admitted Robert Carnicruce, more famous for his monie than his vertue. In this parliament there was onely one found, called John Bannatine, who favoring the Douglas, did boldly there protest, that what soeuer was therein done, ought by no means to be hurtfull to the earle Douglas; since full feare of his appearance there, was a iust cause to force him to be absent from thence. With in a few daies after, a brother of the earles called William, abbat of the monastrie of Holiroud died, partly by sicknesse, and partly by griefe of mind, being wearied with the present state of things; whose place Robert Carnicruce, a man of base birth, but well thought, did obtaine of the king: who had granted vnto him the auoidance of the next spiritual liuing. At length, the Douglas out of hope of all good successe, burnt the towne of Confrandie and Cranstounne, and so fled to the castell of Tantallon.

1529.

The earle of Cathnes captured into Dykene.

The earle of Cathnes slain.  
The blindness of the Dykene men.

An assemble of the lords.

King of the west.

Execution.

The earle of Bothwell commit.

Fr. Thin.  
Banished the realm.

The castell of Tantallon besieged.

David Falconer slain.

Fr. Thin.  
Buchanan.  
lib. 14.

Fr. Thin.  
Other lords commit, and put in ward.

Fr. Thin.  
Buchan. lib. 14.

In October following, the king assembled a great companie of men, with artillerie, and diuerse kinds of munition, to besiege the castell of Tantallon, which the earle of Angus did hold, who aduertised of the preparation made for the same siege, furnished the castell with men and all kind of necessaries, and went himselfe into England. When the siege then was laid about the castell, it was so strong and so well provided, that it might not be wonne for all that could be done at that season: in so much that after David Falconer, principall gunner of the kings side was slain, the king caused the siege to be raised; yet at length (though not till a long time after this) it was deliuered to the king by appointment. Wherefore the deliuerie whereof, the king depelle swore that he would not leave one alieue to succeed in the inheritance and name of the Douglas, so long as he liued and was king.

Whereupon he came to Edinburgh, where (to the end he might distresse them the more) he determined by the aduise of his counsell to send a daillie companie (though no great number) to Colbington, which should defend the husbandmen from the spoile. Which office appointed to Bothwell chiefe of Louthaine, he did bitterlie refuse, either fearing the power of the Douglas (where vnto all the other strength of Scotland did of late, not seeme to be equal) or that he would not (being then young) imbue his hands with the destruction of so famous a familie. Whereupon, since

John Scot called forth vnto without receiving any aid.  
1531. Buch.

since the king durst not trust the Hamiltons ( as friends to his enemies, & being offended with them for the death of John Stewart earle of Lennox, nor durst commit the matter to any of the adjoining nobilitie ) at length the same came so about, that Calene Campbell dwelling on the furthest borders of the kingdome, being a man of good estimation for his wisdom, and approved experience in feats of warre, and for his iustice dearely loved of the people was sent by the king ( with great authoritie ) to the rebels. Whereby the Dowglasses ( being forsaken of the Hamiltons and their other friends ) were brought to those extremities, that they were enforced to depart into England to K. Henrie the eight, who honorable and liberrallie received and interteined them. After this, the king ( as is said ) getting the castell of Tantillone by composition, did scarce keepe all the covenants of his grant thereof in writing; although he performed this, that Alexander Dummman at the request of Robert Bretton, had licence to returne home into his countrie, a little before which ( as it seemeth ) when James Colville and Robert Carnicruse were removed from the court as persons suspected to fauor the Dowglasses ) their offices were bestowed upon Robert Bretton, then in great fauor with the king and courtiers, and aduanced to the gouernement of manie places. )

The eighteenth of Maie, in the yere 1529, the earle of Cathnessie and the lord of Sinclair, with a great armie by sea passed into Dykenie, to haue taken that Ile into possession; but the people of the countrie assembled at the commandement of James Sinclair of Kirkcuball their capteine, who gaue battell to the earle and his armie with such courage, that he discomfited the enemies: the earle with five hundred of his men was slaine, and drowned in the sea, vnto the which they were drinen. The lord Sinclair and all the residue were taken. The Dykenie men held opinion, that their patrone saint Magnus was sene that day to fight in the field on their side against their enemies. In the same moneth on the sixteenth day, there was a great assemble of the lords in Edinburgh, where the king himselfe sate in iudgement. The lord of Winderland called Cockburne, and one Adam Scot of Tushlaw, who was named king of theues, were accused of theft, and of receiuing and maintaining of theues, slaughters, and other crimes; of the which being conuict, they lost their heads, which were set ouer the Tolbuth of Edinburgh.

On the same day, the earle of Bothwell was also conuict for maintaining them and their crimes, and his life, lands, and goods, were in the kings hands. He was therefore kept in ward within Edinburgh castell, and after sent into Murray land, & lastlie banished the realme during the kings daies [ and remained at Venice. ] Also, the lord Spawell, the lord Hume, the lords of Balglueth, Fernhurst, Pollozt, Johnson, Sparke Bar [ with the earle Bothwell ] and other principall men of the borders, were conuict by assise, and put in ward: by reason whereof, the borderers kept better rule euer after, during the kings reigne. Few moneths after, the king commanded the noble men ( before imprisoned, and then to be banished ) to be restored to libertie, taking pledges for their allegiance. Of which companie, one Walter Scot killing Robert Johnstone a thiefe of noted crueltie, therewith to gratifie the king began deablie enmitie with that familie, to the great hurt of both those kindreds. ]

About this season, a landed man named John Scot, that had trauelled abroad in the world [ ouer England, France, Italie and the holie land, as saith Lesleus ] who now being returned into Scotland, ( because it was byted in other countries that he

had fasted 40 daies without either meat or drinke ) was for triall therof put in Davids tower in Edinburgh castell, and diligent watch set vpon him to see that he had no sustenance to relieue him withall, and so kept for forty daies, he fasted all that time without any kind of nourishment, to the great wonder of the people. In the summer of this yere 1529, Archembald Dowglas, that had bene forsailed ( as ye haue heard ) came alone to the king while he was on hunting in Strueling parke, & besought his grace of pardon, which he had obtained fullie at his hands, because he fauoured him more than any of that surname, if he had not bene ( as he was indeed ) altogether determined that none of them should remaine within the land at that time, and so he banished him into France, where shortly after through griefe of mind he departed this life.

In the moneth of June, the king with an armie went to the borders to set order there for better rule to be kept, and to punish such as were knownen to be most culpable. And herevpon he caused forty and eight of the most notable theues, with their capteine John Armstrong to be apprehended; the which being conuict of murther, theft, & treason, were all hanged on growing trees, to the example of other. There was one cruell thefe amongst the rest, which had burned a house with a woman and his children within it: he was burned to death. George Armstrong, brother to John, was pardoned, to the end he should appeach the residue, which he did; so that they were apprehended by the kings commandement, and punished for their misdoings, according as they had deserved. In August following, manie meruellous sights were sene about Strueling, as candles burning on the tops of hills in the nights, and in the morning afore sunne rising. Diuerse armed men appeared fighting vpon the ground, which was taken to be a foretoken of some trouble to insue in those parties. The sixteenth day of August, a great number of people being assembled at the market in Campscunneth, fiftie & two persons were drowned in the ferrie bote; amongst the which were diuerse honest men and women of the countrie.

The first of March, in the yere 1530, the abbat of Colrose called James Inglis, was cruellie murdered by the lord of Tulliallan and his seruants, amongst whom there was a priest called sir William Louthien, for the which they were apprehended, and the said sir William the twentieth and twentieth of the same moneth, vpon a publike scaffold in Edinburgh was degraded ( the king, quene, and a great companie of people being present ) and after his degradation, he was deliuered to the earle of Argile high iustice, and the next day the said Tulliallan and the same priest were beheaded. This yere the college court of iustice called the sessions was instituted in Edinburgh by the king, with consent of the three estates in parliament assembled, and after confirmed in Rome; in the which are sixtene counsellors ordinarie, eight of them being spirituall persons, of the which the most ancient is president, and seuen temporall men, but so as by this number the chancellor of the realme is above the president, when he is present. There are also foure counsellors extraordinary, remouable at the princes pleasure. In the yere 1531, I find little done to make account of; for the erle of Angus remaining in England, could not perswade the king of England in his fauor to breake the peace with Scotland, though the same earle earnestlie laboured to bring that to passe.

The earle of Bothwell, for that he went priuie into England ( being supposed to haue had secret conference with the earle of Northumberland ) he was the 16 kalends of February committed to the castell

1529.

Archembald Dowglas banished.

The king cometh to the borders.

Theues hanged.

These burnt to death.

Wonders sene in the armament.

A ferrie bote drowned.

1530.

An abbat murdered.

The sessions instituted.

1531.

Fr. Thin. Buch, lib. 14

1532.

1529.  
The earle of Cathnessie passing into Dykenie.

The earle of Cathnessie slaine. The blindness of the Dykenie men.

An assemble of the lords.

King of theues.  
Execution.

The earle of Bothwell conuict.

Fr. Thin. Banished the realme.

Fr. Thin. Other lords conuict, and put in ward.

Fr. Thin. Buchan, lib. 14.

John Scot taken for the same without receiving any law.

1531. Buch.

castell of Edinburgh, & sir John Sandland knight was sent with authoritie to the hermitage (a castell in Liddesdale) to repress the spoiles and robberies committed there. When of ancient time there had bene no certeine daies and place appointed for the deciding of monie, contentions, or debts amongst the citizens and people of Scotland, John duke of Albanie obtained from the bishop of Rome, that a pærelle summe of monie (as much as should be sufficient to paie the stipend of a few iudges that should be appointed theretofore) should be leuied of the cleargie, of euerie one according to his estate and substance. Whereupon Gavin Dunbar bishop of Aberdeen for himselfe in the name of the cleargie, appeared to the said bishop of Rome. Which controuersie continued from the first Ides of March, untill the tenth kalends of Aprill, at which day the college of the iudges of Edinburgh was established, of whom in the beginning there were many profitable things done, and law was equallie ministred; but yet the same end did not follow which was then hoped amongst them. For since in Scotland there be almost no lawes but such as are decreed by parlement, which are not commonlie perpetuall, but made for a time; and that the iudges as much as in them lieth do hinder the making of such lawes: the gods of all men were committed to the arbitrement of fiftene men, which haue perpetuall power therfore, being in truth but tyrannicall gouernment, since their one lie arbitrements must stand for law. Thus much Buchanan.

1533.  
Lesseus lib. 9.  
pag. 437, 438.

But because Lesseus treateth in moze ample and other sort of that matter; and for that I will not deprive the reader of the feuerall writings of them both touching one thing: I will also set downe Lesseus words, writing in this order. In this parlement (saith he) by the consent of the estates, it seemed good that the forme of iudgement used by our ancestors should be taken away. For where certeine of the cleargie, of the barons, and of the citizens, were chosen euerie yere to trauell ouer the foure parts of the realme, to giue iudgement of ciuill causes (as they terme it) and of other things intangled with the controuersie of law: and that then it oftentimes happened either by the ignorance of the iudge that did not attaine to the perfection of the law, or by the malice of them which were corrupted with bribes, that the weaker part had vniustlie the upper hand against the righter; to which discommoditie this was also ioined, that no cause could be well examined to the uttermost by one man at one time, because the iudges were so often changed; whereby it must needs follow, that feuerall iudges (hauing feuerall minds and wits) must for one matter giue inconstant & contrarie iudgements. Wherefore to take awaie this varietie of iudgements and other discommodities, wherewith the common-wealth was afflicted; it pleased the parlement by the persuation of the king, that a certeine defined number of senators (being persons of the greatest knowledge in law) should haue a permanent place at Edinburgh, to decide all matters of controuersie, the maner & order whereof we haue set downe in our former booke, saith Lesseus. And I for my part thinke not vnmeet for the moze explaining thereof, to set it downe in this place out of the same Lesseus.

Lesseus, lib. 1.  
pag. 79.

The companie (saith he) of these men (whom we call the Senat of the publike wealth) receiue none but such, whose praise of vertue and sharpenesse of wit (especially in matters of law) doth aduance them to that place. This court is so apted of the cleargie and secular nobilitie (as a man may learne them) that the one part of the laitie doth answer the other number of the cleargie. Which we thinke to be

done by the great benefit of God, that the religion and simplicitie of the cleargie may temper the singular wickedness of the tempozaltie, obtained by the experience of woollie causes; and againe, the iudgement of the laitie may further and moderate the pure religion and ancient simplicitie of the cleargie.ouer all these is one chiefe and head (which is a spirituall man) who hath the highest place in sentence and pronouncing of iudgement; except the iudgement of the chancelloz of the kingdome happen to come in place; for then thereunto the Scots giue the chiefeest prebeminence in all the affaires of the common-wealth. Thus much he.)

In the yere 1532, sir Arthur Darcie was sent to the borders, who being at Berwik, by the counsell of the earle of Angus then being there, they made a rode into Scotland, and burned certeine places; whereupon the Scots assembling themselves to defend their countrie, made towards the Englishmen, who retired themselves to Berwik againe. After this were diuerse inuasions made on euerie side by on the borders, and ships likewise taken by sea, and yet no warre was proclaimed. In September, in the yere 1533, certeine commissioners of either realme were at Newcastell, to intreat for a redresse and recompense to be made for burning of townes and villages, taking of goods, casting downe of piles, taking of ships, slaughters of men, and diuerse other spoiles and iniuries done, as well by the sea as by the land, from the 23 day of Aprill in the yere 1532, unto the day of the meeting of the same commissioners; which doings were little lesse in effect than had bene used in time of open warre, although the same was not proclaimed. Because therfore that the scathes & iniuries fell out to be so great on both sides, that particular redresse could not be had, the order thereof was referred to the pleasure of both the princes.

Further it was agreed, that for a perpetuall peace to be concluded, certeine commissioners should be appointed to treat therof at London, as afterwards they did. For the king of Scotland there were sent as commissioners about this treatie, William Stewart bishop of Aberdeen, Robert Reid the abbat of Kinlos, and sir Adam Sterburie knight; (as saith Lesseus li. 9. pag. 439.) Adam Otterburne (the which accompanied with diuerse other knights, barons, and gentlemen, came to London, and were there right honorablie receiued the 25 of March. After they had bene before the kings presence, there were certeine commissioners appointed by him to treat with them of peace, the which agreed upon certeine conditions and articles for a peace to continue betwixt both kings during their naturall liues, and one yere after the decease of that prince which first chanced to depart this world: and so the commissioners returned into Scotland in the moneth of Aprill next following.

About the same time were sent into France, William Beton abbat of Arbroth, and James Erskine secretarie, as ambassadoz to require the duke of Wandsolmes sister in marriage for the king: with which motion the ladie and hir friends were verie well contented. Heuerelesse (as afterwards shall appere) the king himselfe passing secretlie into France in proper person, when he had once sene the ladie, he liked hir not; & so became a suter to the French king his eldest daughter Magdalen, whome he obtained: wherefore the duke of Wandsolmes sister would neuer after match hir selfe with anie other in marriage, but professed hir selfe in a house of religion, where she remained the residue of hir life time. The king of England sent ambassadoz into Scotland, the bishop of Duresme, sir Thomas Clifford, the prior of Duresme,

The peace concluded with England.

Fr. Thin.  
Lesseus lib. 9.  
pag. 439.  
1534.

1532.  
Sir Arthur Darcie sent to the borders.  
The maketh a rode into Scotland.

Justice mtd.

1533.

English times receiued into Scotland.

Fr. Thin.  
Buchan. li. 2

1534

1534. Lelle.

Fr. Thin.

A peace concluded.

Ambassadors into France.

The king himselfe passing secretlie into France.

1533.  
The pope's death into Scotland.

1531

refine, and one doctor Magnus, who were honorable received in the moneth of Julie: and then was the peace before concluded by the ambassadoys at London, confirmed by the king himselfe, and the charter thereof interchangable sealed, with the great seales of both the realmes, during the liues of both the princes (as before ye haue heard.)

\* The king in those daies did shew such hope of honorable vertue in him, that the wisest and the most balliant princes of the world did honor him with the ornaments of their orders: for first Henrie king of England adopted him into the order of the garter, the emperor made him a fellow of the golden fleece, and shortly after the French king clothed him with the order of saint Michaele. In remembrance of all which (for a note to be left to posteritie) he caused the armes of Scotland, honored with these three orders, to be set vp ouer the gate of his palace of Lithquoe, with the ornaments of the honor of saint Andrew, which are proper to the kingdom of Scotland.)

The same yere, the king passed through the north parts of his realme, and caused iustice daile to be ministered in places where he came, against offenders. Moreover, in Edinburgh was great inquisition made, and punishment exercised against such as were detected to hold opinions against the religion then used, the king himselfe assistant thereto. Master Forman Cosleie that was abjured before, and Andrew Stratton that would not renounce his opinion, were burned. The shiriffe of Linlithgow, and diuerse other, that were fled for feare of punishment, were conuict of heresie. Diuerse Englishmen that held against the diuorce betwixt king Henrie, and the ladie Katharine Dowager, fled this yere into Scotland, and were receiued.

\* About this time (to conclude a league with Charles the sixt, emperor) this Charles sent Godscall Erieke (to the end the matter might be handled more secretlie) from Toledo (by Ireland) into Scotland, who when he had declared his message to him from the emperor [containing the iniuries done to his aunt Katharine queene of England, & to his daughter by Henrie the eight, king of England: the calling of a generall counsell: the ouerthrow of the Lutherian heresie (to vse Buchanans word) and for contracting of marriage] the said ambassadoy did deliuer to the king the emperors letter, wherein was set downe the offer and choise of which of those three parties the king would take to wife: which were Marie (the sister of Charles) a widow by Adolphe of Hungarie, his husband slaine by the Turke: Marie of Portugalie his nece by his sister Leonora: or Katharine. Whereunto the king answered, that the marriage with England should be most profitable, but the same was a thing of uncerteine hope, of greater danger & labor, & of longer delate than his carefulnesse (being the onelie man left of that line) might well indure. Wherefore of all the emperors kinred, that marriage by manie reasons should be most benefitfull for him, to take to wife the daughter of Christiern, king of Denmark, begotten vpon Isabella sister to the emperor. Whereunto for deniall thereof, Charles did shortly make answer (at Madrid) that he was affianced to another.)

In the yere 1535, the pope sent a messenger into Scotland, requiring king James to assist him against the king of England, whom he had decreed an heretike, a schismaticke, a wedlocke breaker, a publicke murderer, and a sacrileger; and therefore he had declared him to be deposed of the said kingdome, the which he would bestow vpon him, and other catholicke princes. In the yere 1536, the king took the sea with fine ships, without knowledge of the most

part of the lords of his realme, and sailed about the Isles of Skie and Lewes, and the other Isles, and by Forme was giuen to take land at saint Jmians in Galloway, & so returned to Striueling, from whence he passed on foot in pilgrimage vnto our ladie chappell of Lauret beside Dunkelburgh, and afterward sent for diuerse of his lords, and by their counsell took his boiage againe by sea with fine ships, to passe into France, as he was minded to haue done the first time: but what caused him to alter his purpose then, we find not. This second time he embarked at Kirkcaldie the last of August, and with good and prosperous wind he shortly after arriued in France, there being with him in companie the earles of Argile, and Arrane, the lords Bold and Flenning, with diuerse other barons, knights, and gentlemen; and before him there were in France the earles of Murray, Lennox, and Castles, the lord Erskin, the abbat of Arbroth, and others.

Immediatlie after his arriual, he rode in secret manner disguised vnto Wandolmes in Picardie, taking with him but one seruant named John Tennent, whom he caused to take vpon him as he had bene maister; and so comming to the duke of Wandolmes his place, got sight of the ladie who should haue bene his wife; but not liking hir, he returned againe without talking either with hir or hir friends: and comming to Rouen where his companie were abiding for him, he passed from thence towards Paris, where the Dolphin of France was appointed by the king his father to meet him seven leagues from the citie, who brought him to the king, who receiued him in such hartie manner, as if he had bene his owne sonne, and with as much honor as might haue bene shewed to the greatest prince in earth. There were iustices, tourneys, and other princelie pastimes practised and set forth; in which iustices and other exercises of warlike feates, he shewed himselfe as hardie, cunning and balliant, as anie other person within all the realme of France, for the which he wan passing great praise.

In the meane time, he caused his ambassadoys and the noble men that were with him, to declare vnto the king of France, that the cause of his comming was for marriage to be had betwene him and the ladie Agadalen, eldest daughter to the king, whom he loued & fauoured aboue all other within his realme. The French king was glad hereof, that the ancient band betwixt Scotland and France might thus with new aliance be confirmed, and therefore declared that he would willingly giue him his daughter in marriage. But herewith he let him vnderstand, that his daughter was much subiect to sicknesse, and therefore he referred that vnto the king of Scotland his owne pleasure, whether he would haue hir, or his yongest daughter the ladie Margaret, who was after married to the duke of Sauoy. This offer of choise being reported to the king of Scotland, he continued in his former purpose, which was, to match with the ladie Agadalen, who was in deed a pleasant yong ladie, beautifull, of good fauour, louelie countenance, and comelie manners, aboue all others within that realme.

Wherevpon the marriage was contracted betwixt them, and an hundred thousand crownes of the sun promised with hir in dowrie, with thirtie thousand franks of pension, during the life of king James: which monie was deliuered vnto him at his returne homewards, besides manie rich hangings, cupboards of plate, sumptuous apparell, and rich iuelles giuen to him and his wife, farre aboue the summe of an other hundred thousand crownes, with two great ships (the one called the salamander) and great plenty of artillerie, powder, and other munition. Moreover,

The kings boiage about the Isles.

He saileth into France.

He rideth to Wandolmes.

He is receiued into Paris.

He is a tutor for marriage.

The marriage contracted betwixt the king of Scots and the ladie Agadalen.

The peace concluded betwixt England.

R. Thin. Lellous lib. 9. p. 439. 1534.

32. Arthur is sent to borders.

asketh a into hand.

533.

justice ministered.

English fugitives receiued into Scotland.

R. Thin. Buchan. li. 14. 1534.

1. Lelle.

Thin.

ince contracted.

ambassadoys France.

the king him pasteth he into ince.

1535. The pope sent into Scotland.

1536.

uer, all his charges and expenses were borne by the French king, during his being within the realme of France. At the same time also, was the ancient league and bond of amitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France renewed, and the day of the solemnization of the marriage appointed to be holden the first of Januarie.

1539.  
The marriage  
contracted.

1537. Lesle.

The king  
with his  
queene retur-  
neth into  
Scotland.

Queene Ma-  
galeen depar-  
teth this life.

Fr. Thin.

The ladie  
Clames and  
hir husband  
convict of  
treason.  
1537. Lesle.

Fr. Thin.

The maister  
of Forbois  
beheaded.

In the meane time, great preparation for the same was made, and all the nobles of France sent for to be there at that day. On the which within the church of Notre dame in the cite of Paris, the king of Scotland openly married the said ladie Magdalen, in presence of the king his father, the king of Navarre, seven cardinals, and diuerse great dukes, mar-ques, earles, lords, barons, bishops, & others. After the solemnization of the marriage, king James remained in France, till the moneth of Maie, passing the time with all kind of pleasure and disport that might be deuised for his honorable intertainment. Finally, the king and his wife queene Magdalen took their leaue of the king of France their father at Paris, about the latter end of Aprill, and so rode to Rouen; where they were receiued with great triumph, and from thence they passed downe the riuer to Newhauen where they embarked, being accompanied by the admirall of France, and manie other noble men of the realme, appointed by the French king to attend vpon them into Scotland, & so they sailed forth with pleasant wind and prosperous weather, through the seas, till they came into the Forth, and there landed at the peare of Liethauen, the 29 of Maie, in the yeere 1537, where a great number of earles, bishops, barons, & other noble men & gentlemen of Scotland were readie to receiue them with passing ioy and gladnesse, & from thence with great triumph they were conueied to the abbey of Holie rood house.

This noble ladie with hir louelie countenance and seemlie demeanour, at hir first arrivall wonne the lones and hartie good wilis of all the nobles & people of the realme, and withall contented so highlie the mind and fantasie of the king hir husband, that there was neuer more hope of wealth and prosperitie to succeed within the realme, than at that present. But fortune ennieng so great felicitie, would not suffer them to continue anie longer time together: for about the end of June she fell sicke of a vehement feuer, whereof she departed this life the tenth of Julie next ensuing, and was buried in the church of Holie rood house, for whose death the king was verie sorrowfull, & stirred not abroad of a long time after: [whose death (saith Buchanan) was so lamented of all men, that then (as he supposeth) began the first use of mourning garments amongst the Scots, which yet at this day, not being past forty yeeres, is not verie common, though publick orders and manners doe uerie day grow worse and worse.]

In the summer of this yeere, Jone Dowglaste the ladie of Clames, sister to the earle of Angus, was apprehended, and likewise hir husband David Lion, and both of them brought to Edinburgh, where they were accused and convict by an assise, for conspiracie of the kings death: the said ladie was burned, and hir husband hanged. Hir son the lord Clames was also convict for misprision and concealment of that crime, and therfore forsaiking all his lands, was condemned to die: but because he was yong and of tender yeeres, the king pardoned him of life, and commanded him to perpetuall prison, in the which he remained so long as the king lived. [This yeere was Bothwell, for that he was ouer familiar with the English, banished into France (as saith Buchanan).] Shortly after, John maister of the Forbois, and eldest sonne to the lord Forbois, who had married a fi-

ster of the said ladie Clames, was at Edinburgh likewise indicted and convict by an assise, by procurement of the earle Huntlie, for the like conspiracie of the kings death, for the which he was beheaded and quartered, and his head and quarters set aloft vpon the gates of Edinburgh. His father the lord Forbois, vpon suspicion of the same conspiracie, was long after kept in prison within the castell of Edinburgh; but at length when nothing might be proued against him, he was released and set at libertie.

This yeere, the king in September caused iustices to sit in the north parts of the realme, and likewise in October; and in the winter following he caused the like to be done in the south and west parts. The king himselfe was often times present, assisting the lords whom he had appointed his commissioners for the furtherance of iustice, and maintenance thereof thorough all parts of his realme. The king appointed an assemblie of the nobles, by whose consent an edit was made to confirme the former laws, in which all his grants made at Roane in his minority were voided and of no authoritie. At what time also by the said persons it was brought to passe by great labor, that the kings patrimonie should be augmented with manie possessions. Wherefore when they perceived that the kings charge and dignitie could not be maintained with so small reuenues, they advanced his foure sonnes (borne of diuerse women) to the rich abbeies & priories of Melrosse, Kelso, Colvingham, Holie rood, and of saint Andrewes, whose reuenues they transferred to the kings coffers so long as he liued: by which (perhaps) there came no lesse monie (saith Lesleus) into his coffers, than did arise of his kinglie inheritance.)

The king by the aduise of these noble men of his realme, thinking it necessarie for him to match againe in marriage with some noble princeesse, sent into France unto the earle of Spurrey, and David Beaton abbat of Arbroth [whome (as saith Lesleus lib. 9. p. 447) Paule the third had made a cardinal, & they of France had made bishop of Pipropeuse] his ambassadors there resident, willing them by the aduise of the French king to treat for a marriage to be had betwixt him and the ladie Marie de Lorraine, dutchesse of Longuile, widow, daughter to the duke of Guise. And being aduertised from his said ambassadors, that the king of France, the ladie hir selfe, and hir friends, were well contented therewith, he sent in the beginning of Maie the lord Robert Partwell, and the maister of Glencarne, well accompanied into France, to loine with his other ambassadors for the contracting of that marriage, the which according to their commission treated thereof, and concluded vpon resolute articles, and so espoused hir by procurators, as the use is amongst such estates, with great triumph in the cite of Paris, whereat the king and manie noble men were present.

After this she was conueied to Newhauen, and there taking the seas, passed through the same till she came to Carrell in Fife, where she landed the tenth of June; and from thence she was conueied to the new palace in the abbey of saint Andrewes, being honorable prepared for the receiuing of hir. And there the king accompanied with manie noble men, openly solemnized and confirmed the fore said marriage with the said ladie in the abbey church, with great ioy and triumph. The king with his queene remained there the most part of that summer. And within a few moneths after the marriage, she conceived with child, to the great comfort of the king and the whole realme, for the hope of succession thereby; and therfore general processions and publick praiers were made thorough all parts of the realme, for the prosperous success of the same. After that the king had pacified the boiers

Judices appointed to sit in diuerse parts of the realme.

Fr. Thin.  
Buchan, lib. 14.  
pag. 447.

1538. Lesle.

The king is  
sutor for  
marriage to the  
dutchesse of  
Longuile.  
Fr. Thin.

Great quiet-  
ness in Scot-  
land.

1539.

The king sai-  
eth word to the  
Jes of Opre-  
me and others

The out Jles  
brought to  
good order.

Fr. Thin.

The queene  
delivered of a  
sonne.

The marriage  
solemnized.

The queene  
mother depar-  
teth this life.

Certaine per-  
sons burnt  
by religion.

borders and all other parts of his realme, by exercising of iustice, and travelling about the same in his owne person through all places (where need required) so that there was as great quietnesse, rest, and policie bled in Scotland, as euer was in anie kings daies before him: yet neuertheless there were certaine disobedient persons in the Isles.

The king therefore, to bring them to order, caused to prepare a good naue of ships, and in the moneth of Maye went aboard the same in the robe of Kiech, hauing with him the earles of Arrand, Huntlye, Argyle, and diuerse other earles, lords, and barons, with whome he sailed forth by the coasts of Fife, Angus, Aberdeen, Murray, Perth, Southerland, and Cathness, till he came to Orkney, where he landing and all his companie with him, were receiued verie honorablie by the bishop Robert Marcell. Here they furnished themselves with fresh vittells, and other such things as were necessarie; and taking the seas againe, sailed to the Isles of Skie and Lewes, where Mac Cleod of the Lewes, a principall clan of his kin, was brought unto the king, who sent forth also a companie to Mac Cleod Hagh, who came likewise out of his Ile, and presented himselfe to the king.

From thence the king sailed by the coast of Koss and Hintaile, to the Ile of Tranterries, where diuerse of the Paconiles, such as the lord Magarrie, John Godart, and others (who alledged themselves to be of the principall blood, and lords of the Isles) were brought also to the kings presence. From thence travelling through the residue of the Isles, Macclane and James Paconile of Binter, being the two principall captains of the small Isles, came likewise to the king who at length landed at Dunbretton, and sent the captains and ships with prisoners to passe the same waie he came round about the coast, so to come to Edenburgh, where the same prisoners being arraigned, the chiefe heads of them were kept in ward as pledges for good rule in their countries, and were not suffered to depart so long as the king lived, whereby there followed great quietnesse, and as good obedience to the lawes throughout all the Isles, as there was in anie part of the realme; and as good account and payment made to the kings controller in his exchequer for the lands of the same Isles pertaining to the crowne, as for anie part of the reuenues belonging thereunto within the maine land. [In this yere (saith Buchanan lib. 4.) were manie taken for Lutheranisme, wherof some were burnt; nine recanted, and manie were banished: amongst whom, George Buchanan was one, who escaped by a rope out of a window of a chamber.]

Whilist the king was in this bondage, the quene was deliuered of a sonne at saint Andrewes, wherof the king being aduertised at his landing, hastied with all possible diligence to the quene, and shortly after was the child baptised, and called James. The archbishop of saint Andrewes, and the earle of Arrane were godfathers, and the quene the kings mother was godmother. For the birth of this prince, there were bounties made through all parts of the realme, with great triumph and giuing of thanks to God for the same. After this the quene, mother to the king, returned vnto Methuen, where after she had remained a certaine time, a sicknesse took hir, of the which shortly after she departed this life, and was buried in the Charterhouse church of saint Johns towne, by the toime of king James the first. The king himselfe and manie nobles of the realme were present at the funerals, which were kept in most solemn and pompous manner.

The same yere were burnt at Edenburgh for heresie (as it was then taken) a regular canon, two

blacke friers, and a secular man; Also two priests were degraded, and condemned to perpetual prison. The same time there was a grate fier in the chiefe of Glascow burnt for the like cause; and manie other summoned, and because they would not appeare, they were denounced hereticks. About the same time, James Beton archbishop of saint Andrewes, a man of great age departed this life, and was buried in saint Andrewes. Before his departure, he had provided lastells for all his benefices, first to his archbishops see, and to the abbacie of Arbroth, master David Beton, afterwards cardinal; and to the abbacie of Dunfermling master George Durie that was archdeacon of saint Andrewes. These men, without anie gainesaying of the king, entered with his good will into the same benefices, immediately after his deceasse. This James Beton builded a great part of the new college of saint Andrewes, and left great summes of monie and treasure to go through to make an end of the same worke.

This yere in the moneth of August sir James Hamilton of Finhart knight, remaining as then in the towne of Edenburgh, was arrested by David Wood controller to the king, who charged him in the kings name to go to ward within the castle of Edenburgh. Which commandement he willingly obeyed, thinking himselfe sure inough, as well by reason of the good seruice he had done to the king, specially in repairing the palaces of Striveling and Linlithgow; as also for that the king had him in so high fauor, that he stood in no feare of himselfe at all. Neuertheless, shortly after he was brought forth to iudgement, and comit in the Tolbooth of Edenburgh, of certaine points of treason laid against him, which he would neuer confesse; but that notwithstanding, he was beheaded in the moneth of September next ensuing [after that he had liberallie confessed at the place of execution, that he had neuer in anie sort offended the kings maiestie, and that this death was yet worthilie inflicted vpon him by the diuine iustice; because he had often offended the lawes of God to please the prince, thereby to obtaine greater countenance with him. Wherefore he admonished all persons, that moued by his example they should rather follow the diuine pleasure, than vnjustlie take the kings fauor, since it is better to please God than man.]

This summer the quene remaining at Striveling, was deliuered of an other prince, which was baptised in the chapell of Striveling, and called Arthur; but within eight daies after, the said prince deceased at Striveling aforesaid. On the verie same daie, prince James the kings eldest sonne being at saint Andrewes departed this life also, in such wise, that there was but onlie six houres betwixt the time of their departures out of this world; which caused no lesse lamentation through the whole realme, than there was ioy at their births. After this, the quene went vnto saint Johns towne, where she was honorablie receiued with great triumph made by the towne. She was accompanied with the principall men of the countie, and from thence the roade to Aberdeen, the king then being come vnto hir, whete, by the towne and vniuersitie they were receiued with great ioy, triumph, pageants, verses, & plaies, set forth in the best manner for their pastime. They remained there the space of fiftene daies, and were highlie intertained by the bishop of that place.

There were exercises and disputations held in all kind of sciences in the colleges and scholes, with diuerse orations made in Greeke, Latine, and other languages, to the high praise and commendation of the maisters & students in that vniuersitie. From thence the king with the quene returned to Dun-

1539. Lefte.  
The death of James Beton archbishop of saint Andrewes.

1540.  
Sir James Hamilton arrested.

Sir James Hamilton beheaded.

Fr. Thin.  
Lefteus lib. 9.  
pag. 412.

The quene deliuered of another son.

The two young princes departed this life.

The king and quene at Aberdeen.

Great quietnesse in Scotland.

1539.

The king sailed northwards to the Isles of Orkney and others.

As appointed to the king.

lib. 14.

esse.

giss made of c.

Fr. Thin.

The quene deliuered of a sonne.

page 6.

The quene mother departed this life.

Certaine persons burnt for religion.

Captaine  
Boothwicke  
accused of he-  
resie.

Fr. Thin.  
Lefleus lib. 9.  
pag 453.

A small por-  
tion in deed.

1541.  
The king of  
England sen-  
deth to the  
king of  
Scots.

Fr. Thin.

dee, where a coslie enrie was prepared for them ab-  
so, and after they had bene right princelie interte-  
ned there, they came to Falkeland. In the moneth  
of Aprill, sir John Boothwicke, commonlie called  
capitaine Boothwicke, suspected, defamed, and accu-  
sed of heresie, was summoned to appeare in saint  
Andrews before the cardinall, and diuerse other bi-  
shops and prelats there present, where (notwithstan-  
ding his absente) the same being proued by suffi-  
cient witness against him (as was thought) he was  
condemned and declared an heretike. An image was  
made to resemble him, and at the market crosse of  
the said citie, as a signe and memoriall of his con-  
demnation, it was burned, to the feare of others,  
but he himselfe escaped their hands and got into  
England, where he was receiued.

The king of Scots (hearing of the maner of the  
king of England, and how he honored himselfe)  
toke in euill part, that the king of England in all  
generall assemblies of the states of Ireland did call  
himselfe king of Ireland, when all his predecesso-  
rs before were onelie intituled by the names of lords  
of Ireland. For by that new title, king James his  
authoritie did seeme to be diminished, when the king  
of England did write himselfe king of all Ireland:  
whereof a portion by manie ages was under the  
rule of the king of Scots. Yet at length k. James  
did yeld therunto; and that the rather, because the  
king of England under this title and authoritie, did  
not dispossesse the heires of the Scot Spakeconell;  
and other his Scots of those lands which they there  
inioied in that countrie.]

This yeare the king of England aduertised of the  
meeting of the emperor, the french king, and pope,  
at the citie of Spire, doubting some practise to be de-  
uised there against him, sent to the king of Scot-  
land the bishop of saint Dauides, & the lord William  
Howard, desiring him as his most tender kinsman  
and nephue, to meete him at the citie of Porke in  
England, where he would communicat such things  
with him, as should be for the weale of both the  
realmes. And therewith the king of England, tru-  
sting that the king of Scotland would haue fulfilled  
his desire, caused great preparation to be made at  
Porke for the receiuing of him. But albeit the king  
of Scotland was willing of himselfe to haue passed  
into England, to haue met and seene his uncle; yet  
after long reasoning and deliberation of his coun-  
cell and prelats [especiallie James Beton bishop of  
Aberdeen (as saith Buchanan. lib. 14.) assembled for  
that purpose, casting in their minds (as they toke it)  
that danger might fall to him and his realme, if he  
should passe into England, in case he should be sta-  
ed and holden there, contrarie to his will, as king  
James his predecesso was, hauing no succession of  
his bodie.

And againe, for that it was certeinlie knowne,  
that the principall cause, why the king of England  
required this meeting or interuiew, was to persua-  
de the king of Scotland to vse the like order in Scot-  
land, as he had done within his realme of England,  
in abolishing the popes authoritie, making himselfe  
supream head of the church, expelling religious per-  
sons out of their houses, and seizing the iewels of  
their houses, their lands and rents, and such like in-  
formation. And if it chanced the king should attempt  
the like, they should lose the friendship which was  
betwixt him, the pope, the emperor, and french king,  
that were his great friends and confederats. Here-  
upon they persuaed him to staie, and by their aduise  
sent pleasant letters & messages vnto the said king  
of England, desiring him to haue him excused, for  
that he could not come into England at that time,

hauing such lets and causes of abiding at home, as  
thoxtlie he should vnderstand by his ambassadoes,  
whom he ment to send to him, as well for this mat-  
ter as other causes. And thoxtlie after sir James  
Leirmouth was appointed to go as ambassadoe in-  
to England, as well to make the kings excuse for  
his not comming to meet the king of England at  
Porke; as also to make complaint vpon certein  
inuaasions made by the borderers of England into  
Scotland; and also for the vsing of the debatable  
ground betwixt the two realmes.

But the king of England soze offended that the  
king of Scots would not satisfie his request, to  
meet him at Porke (as before is recited), would ad-  
mit no excuse, but determined to make warre into  
Scotland, albeit as the Scottishmen allege, he would  
not suffer the same to be vnderstood, till he had pre-  
pared all things in a readinesse. In the meane time he  
sent commissioners to meet with the Scots commi-  
sioners vpon the debatable ground, to talke for re-  
dresse to be made of harmes done vpon the borders,  
but no good conclusion could be agreed vpon by these  
commissioners, neither touching the debatable land,  
nor yet for repairing of wrongs done by the inua-  
sions. ¶ But that the truth concerning the causes of  
this war, moued at this present by that noble prince  
king Henrie the eight, may the better appeare; I  
haue thought good here to set downe the same, as  
they were written forth and published in print to the  
whole world by the said king in a little pamphlet, un-  
der this title.

A declaration containing the iust causes  
and considerations of this present warre with  
the Scots, wherein also appeareth the true and  
right title that the kings most roiall maiestie  
hath to his souereigntie of Scotland, and thus  
it beginneth.

**B**Eing now inforced to the war which we  
haue alwaies hitherto so much abhorred  
& fled, by our neighbour & nephew the k.  
of Scots, one who aboue all other for our  
manifold benefitts toward him, hath most iust cause  
to loue vs, and to reioise in our quietnesse; we haue  
thought god to notifie vnto the world his doings and  
behaviour in the prouocation of this war, & likewise  
the meanes & waies by vs to eschew & auoid it, & the  
iust & true occasions whereby we be now prouoked to  
prosecute the same, and by vtterance and disbul-  
ging of that matter, to disburden some part of our  
inward displeasure and griefe: and the circumstan-  
ces knowne, to lament openlie with the world the  
infidelitie of this time, in which things of such eno-  
mie do burst out and appeare.

The king of Scots our nephue & neighbor, whome  
we in his youth and tender age preserved and main-  
teined from the great danger of others, and by our  
authoritie and power conducted him safelie to the  
rosall possession of his estate, he now compelleth  
& inforceth vs (for preservation of our honor & right)  
to vse our puissance & power against him. The like  
unkindnesse hath bene heretofore shewed by other  
in semblable cases against Gods law, mans law, &  
all humanitie; but the oftener it chanceth, the more  
it is to be abhorred, and yet in the persons of prin-  
ces, for the raritie of them, can so happen but selome  
as it hath now come to passe. It hath bene verie  
rarelie & selome seene tofore, that a king of Scots  
hath had in marriage a daughter of England. We  
cannot nor will not reprehend the king our fathers  
act therein, but lament and be soze that it toke no  
better effect.

The king our father in that matter minded loue, &  
amitie,

Sir James  
Leirmouth  
ambassadoe  
into England

1541.  
The king of  
England  
meaneth to  
make warre  
into Scot-  
land.

A declaration  
of the iust cau-  
ses of the war  
against the  
king of  
Scots.

amitie, and perpetuall friendship betwene the posteritie of both: which how soone it failed, the death of the king of Scots, as a due punishment of God, for his iniust inuasion into this our realme, is and shall be a perpetuall testimonie of their reproch for ever. And yet in that present time could not the young prince of the father extinguish in vs the naturall loue of our nephue his sonne, being then in the miserable age of tender youth. But we then forgetting the displeasure that should haue worthilie prouoked vs to inuade that realme, nourished and brought up our nephue, to attaine his fathers possession and gouernement, wherein he now so unkindlie beeth and beaueith himselfe towards vs, as he compelleth vs to take armes and warre against him.

It is speciallie to be noted, vpon what grounds, and by what means we be compelled to this warre, wherein among other is our chiefe grieffe and displeasure, that vnder a colour of faire speech and flattering wordes, we be inuaded so injured, contemned and despised, as we ought not with sufferance to permit and passe ouer. All sorts of writings, letters, messages, ambassages, excuses, allegations, could not more pleasantlie, more gentlie, nor more reuerentlie be deuised and sent, than hath bene made on the king of Scots behalfe vnto vs: and euer we trusted the tree would bring forth good fruit, that was of the one part of so good a stocke, and continuallie in appearance put forth so faire buds: and therefore would hardlie beleue or giue eare to other, that euer allegeded the deeds of the contrarie, being neuertheless the same deeds so manifest, as we must needs haue regarded them, had not we bin so loth to thinke euill of our nephue, whome we had so manie waies bound to be of the best sort toward vs.

And therefore hauing a message sent vnto vs the yere past, from our said nephue, and a promise made for the repairing of the said king of Scots vnto vs to Pozke, and after great preparation on our part made therefore, the same meeting was not onelie disappointed, but also at our being at Pozke in the lieu thereof, an inuasion made by our said nephue his subiects into our land, declaring an euident contempt and despite of vs. We were yet glad to impute the default of the meeting to the aduise of his counsell, and the inuasion to the lewdnesse of his subiects, and according therevnto gaue as benigne and gentle audience to such ambassadozs as repaired hither at Christmas afterward, as if no such cause of displeasure had occurred, speciallie considering the good wordes, sweet wordes, pleasant wordes, exsones proponed by the said ambassadozs, not onelie to excuse that was past, but also to persuaue kindnesse and perfect amitie to insue.

And albeit the king of Scots hauing (contrarie to the article of the league of amitie) receiued and intertained such rebels as were of the chiefe and principall, in stirring the insurrection in the north against vs; with refusall before time, vpon request made to restore the same: yet neuertheless, vpon offer made, the said ambassadozs to send commission to the borderers, to determine debates of the confines in the same, with so great a pretense of amitie, and so faire wordes as could be in speech desired, we were content for the time to forbear to presse them ouer extremitie in the matter of rebels. Albeit we neuer remitted the same, but desiring to make triall of our said nephue in some correspondence of deeds, condescended to the sending of commissioners to the borderers, which to our great charge we did, and the king of Scots our said nephue the semblable.

Where after great trauell made by our commissioners, this fruit ensued, that being for our part challenged, a peece of our ground plainlie usurped by the

Scots, and of no great value, being also for the same shewed such euidence, as more substantiall, more authenticke, plaine and euident, cannot be brought forth for any part of ground within our realme: the same was neuertheless by them denied, refused, and the euidence onelie for this cause reiected, that it was made (as they alleged) by Englishmen: and yet it was so ancient, as it could not be counterfeited now, and the value of the ground so little, and of so small weight, as no man would haue attempted to falsifie for such a matter. And yet this deniall being in this wise made vnto our commissioners, they neuertheless by our commandement departed, as friends from the commissioners of Scotland, taking order as hath bene accustomed, for good rule vpon the borders in the meane time.

After which their recess, the lord Harwell warden of the west marches of Scotland, made proclamation for good rule; but yet added therewith, that the borderers of Scotland should withdraue their goods from the borderers of England; and incontinent the Scottishmen borderers, the fourth of Julie entered into our realme suddenlie, and spoiled our subiects contrarie to our leagues, euen after such extremitie as it had bene in the time of open warre, whereat we much marvelled, and were compelled therefore to furnish our borders with a garrison for defense of the same. Wherevpon the king of Scots sent vnto vs James Leirmouth maister of his household, with letters deuised in the most pleasant manner, offering redresse & reformation of all attempts. And yet neuertheless, at the entrie of the said Leirmouth into England, a great number of the Scots then not looked for, made a forraie into our borders, to the great annoiance of our subiects, & to their extreme detriment. Wherewith, and with that vnseemlie dissimulation, we were not a little moued, as reason would we should; and yet did we not finally so extremitie prosecute and continue our said displeasure, but that we gaue benigne audience to the said Leirmouth, and suffered our selfe to be somewhat altered by his wordes and faire promises, tending to the persuaasion that we euer desired, to find the king of Scots such a nephue vnto vs, as our promise of bloud (with our gratuitie vnto him) did require.

In the meane time of these faire wordes, the deeds of the borderers were as extreme as might be, and our subiects spoiled: and in a rode made by sir Robert Bowes for a reuenge thereof, the same sir Robert Bowes, with manie other were taken prisoners, and yet detained in Scotland without putting them to fine or rancome, as hath bene euer accustomed. And being at the same time a surseilance made on both sides, at the sute of the said Leirmouth for a season; the Scots ceased not to make sundrie inuasions into our realme, in such wise as we were compelled to forget faire wordes, and onelie to consider the king of Scots deeds, which appeared vnto vs of that sort, as they ought not for our dutie in defense of our subiects, we could not in respect of our honor, be passed ouer vnreformed: and therefore put in a readinesse our armie, as a due meane whereby we might attaine such a peace, as for the safegard of our subiects we be bound to procure.

After which preparation made, and knowledge had thereof, the king of Scots ceased not to vse his accustomed meane of faire wordes, which in our naturall inclination wrought exsones their accustomed effect, euermore desirous to find in the king of Scots such regard & respect to be declared in deeds, as the correspondence of naturall loue in the nephue to such an vncle, as we haue shewed our selfe toward him, doth require. Wherefore vpon new request and sute made vnto vs, we determined to stale our armie

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mie at Poyke, appointing the duke of Norfolk the lieutenant, the Lord private seale, the bishop of Durham, and the maister of our hostes, there to convene, treat, and conclude with the ambassadoys of Scotland, for an amitie and peace, upon such conditions, as by reason and equitie were indifferent, whereby the warre might be eschewed, being by sundrie invasions of the Scots then opened & manifest.

In this communication betwene our and their commissioners, after diuerse degrees of commission shewed by the Scots, and finally one that was by our commissioners allowed, matters were proposed for conclusion of amitie, nothing difficult or hard of our part, but so agreeable to reason, as the commissioners of Scotland said they doubted not, but if it might be brought to passe that the king of Scots our nephew might haue a meeting with vs, all matters should easilie be compounded and determined: whereupon they left speaking of anie articles of amitie, and the ambassadoys of Scotland made much outward shew of communication of meeting. They shewed themselves in words, fashion, and behauior much to delight in it, to reioice in it, and therewith thought it easie and facile to be concluded and accomplished, and for their part they toke it then for a thing passed, a thing concluded, and most certaine to take effect, and onelie desired six daies to obtaine answer from their maister, and our armie, from that time to staie and go no further: whereunto our commissioners then agreed.

After these six daies was sent a commission out of Scotland, with power to conclude a meeting precise at such a place, as they knew well we should not, nor could not in winter obserue & keepe. Whereupon when our commissioners were discontent, the ambassadoys of Scotland to relieue that displeasure, and to temper the matter whereby to win more time, shewed forth their instructions, wherein libertie was giuen to the ambassadoys to exceed their commission in the appointment of the place, and to consent to anie other that by our commissioners should be thought conuenient. Which manner of proceeding when our commissioners refused, alledging that they would not conclude a meeting with men hauing no commission thereunto: the ambassadoys of Scotland upon pretense to send for a more ample and large commission, agreeable to their instructions for appointment of the place, obtained a delaye of other six daies, to send for the ample commission without restraint of place.

Now after these six daies they brought forth a new commission, made in a good forme, and without exception: but therewith also they shewed new instructions, containing such a restraint as the former commission did containe, so as the libertie giuen to the commissioners in the commission was now at the last remoued and taken away by the instructions, with addition of a speciall charge to the ambassadoys, not to exceed the same. And thus, first the ambassadoys of Scotland seemed to haue a will and desire to conclude on a place seemelie and conuenient, which for want of commission they might not do, and at the last might haue concluded a meeting by vertue of their commission; and then for feare of the commandement in their second instructions they durst not. And so they shewed their first instructions partly to excuse their king, who should seeme secretlie to will more than in the commission he did openlie profess.

When with an ample commission from the king, they shewed their secret instructions for defense of themselves, why they proceeded not according to their commission, not caring how much they charged therein the king, whose fault they disclosed to dis-

charge themselves, trusting that by the benefit of the winter approaching, and the time lost in their communication, their maister should be defended against our power for this yeere, without doing for their part that by honor, right, law, and leagues they be obliged and bound to do. And in this meane time our subiects being taken prisoners in Scotland, could not be deliuered upon any ransom, contrarie to all custome and usage of the borderers in the time of peace and warre: and in this meane time staied a great part of our armie already pressed, and in our wages to go forwarde.

In this time ambassadoys (as ye haue heard) assembled to make of an amitie, but concluded none. The treating of amitie was put ouer by communication of a meeting. The communication of meeting was so handled by alteration of commission and instructions on their behalfe, as it appeareth a plaine deuise onelie invented for a delaye, which hath giuen vs light, whereupon more certainly to iudge the king of Scots inward affection toward vs: whose deeds and words well weied and considered, doe vs plainlie to vnderstand, how he hath continually labored to abuse vs with sweet and pleasant words, and to satisfie the appetites of other at home and abroad with his vnkind and displeasing deeds. In his words he professeth an indissoluble amitie, he allegeth kinred, he acknowledgeth benefits, onelie the fault is, that he speaketh another language to all the world in deeds, and thereby so toucheth vs in honor and denegation of iustice, as we be enforced and compelled to vse the sword, which God hath put in our hands as an extreme remedie, whereby to obtaine both quietnesse for our subiects, and also that is due to vs by right, pacts, and leagues.

We haue patientlie suffered manie delusions, and notable the last yeere, when we made preparation at Poyke for his repaire to vs. But should we suffer our people and subiects to be so oft spoiled without remedie? This is done by the Scots, whatsoever their words be. Should we suffer our rebels to be detained contrarie to the leagues without remedie? This is also done by them, whatsoever their words be. Should we suffer our land to be usurped contrarie to our most plaine euidence, onelie upon a will, pride and arrogancie of the other partie? This is done by them, whatsoever their words be. All these be ouer presumptuouslie done against vs, and giue such signification of their arrogancie, as it is necessarie for vs to oppresse it in the beginning, lest they should gather further courage, to the greater displeasure of vs and our posteritie hereafter. And yet in the intreating of this matter, if we had not euidentlie perceived the lacke of such affection as proximity of blood should require; we would rather haue remitted these iniuries in respect of proximity of blood, to our nephew, than we did to fore his fathers invasion.

But weeing that we be so surelie ascertained of the lacke thereof, and that our blood is there frozen with the cold aire of Scotland, there was neuer prince more violentlie compelled to war, than we be by the vnkind dealing, vniust behauior, & vnprincelie demerit of him, that yet in nature is our nephew, & in his acts and deeds declareth himselfe not to be moued therewith, nor to haue such earnest regard to the obseruation of his pacts & leagues, nor such respect to the intertainment of the administration of iustice, as naturall equitie bindeth, & conseruation of equitie requireth. Which we much lament & be sorie for, & vse now our force and puissance against him, not for reuengement of our priuate displeasure (being so often deliuered as we haue bene) but for recouerie of our right, the preservation of our subiects from iniuries, and the obseruation of such leagues

as haue passed betwene vs, firmelie trusting, that almightie God, vnder whome we reigne, will assist & aid our iust proceedings herein, to the furtherance and aduancement of the right, which we doubt not shall euer preuaile against wrong, falshood, deceit, and dissimulation.

Whereto appeareth how this present warre hath not proceeded of anie demand of our right of our superiortie, which the kings of Scots haue alwaies knowledged by homage and fealtie to our progenitors euen from the beginning: but this warre hath bene prouoked and occasioned vpon present matter of displeasure, present iniurie, present wrong mistred by the neyhe to the vnkle most unnatural, lie, and suppozed contrarie to the deserts of our benefits most unkindlie, if we had minded the possession of Scotland, and by the motion of warre to attaine the same, there was neuer king of this realme had more opportunitie in the minoritie of our neyhe, nor in anie other realme a prince that hath more iust title, more euident title, more certeine title, to any realme that he can claime, than we haue to Scotland.

This title is not deuised by pretense of marriage, nor imagined by couenant, nor contriued by inuention of argument, but lineallie descended from the beginning of that estate established by our progenitors, and recognised successiuelie of the kings of Scotland, by deeds, words, acts, and writings continuallie almost without interruption, or at the least intermission, till the reigne of our progenitor king Henrie the first, in whose time the Scots abused the ciuill warre of this realme, to their licence and boldnesse, in omitting of their dutie: which for the portmitle of blood betwene vs, we haue bene slacke to require of them, being also of our selfe inclined to peace, as we haue euer bene alwaies glad, rather without prejudice to omit to demand our right if it might conserue peace, than by demanding thereof to be seene to moue warre, speciallie against our neighbour, against our neyhe, against him whome we haue preferred from danger, and in such a time as it were expedient for all christendome to be in vnitie and peace, whereby to be more able to resist the common enimie the Turke.

But for what considerations we haue omitted to speake hitherto of the matter, it is neuertheless true, that the kings of Scots haue alwaies acknowledged the kings of England superior lords of the realme of Scotland, & haue done homage and fealtie for the same. This appeareth first in histories written by such, as for confirmation of the truth in memorie haue trulie noted and signified the same. Secondly, it appeareth by instruments of homage made by the kings of Scots, and diuerse notable personages of Scotland, at diuerse & sundrie times sealed with their seales, and remaining in our treasure. Thirdlie, it appeareth by registers and records iudicialle and autenticallie made, yet preferred for confirmation of the same. So as the matter of title being most plaine, is furnished also with all maner of euidences for declaration thereof.

First, as concerning histories, which be called witnesses of times, the light of truth, and the life of memorie, and finally the convenient way & meane whereby the things of antiquitie may be brought to mens knowledge, they shew as plainlie this matter as could be wished or required, with such a consent of writers as could not so agree vpon an vntruth, containing a declaration of such matter as hath most euident probabilitie and apparance. For as it is probable and likelie, that for the better administration of iustice amongst rude people, two or more of

one estate might be rulers in one countrie, vnitied as this Ile is: so it is probable and likelie, that in the beginning it was so ordered for avoiding dissention, that there should be one superior, in right of whom the said estates should depend.

According whereunto we read, how Brute, of whome the realme then called Britaine toke first that name (being before that time inhabited with giants, a people without order or ciuilitie) had thre sonnes, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, who determining to haue the whole Ile within the ocean sea to be after gouerned by them thre, appointed Albanact to rule that now is called Scotland, Camber the parties of Wales, and Locrine that now is called England: vnto whom (his being the eldest sonne) the other two brethren should doe homage, recognising and knowledging him as their superior. Now consider, if Brute conquered all this Ile, as the historie saith he did, and then in his owne time made this order of superiortie as afore, how can there be a title deuised of a more plaine beginning, a more iust beginning, a more conuenient beginning, for the order of this Ile, at that time speciallie, when the people were rude: Which cannot without continuall strife and variance conteine two or thre rulers in all points equall without any maner of superiortie, the inward conscience and remorse of which superiortie should in some part dull and diminish the peruerse courage of resistance and rebellion.

The first diuision of this Ile, we find written after this sort, without cause of suspicion why they should write amisse. And according hereunto we find also in historie set forth by diuerse, how for transgression against this superiortie, our predecessors haue chastised the kings of Scots, and some deposed, and put other in their places. We will here omit to speake of the rudenesse of the antiquitie in particularitie, which they cared not dissimulate to commit to writing. But some authors, as Antonius Sabellicus, amongst other, diligentlie searching what he might trulie write of all Europe and the Ilands adioining, ouer and besides that which he writeth of the natures, manners, and conditions of the Scots, which who so list to read, shall find to haue bene the verie same in times past, that we find them now at this present: he calleth Scotland, part of England, which is agreeable to the diuision aforesaid, being in deed as in the land continuall without separation of the sea, so also by homage and fealtie vnitied vnto the same; as by particular declarations shall most manifestlie appere, by the testimonie of such as haue left writing for pfoe and confirmation thereof.

In which matter, passing the death of king Humber, the acts of Duntwald king of this realme of England, the diuision of Beline and Ben two brethren, the victories of king Arthur, we shall begin at the yere of our Lord, nine hundred, which is six hundred fortie two yeres past, a time of sufficient ancientie, from which we shall make speciall declaration and euident pfoe of the erection of our right and title of superiortie euermore continued and preferred hitherto. Edward the first, before the conquest, sonne to Alured king of England, had vnder his dominion and obedience the king of Scots. And here is to be noted, that this matter was so notorious and manifest, as Marian a Scot, writing that storie in those daies, granteth, confesseth, & testifieth the same: and this dominion continued in that state thre and twentie yeres.

At which time Athelstane succeeded in the crowne of England, and hauing by battell conquered Scotland, he made one Constantine king of that partie, to rule and gouerne the countrie of Scotland vnder him, adding this princelie word, that it was more

honorable to him to make a king, than to be a king. Twentie foure yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lord 947, king Edward our progenitor Athelstanes brother, took homage of Trise then king of Scots. Thirtie yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 977, king Edgar our predecessor took homage of Malcolme king of Scots. There was a little trouble in England by the death of saint Edward king and martyr, destroyed by the deceit of his mother in law. But yet within memorie, fortie yeres after the homage done by Malcolme to king Edgar, that is to say, in the yere of our Lord 1018, Malcolme king of Scots did homage to Knute our predecessor.

After this homage done, the Scots uttered some peere of their naturall disposition: whereupon, by warre made by our progenitor saint Edward the confessor, twentie nine yeres after homage done, that is to say, the yere of our Lord 1056, Malcolme king of Scots was vanquished, and the realme given to Malcolme his sonne, by our said progenitor saint Edward: to whome the said Malcolme made homage and fealtie, within eleven yeres after that William Conqueror entered this realme, whereof he accounted no perfect conquest, untill he had likewise subdued the Scots. And therefore in the said yere, which was in the yere of our Lord 1068, the said Malcolme king of Scots did homage to the said William Conqueror, as his superior by conquest king of England. Twentie five yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 1092, the said Malcolme did homage and fealtie to William Rufus, sonne to the said William Conqueror: and yet after that was for his offenses and demerits deposited, and his sonne substitute in his place, who likewise failed of his dutie: and therefore was ordeined in that estate (by the said William Rufus) Edgar, brother to the last Malcolme, and sonne to the first, who did homage and fealtie accordingly.

Seven yeres after, that was in the yere of our Lord 1100, the said Edgar K. of Scots did homage unto Henrie the first our progenitor. Thirtie seven yeres after that, David king of Scots did homage to Matilda the emperesse, as daughter and heire to Henrie the first. Wherefore, being after required by Stephan, then obtaining possession of the realme, to make his homage, he refused so to do, because he had before made it to the said Matilda, and thereupon forbore. After which Davids death, which ensued shortly after, the sonne of the said David made homage to the said king Stephan. Fouretene yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord, a thousand one hundred and fiftie, William king of Scots, and David his brother, with all the nobles of Scotland, made homage to Henrie the seconds sonne, with a reservation of their dutie to Henrie the second his father. Twentie five yeres after, which was in the yere of our Lord 1175, William king of Scotland, after much rebellion & resistance, according to their naturall inclination, king Henrie the second then being in Normandie, William then king of Scots knowledged finally his error, and made his peace and composition, confirmed with his great seale, and the seales of the nobilitie of Scotland, making therewith his homage and fealtie.

Within fiftene yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lord 1190, the said William king of Scots came to our citie of Canturburie, and there did homage to our noble progenitor king Richard the first. Fouretene yeres after that, the said William did homage to our progenitor king John, upon a hill besides Lincoln, making his oath upon the crosse of Hubert then archbishop of Canturburie, being there present, a marvellous multitude assembled

for that purpose. Twentie six yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 1216, Alexander king of Scots married Margaret, the daughter of our progenitor Henrie the third, at our citie of Poerke, in the feast of Christmasse, at which time the said Alexander did his homage to our said progenitor, who reigned in this realme fiftie six yeres. And therefore betwene the homage made by the said Alexander king of Scots, and the homage done by Alexander, sonne to the said king of Scots, to Edward the first at his coronation at Westminster, there was about fiftie yeres: at which time the said Alexander king of Scots repaired to the said feast of coronation, and there did his dutie, as is aforesaid. Within twentie eight yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 1282, John Balioll king of Scots made his homage and fealtie to the said king Edward the first our progenitor.

After this began Robert Bruce to usurpe the crowne of Scotland, and to moue sedition therefor against them of the house of Balioll, which made for a season some interruption in the said homage; but yet no intermission without the termes of memorie: for within fortie foure yeres after, which was the yere of our Lord 1326, Edward Balioll after a great victorie had in Scotland against the other faction, and intoling the crowne of Scotland, made homage to our progenitor Edward the third. And twentie yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord 1346, David Bruce, who was ever in the contrarie faction, did neuertheless in the title of the crowne of Scotland, whereof he was then in possession, make homage to our said progenitor Edward the third.

Within nine yeres after this, Edward the third, to chastise the infidelitie of the Scots, made warre against them: when after great victories, Edward Balioll, having the iust and right title to the realme of Scotland, surrendered clealie the same to our said progenitor, at the towne of Korburch in Scotland, where our said progenitor accepted the same, and then caused himselfe to be crowned king of Scotland, and for a time interteined it, and inioied it, as vertie proprietarie and owner of the realme: as on the one part by confiscation acquitted, and on the other part by free will surrendered unto him. And then after the death of our said progenitor Edward the third, began seditions and insurrections in this our realme, in the time of our progenitor Richard the second, which was augmented by the alteration of the state of the said Richard, and the deuolution of the same to Henrie the fourth: so as the Scots had some leasure to plaie their vagues, and follow their accustomed manner. And yet Henrie the fifth, for recouerie of his right in France, commanded the king of Scots to attend vpon him in that iourneie.

In this time, the realme of Scotland being descended to the house of the Stewards, of which our nephue directlie cometh: James Steward king of Scots, in the yere of our Lord 1423, made homage to Henrie the first at Windsoze, which homage was distant from the time of the other homage made by David Bruce, three score yeres and more, but farre within the fresh memorie of man. All which homages and fealties as they appere by storie to haue bene made and done at times and seasons as afoze, so do there remaine instruments made thereupon, and sealed with the seales of the kings of Scotland, testifying the same. And yet doth it appere by storie, how the Scots practised to steale out of our treasure diuerse of these instruments, which neuertheless were afterward recovered againe.

And to the intent ye may knowe of what forme and tenure the said instruments be, here is inserted the

the effect in word and sentence as they be made, which we do, to meet with the cavillation and contrived evasion of the Scots, alleging the homage to have bene made for the earldome of Huntington, which is as true as the allegation of him that is burnt in the hand, to say he was cut with a sickle. And therefore the tenure of the homage is this.

The forme of the homage.

**I**ohn A. king of Scots shall be true and faithfull unto you lord Edward by the grace of God K. of England, the noble & superiour lord of the kingdome of Scotland, as unto you I make my fidelitie of the same kingdome of Scotland, the which I hold & claime to hold of you. And I shall beare to you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldlie honoz, against all men; and faithfullie I shall knowlege, and shall do to you service due to you of the kingdome of Scotland aforesaid: as God so helpe and these holie euangelists.

Now for the thirde part, touching records and registers, we haue them so formall, so autenticall, so seriously handled, and with such circumstances declaring the matters, as they be and ought to be a great corroboration of that hath bene in stories written & reported in this matter. For among other things we haue the solemne act and iudiciall processe of our progenitor Edward the first, in discussion of the title of Scotland, when the same was challenged by competitors (that is to saie) Florentius comes of Holandie, Patricius de Dunbar comes de Perthia, Willielmus de Welfet, Willielmus de Kotte, Robertus de Winkem, Nicholaus de Soules, Patricius Galightlie, Rogerus de Spundeville, Joannes de Comin, W. Joannes de Hastings, Joannes de Balliolo, Robertus de Buse, Ericus rex Norwegie.

Finallie, after a great consultation and mature deliberation, with discussion of the allegations proponed on all parts, sentence was given for the title of Ballioll, according whereunto he intioed the realme. But for confirmation of the dutie of the homage before that time obscured by the K. of Scots, it appeareth in those records, how when those competitors of the realme of Scotland repaired to our progenitor, as to the chiefe lord for discussion of the same, inasmuch as the authoritie of the iudgement to be given depended thereupon; it was then ordered that the whole parlement of Scotland, spirituall & temporall, & of all degrees assembled for that purpose, and considering upon what ground & foundation the kings of Scotland had in times past made the said homages and recognition of superiortie, the said parlement finding the same good & true, should (if they so deemed it) yield and give place, and by expresse consent recognise the same.

At which parlement was alleged unto them, as appeareth in the same records, not onelie these acts of the princes before those dates, and before rehearsed: but also besides the testimonie of stories, the writings and letters of forein princes at that time reciting and rehearsing the same. Whereupon the said parlement did there agree to this our superiortie, and insuing their determination did particularlie and severallie make homage & fealtie with proclamation, that whosoever withdrew himselfe from doing his dutie therein, should be reputed as a rebel. And so all made homage and fealtie to our progenitor Edward the first. And the realme of Scot-

land was in the time of the discussion of the title ruled by gardians deputed by him. All castles and holds were surrendred to him, as to the superiour lord in the time of vacation. Benefices, offices, fees, promotions passed in that time from the mere gift of our said progenitor, as in the right of this crowne of England. Sherriffes named and appointed, writs, and precepts made, obeyed, and executed.

Finallie, all that we do now in the duchie of Lancaster, the same did our progenitor for the time of the contention for that title in the realme of Scotland, by the consent of an agrément of all estates of the realme assembled and consulted with for that purpose. At which time the bishops of saint Andrews and Glasgow were not (as they now be) archbishops; but recognised the archbishop of Dorkie, which extended over all that countrie. Now if the Scots will take exception to the homage of their princes as made in warre, and by force, which is not true; what will they say, or can they for shame allege against their owne parlement, not of some but of all confirmed, & testified by their writings and seales; whereunto nothing enforced them but right and reason, being passed in peace and quiet without armes & compulsion: If they say they did it not, they speake like themselves; if they say they did it, then do they now like themselves, to withdraw to their dutie, not so much to be blamed, as to be amended.

Thus appeareth unto you the beginning of the right of superiortie, with a perpetuall continuance, without intermission within memorie. Certaine commissions and forbearings upon the grounds and occasions before specified we denie not, whereby they haue manie times sought and taken their opportunities to withdraw to the doing of their dutie in knowlege of our superiortie over them; which to avoid, they haue not cared what they said or alleged, though it were never so untrue, lieng alwaies in wait when they might annoie this realme, not without their owne great danger & perill, & also extreme detriment. But as they detracted the doing of their dutie, so God granted unto this realme force to compell them thereto within memorie, and notwithstanding anie their interruption by resistance, which unto the time of our progenitor Henrie the first never endured so long as it made intermission within time of mind, whereby the possession might seeme to be empared. From the time of Henrie the first, unto the seventh yeare of our reigne, our realme hath bene for a season lacerat and torne by diversitie of titles, till our time; and since also by warre outwardlie vexed and troubled. The storie is so lamentable for some part thereof, as were too tedious to rehearse.

Since the death of our progenitor Henrie the first, our grandfather Edward the fourth reigned, who after great travels to attaine quietnes in his realme, finallie in the time of preparation of warre against Scotland died. Richard the third, then usurped for a small time in yeares, whome the king our father by the strength of Gods hand overthrow in battell, and most iustlie attained the possession of this realme, who neuertheless, after the great tempestuous stormes, finding all matters not yet brought to perfect quiet and rest, ceased and forbore to require of the Scots to do their dutie; thinking it policie rather for that time to assaie to tame their nature by pleasant conversation & conuersation of amicitie, than to charge them with their fault, & require dutie of them, when opportunities served not by force & feare to constrain and compell them. And thus passed over the reigne of our father without demand of this homage. And being our reigne now foure and thirtie yeares, we were one and twentie yeares letted by our nephew his minority, being then more careful how to bring

him out of danger, to the place of a king, than to receive of him homage; when he had full possession of the same.

Wherefore being now passed, since the last homage made by the king of Scots, to our progenitor Henrie the first, 122 yeares, at which time the homage was done at Winton by James Steward, then king of Scots, as before 56 of these yeares the crowne of this realme was in contention, the trouble wherof ingendred also some businesse in the time of the king our father; which was three and thirtie yeares; and in our time one and twentie yeares hath passed in the minority of our nephew. So as finally, the Scots resorting to their onelie defense of continuance of possession, can onelie allege iustlie but 13 yeares of silence in the time of our reigne, being all the other times since the homage done by James Steward, such as the silence in them (had they bene neuer so long) could not haue ingendred prejudice to the losse of anie right that may yet be declared and proued due. For what can be imputed to king Edward for not demanding homage being in strife for that estate, whereunto the homage was due? What should Richard the third search for homage in Scotland, that had neither right ne leasure to haue homage done vnto him in England? Who can blame our father, knowing the Scots nature neuer to do their dutie but for feare; if he demanded not that of them, which they would eschew if they might, seeing his realme not clearelie then purged from ill seed of sedition, sparkled and scattered in the cruell ciuill warres before.

Law and reason serueth, that the passing ouer of time not commodious, that the purpose is not allegeable in prescription for the losse of anie right. And the minority of the king of Scots hath indured twentie one yeeres of our reigne, which being an impediment on their part, the whole prescription of the Scots, if the matter were prescriptible, is thus deduced euidentlie to thirtene yeere, which thirtene yeere without excuse we haue ceased and forborne to demand our dutie, like as the Scots haue likewise ceased to offer and render the same: for which cause neuertheless we do not enter this warre, ne minded to demand anie such matter now, being rather desirous to reioice and take comfort in the friendship of our nephew as our neighbour, than to moue matter vnto him of displeasure, whereby to alienate such naturall inclination of loue as he should haue towards vs; but such be the works of God superior ouer all, to suffer occasions to be ministred, whereby due superiority may be knowne, demanded, and required, to the intent that according thereto all things gouerned in due order here, we may to his pleasure passe ouer this life to his honor and glorie, which he grant vs to do in such rest, peace, and tranquillitie, as shall be met and conuenient for vs.

When therefore the king of England had set forth this declaration of the causes that moued him to make warre against Scotland, he prepared to prosecute the same both by sea and land, and hauing rigged and furnished diuerse ships of warre, he sent the same forth to the sea, that they might take such Scottish ships as were to returne from their voiajes made into France, Flanders, Denmarke, and other countries, whether they were gone for trade of merchandize, with which the English ships incounred, took 28 of the principall ships of all Scotland, fraught with all kind of merchandize and rich wares, which they brought with them into the English ports.

The king of Scotland aduertised therof, sent with all speed an herald, desiring restitution of his ships, as he thought good with reason, seeing no war was

proclaimed: but the king of England thought it no reason to depart with them so soon, till other articles of agreement might be concluded, and therefore refused not onelie to deliuer their ships, but also sent sir Robert Bowes with men to the borders, giuing him in charge to inuade Scotland, who according to his commission, with three thousand men rode into Scotland, and began to burne and to spoile certaine small townes: whereupon the fraie being raised in the countrie, George Gordon the earle of Huntley, who was appointed to remaine as lieutenant vpon the borders, for doubt of such sudden inuasions, immediately gathered a number of borderers, and set vpon the Englishmen, and put them all to flight; sir Robert Bowes, and his brother Richard Bowes, with diuers other, to the number of six hundred, were taken prisoners; and the said sir Robert Bowes and other the principall landed men were kept still in Scotland till after the kings death. This victorie chanced to the Scots, at a place called Walden Rig in the Mers, vpon saint Bartholomewes day, which is the twentie fourth of August.

After this, the king of England sent the duke of Norfolk with the earles of Shrewsburie, Darbie, Cumberland, Surreie, Hertford, Angus, Rutland, and the lords of the north parts of England, with an armie of fortie thousand men, as the Scots esteemed them, though they were not manie above twentie thousand, who entered into Scotland the one and twentieth of October, and burnt certaine townes vpon the side of the water of Tweed: but the earle of Huntley, hauing with him ten thousand of the borderers and other, so waited vpon them, giuing them now and then skirmishes and alarms, that they came not past two miles from the water of Tweed within the Scottish bounds at that season.

In the meane time, the king of Scotland being aduertised hereof, gathered a great armie through all the parts of his realme, and came to Sowtraie hedge, where they mustered, and were numbered to be thirtie six thousand men, with the which he came to Falla Mur, and there incamped, determining to giue battell to the Englishmen, as he pretended: howbeit, if the duke had taried longer, as it was thought he would haue done, if the time of the yeere and provision of vittels had serued, the Scots would yet haue bene better aduised, before they had joined with him in a pight field. But true it is, that after the duke had remained there so long as vittels might be had and recovered from anie part, he retired with his armie backe into England, not without some losse of men, horses, and spoiles, which the Scots vnder the earle of Huntley and others took from the Englishmen in that their retire, speciallie as they passed ouer the riuer of Tweed.

After the Englishmen were thus departed and withdrawing home south of Scotland, king James being of an high and manlie courage, in reuenge of harmes done by the Englishmen within his countrie, thought good that his whole armie should passe forward and inuade England, himselfe to go there with in proper person. And herein he requested the consent of his nobilitie, who after long reasoning, and good aduise taken in the matter, gaue answer [by the earle of Surrey] to the king in this sort, that they could not thinke it good that they should passe within England, and to seeke battell, the king himselfe being with them, considering that his two sons were latelie deceased, so that he had no succession of his bodie: for in case that they lost the field, as in chance of battell is most vncertaine, then the king of England hauing great substance, might therewith follow the victorie, and put the realme of Scotland in great hazard.

Therefore

Sir Robert Bowes inuaded the borders.

The earle of Huntley giued an ouerthrow to the Englishmen, 1542. Lell.

The king went to the Scott borders. 1541. Lell.

Oliver Shrewsburie.

The lord wharston.

The earle of the lords against Oliver Shrewsburie.

The Scots discomfited by the Englishmen.

The grieue of the king for the overthrow of his men.

The birth of  
the Scottish  
quene.

Therefore they thought it sufficient to defend their owne borders, and to confine the enemies for fear to leave the invasion thereof, as presently they had done; and declared that they were determined to haue giuen battell to their enemies, if they had continued within the realme, and doubted not by the helpe of God, they hauing so iust a cause, and being inuaded in their countrie, but that they should haue obtained the victorie. The king hearing their determination, albeit his high courage pressed him to invade; yet the approued wit of his nobles and counsellors dissuaded him to follow their aduise, and so returned with his army backe againe, the first of November, the armie of England being first discharged; and the duke of Gloucester in his returne towards London.

Shortlie after, the king of Scotland went himselfe in person to the west marches of his realme, where the lord Harwell was warden, whose together with the earles of Caillies, and Glencarne [the lord Fleming] and certeine other lords there with him, the king appointed to invade the English marches on that side, taking with them the power of the borders, and sent also with them Oliver Sinclair [the brother of Roseline Comarsh] and the residue of the gentlemen of his household. These earles and lords entering into England on saint Bartholmes euen, being the foure and twentieth of November, began to burne certeine townes upon the water of Esk. But as soon as the scrie was raised in the countrie, the lord Charlton warden of the west marches of England, suddenly raised the power of the countrie, and came to a little hill, where they shewed themselves in sight unto the Scottish armie.

The Scottish lords perceiving the Englishmen gathered, assembled themselves together, and inquired who was lieutenant generall there by the kings appointment; and incontinentlie Oliver Sinclair was holden by on two mens shoulders, where he shewed forth the kings commission, instituting him lieutenant to the king of that armie. But howsoever that was read, the earles and lords there present, thought themselves imbolded too much, to haue such a meane gentleman aduanced in authoritie aboue them all, and therefore determined not to fight vnder such a capteine, but willingly suffered themselves to be overcome, and so were taken by the Englishmen, not shewing anie countenance of defense to the contrary, and without slaughter of anie one person on either side.

This rode was called Solowate Sposse, at the which were taken prisoners men of name, these persons following: the earle of Caillies and Glencarne, the lord Harwell, the lord Fleming, the lord Somerville, the lord Aliphant, Oliver Sinclair, the lord of Craggie, and sundrie other gentlemen, the which were led prisoners to London, where they remained till after the king was dead. The king being in Carlauerocke upon the borders not farre from Solowate Sposse, when this misfortune fell upon his men: after he heard thereof, he was meruelouslie amazed, the more, in calling to remembrance the refusal made by his nobles, assembled with him in campe at Falla upon his request to invade England. Where with such an impression entered his mind, that he thought with himselfe that all his whole nobilitie had conspired against him, and thereupon took such a vehement and high displeasure, increased with a melancholious thought, that he departed suddenly from thence to Edinburgh, and after removed to Falkeland, where he remained as a man desolate of comfort, being fore bereft in spirit and bodie, and would not permit anie manner of person to haue access to him, his secret & familiar seruants onelie excepted. Now, as he was thus disquieted, newes were

brought him that the quene his wife was brought to bed of a faire yong prince the seventh day of December, the which newes he liked verie euill; and added the griefe thereof to his former displeasure, insomuch that he perceived the end of his life to approach, and withall said, that he foresaw great trouble to come upon the realme of Scotland, for the pursuit which the king of England was like to make thereupon against the same, to the end he might bring it under his subiection, either by marriage, or by some other meane. It was reported that he was disquieted with some unkindlie medicine: but howe soeuer the matter was, he yielded up his spirit to almighty God, and departed this world the fourteenth of December, in the yere of our redemption, 1542, the thirtie third yere of his age, and thirtie two of his reigne.

Shortlie after his departure, his bodie was conueied into Falkeland vnto Edinburgh in most honorable wise, the cardinal, the earles of Arran, Argyle, Rothes, Spaldhall, and diuerse other noblemen being present, and with all funerall pompe (as was requisite) it was buried in the abbey church of Holyrood house, beside the bodie of quene Margarete, daughter to the king of France, his first wife. There was great lamentation and moene made for his death throughout all parts of his realme, for he was verie well belovied among his subjects. He was of sweet countenance and courteous speech, gratefully shewing a diuine mind in all whatsoever, neither certeine in doubtful things, nor doubtful in things of certentie, auoiding dangers with graue counsels, performing hard matters with great nobilitie of mind, and foreseeing what might follow with an incredible iudgement: in such sort that he was neuer vntroubled against the danger of anie thing, or was dyuined from it by the difficultie thereof, or was hindered by the obscuritie therein; where by he might incur the note either of a rash, fearefull, or slow person.

All which singular commendations seemed to flow out of this spring, that he did not by heat of youth (rashlie) but with great deliberation (soundlie) manage the whole affaires of the common-wealth. For as he did chieflie labor that his table might not exceed for gluttonie, nor be ouersparing for miserie: so if his apparell were decent, he esteemed not the shew of womanish attire after the courtlie fashion. He was so farre from pride, that he alwaies shewed himselfe offended with the vses thereof. He was an obseruer of iustice, a defender of the law, and a sharpe shield for the innocent and poore: for which cause he was of the nobilitie called the king of the commoners. For he set at libertie the poore oppressed with the tyrannie of the rich, and repressed the rich from spoiling of the poore: all which he did with a certeine severitie, but yet such, as in the same there appeared a wonderfull gentleness of his naturall disposition, because he seldom put anie of them to death, but did either by prison or mule punish the offense. For he was twofold to say, that he would neuer take life from anie, but onelie to keepe the law sound, and for the example of others: and to keepe downe the boldnesse of such as dwelt about the borders. With these conditions he left the realme plentifully furnished with riches, and his owne treasure not emptie, but abundantly stored with gold, silver and other furniture: for which cause it should not seeme strange, that his death was greatly lamented of his subjects, to whom he was a perfect patrone, and a louing father.

Of whome also Buchanan lib. 14 testifieth, that his vices did almost equall all his great vertues; but that they were rather to be imputed to the iniquitie of the time than the inclination of his nature,

Fr. Thin.  
Lellous lib. 9.  
pag. 460.

Robert  
desiring  
the bone.

earle of  
leir gi-  
ueth ouer-  
to the  
Linnen,  
Lesse.

The king  
travellith up  
to Arrie.

The king go-  
eth to the west  
marches.  
1541. Lell.

Oliver Sin-  
clair.

The lord  
Charlton.

The earle of  
the lord a-  
gainst Oliver  
Sinclair.

The Scots  
defeated by  
the English-  
men.

The griefe of  
the king for  
the overthrow  
of his men.

for the libertie of althings had then dissolved the public discipline, which could not be staied but by great severitie of correction. And this made him more covetous of monie, because that he was kept extreame hard when he was under the government of others. Whereby, when he came to be at libertie, he was a new to furnish all his courts with household stuffe, finding his houses empty, and all things consumed away: for his tutors had consumed the kinglie patrimonie upon those whome he willingly would not to have received it. Besides, for his excellence of women the fault grew by such as were his tutors, who gave him libertie thereto, supposing thereby to keepe him the longer in their danger. The nobilitie did not greatly take his death grievouslie, because he had fined manie, imprisoned more, and caused no small feare (for avoiding his displeasure) to flee into England, and rather to commit themselves to the enemy than to his anger.)

Queene Marie.

1542.

The lord Levingston.

David Beton cardinall.

His forging of a will.

The protestants espied the cardinals craftie forging.

1543 Lesle. Fr.Thin.

The eternall God calling to his mercie James king of Scotland, the first of that name, Marie his onelie daughter and heire began his reigne over the realme of Scotland, the eighteenth day of December, in the yere of our Lord 1542, Francis the first of that name then reigning in France. Henrie the eight over the Englishmen. She was not passing seven daies old when his father departing this life, left unto him his kingdome, his mother lieng in childbed in the castell of Lethington, of which place the lord Levingston being capitaine, had the charge committed to him, both of the daughter & mother, with the mothers good agreement and free consent.

Howsoever, immediatlie after the kings death (because he deceased without making any will, or taking any direction for the government either of the realme, or custodie of the young queene his daughter) David Beton, cardinall and archbishop of S. Andrews, the speciall minister & factor of the French causes, to the advancement and continuance thereof, invented and forged [by Henrie Balfoure] a will and testament of the late king now departed, in which (amongst other things) he established himselfe chiefe regent, adjoining with him the earles of Angus, his base brother to the king deceased, Huntly and Argyle, not once mentioning the earle of Lennox then absent in France, nor yet James Hamilton earle of Arrane his cousine, being there present in Scotland.

Those that professed the reformed religion, being then called protestants, to whome the said cardinall was ever a cruell enemy and sharpe scourge, espied forth his unright dealing in this behalfe, and trusting by the gentle nature and good inclination of the said earle of Arrane, to have some libertie to embrace the gospel, set him against the cardinall: so that by the helpe of his owne and their friends, he removed the cardinall and his adherents from the usurped roome and authoritie, and therewith was the said earle of Arrane proclaimed gouernour and protector of the realme. [And thereupon shewing his authoritie, he entereth the kings palaces, as saith Lesleus lib. 10. p. 464. and bleseth the kings treasure, and calleth the officers of the treasure to account, whereof he retaineth some, and changeth others at his pleasure.]

This earle of Arrane made a title to have and inioine that office and roome, as next in blood to the young queene, as descended from a sister of his. James the third, married to his grandfather lord Hamilton, in the yere 1475, by reason of which marriage he was created earle of Arrane, as by act of parliament holden the same yere at Edinburgh, it was agreed and ordeined. The king of England that noble prince Henrie the eight, advertised of the death of the king of Scots, considered with good advise, that

now there was offered a most readie means and iust occasion, whereby the two realmes of England and Scotland might be brought into one entier monarchie, without warre or bloodshed, by the marriage of his sonne prince Edward, being then little past six years of age, with the young queene of Scotland.

The king of England being resolved fallie to bring the same to passe, either by quiet means or by force, and sending for the earles of Caillies, and Glencarne, the lords Sparrow, and Fleming, and other prisoners that had bene taken at Soloway moor, caused them to be conveyed unto Hampton court, where the seven and twentieth of December they being right courteouslie intertained, he made unto them an outline of his purpose and whole intent, proposing the whole matter unto them, requesting them for their parts, to helpe (with their consents) that a contract of marriage might be made betwene his sonne the prince, and their young queene, promising to them libertie without ransom, besides other pleasures and benefits, if they would do their endeavour to persuade the gouernour, and other the nobilitie of Scotland to be agreeable hereunto.

The Scottish earles and lords accepted the kings offer, and withall promised to do their diligence to persuade the rest of the nobilitie in Scotland at their coming home: whereupon they were licenced to depart, and so coming to Helmscall, remained there with the duke of Suffolke, then the kings lieutenant of the north parts, till he had received forty of Scotland certaine pledges of the chiefest of these lords, for performance of their promises. Likewise the king of England sent with them the earle of Angus, and his brother sir George Douglas with his letters to the gouernour, requesting effectuallie, that they might be restored to their houses, lands and possessions in that realme.

These lords arriving at Edinburgh, about the midd of Januarie, declared to the gouernour their message and proposition made by the king of England, with such efficacie, that the gouernour being persuaded thereto by their words, sent for the lords and nobilitie of the realme to come to Edinburgh, to a convention there, to be holden the seven and twentieth of that present moneth: where they concluded that a parlement should be kept in March next ensuing. And doubting lest the cardinall (being there present) should go about to persuade the nobilitie not to consent to their desires, they caused him to be put in ward within the castell of Warketh: the lord Beton being appointed to have the custodie of him. About the same time, sir Robert Botwes, and all other the Englishmen that were prisoners, and had bene taken at Halding rig on saint Bartholomewes day (as before ye have heard) were sent home by the gouernour into England, and sir Rafe Sadler was sent ambassadour from king Henrie unto the said gouernour, and other the lords of Scotland, and came thither before the said parlement, to persuade the lords to agree unto the king his masters motions, travelling so diligentlie in the matters whereabout he was thus sent, that it was concluded by act of parlement, to send ambassadours into England, for the better satisfaction of king Henries desires.

And so the earle of Glencarne, sir George Douglas, sir William Hamilton, sir James Leicmouth, and the secretarie being named and appointed thereto, departed in the moneth of March, and coming into England unto the king, remained there till the latter end of Aprile. In which meane time, such covenants, contracts, and promises were had and concluded, passed and sealed interchangeable, as stood with the pleasure and good liking of king Henrie, so as the marriage

The marriage confirmed.

The king of England taketh with the lords of Scotland prisoners for a marriage betwixt his son and their queene.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 465.

1543. Buch.

Duke of Suffolke Buchanan.

The earle of Angus sent home into Scotland.

1543. Lesle. 1542.

A convention of the Scottish nobilitie.

The French king mislieth of the match with England. Matthew earle of Lennox.

The cardinall committed to ward.

Halding rig.

Sir Rafe Sadler.

Ambassadors sent into England.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 15.

The marriage confirmed.

marriage was fullie contracted, and a peace concluded for ten yeeres, by authoritie of the aforesaid parliament. Herevpon also the lord gouernour shewed himselfe to embrace the reformed religion, causing one frier Guiliam to preach against images, and fruitlesse ceremonies, and gaue libertie that the bible called The new and old testament, should be had in English, & vniuersallie published through the realme of Scotland.

Also he commanded not onelie the cardinall (as befoze ye haue heard) but also ordeined that the quene mother should remaine in Lithgow with the yong quene hir daughter, vnder some manner of safe custodie, and the cardinall to be removed vnto his owne castell of Saint Andriues, with wardens about him to see him safelie kept. \* Not long after, the cardinall was restored to vn hoped libertie, and the earle of Angus, George Dowglaste, and the lord Clames, the heire of James Hamilton, with manie others, by the consent of the thre estates, were wholie restored to all their goods, and deliuered from the sentence of banishment.

John Hamilton abbat of Passleth, brother of the gouernour, returning out of France (where he had imployed himselfe to studie) did (with certeine learned men, as David Paniter, and others, whom he had in his companie) visit the king of England, of whome they were most courtesallie intertained. After which this Hamilton returning into Scotland, was made treasurer of the kingdome, which office he discharged with great commendation, so long as his brother kept the gouernement, whom he did not onelie helpe in counsell for orderyng of the kingdome, but also shewed him selfe a ballant and industrious man in the warres against the English, for defense of the kingdome of Scotland. About this time, the earle Bothwell, which was banished, and had remained long at Venice, did returne into Scotland, whither he was honozable welcommed, as a person much desired of his friends and kindred.)

The realme being thus brought in quiet, and vnder god gouernement, the French king soze misliking this new coniunction of the Scots with England, and doubting least the old former bond of alliance betwixt France and Scotland might thereby be betterlie dissolved and shaken off, he sent for Matthew Steward earle of Lennox, then abroad in his seruice in the wars of Italie, and vpon his coming backe from thence to the court, he declared to him the decrease of the late king of Scots, the intrusion of Arrane, and the attempts in that realme begun, with all the circumstances from point to point as he knew; and further discoursed with him what wrong he had to be set aside, and displaced from his right of gouernement; and therefore exhorted him to repaire home to reconer the same, offering not onelie to assist him with men, monie, and munition, but also to iointe his friends in Scotland with him in aid to attaine the place of regiment, and to remove Arrane and others from it.

The earle of Lennox herevpon with commission and instructions deliuered to him by the French king, had also letters from him directed to the lords that were of the French faction, wherin the said king requested them to remaine and continue in their former good meanings towards him, and to assist the earle of Lennox in all things, as should be thought expedient. \* Now, befoze the earle of Lennox returned out of France, the cardinall had vsed manie persuasions against the English, as well that the Scots set at libertie by the king, should breake their faith with him, as also to draw them to the French faction, and rather to suffer their pledges to receiue what king Henrie would vse vnto them, than by keep-

ping promise to the English, to conueie the yong quene vnto them.

Wherevpon, when the greater part of those nobles (whome the matter touched, could easilie find anie color for the excuse of their fault) had consented to the cardinals persuasion, onelie one amongst the rest would not yeld thereto, which was Gilbert Kenmedie earle of Castles, who could not be drawn from that constancie (in obseruing his faith) either by bribes, flatteries, or threats. For he (hauing two brothers pledges for him in England) did openlie protest, that he would returne to prison, and by no feare laid befoze him commit such a fault, as that he would redeeme his life with the blood of his two brothers: for which cause he went forthwith to London, although euerie man spake against it. Wherevpon, the king of England did singularlie commend the constancie of the yong man, and further (to the end that his vertue might be knowne to all men) did set him at libertie with his two brethren, and sent him home honozable rewarded.

Now the realme of Scotland being thus in great vproyes by means of the quenes and cardinals factions, whereof the last drew all (such as he could) to support the French league, they sent ambassadors into France, to request the French king to send home Matthew Steward earle of Lennox, as one that was not onelie emulous against Hamilton, but also his deadlie enimie for the slaughter of his father at Linnuncho: which yong Steward (beside his beautie and comeliness of bodie, in the verie flower of his youth; the memorie, carefulnesse, and dangers of his father, a verie popular man, and beloved of the people; the worthinesse of that familie brought almost to an end, and that the same was of great power, and linked in marriage with manie nobles) did win and draw the minds of manie men, desirous to helpe him, for the great fauor they bare vnto him.

To the which further procurement of the peoples loue also, there might be ioined, that he was next heire to the crowne by the kings appointment, if he died without issue male; the which king James, if he had liued, would haue established by parlement: besides which likewise, there wanted not flatterers, which did not onelie stirre by his noble mind (now gaping after great things, and vndefended against deceits) to the hope of gouerning of the kingdome for these one and twentie yeeres and moze, during the quenes minority, and to the rule and power ouer his enimies, whereby he might vse reuenge vpon them: but also they promised him to marrie the quene Dowager: and in the meane time (if anie thing happened otherwise than well to the yong quene) that he should obtaine the crowne, whereby he should both be king, and the next lawfull heire of James Hamilton latelie deceased, since the gouernour was a bastard, and could not onelie by law not loke or hope for the kingdome, but also not so much as hope to be heire to his owne familie. To all which were added the persuasions of the French befoze mentioned. Wherevpon, the yong man (whose mind was credulous, being tickled and intised with these hopes) determined to go into Scotland.)

The earle therefore fullie instructed by the French king, how to deale and proceed, toke his leave, and with all speed taking the sea, directed his course into Scotland, where (after his arrivall) he came to Edinburgh, in which towne all the lords being assembled together with the gouernour, he declared to them the effect of his commission from the French king, his request to them, & good affection to mainteine them against England, if in case they would continue the old league with him, and not seeke to make anie new alliance with the king of England.

The earle of Lennox passed into Scotland;

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Fr. Thin.  
Lellous. lib. 10.  
pag. 465.

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Fr. Thin.  
Buchan. lib. 15.

But perceiuing that the gouernor and his friends were minded to satisfie the king of Englands desires, he would not tarrie for a resolute answer, but by the counsell of the earle of Argyle, William earle of Glencarne, and others of the French faction, he suddenly departed forth of Edinburgh toward the west countrie, highlye displeased (as should seme) with the gouernor, and taking Liffgow in his way, he conferred with the quene Dowager (as they termed hir) deuising how to assemble the noble men of the French side, to bring hir and hir daughter to libertie, out of the danger of the lord gouernor: because it was supposed that he ment to conuie hir into England.

About the same time, through practise of the abbat of Pasleie, hyother to the gouernor, and others, the castell of Edinburgh was got out of the hands of sir Peter Creighton, and the keeping thereof committed by the gouernors appointment vnto James Hamilton lord of Stanehouse. But the erle of Lennor, with the assistance of the earles of Huntley, Montrose, Pentife, Argyle, and others of the French faction in August following, conuieced the yong quene with hir mother from Liffgow vnto Striueling. The cardinall also was there with them latelie before, hauing corrupted his keepers, & gotten abroad at libertie. Wherewith was a day appointed and proclaimed for the coronation of the yong quene. The earle of Arrane then gouernor, with the earles of Angus, Castles, the lords Sparwell, Somerville, and diuerse others, called the English lords, remaining still at Edinburgh, aduertised the king of England of all the doings of Lennor, and other of that faction, requirung his aduise and counsell how to deale for disapointing of their purposes, that sought to continue the amitie still with France, to the preiudice of peace with England.

The king of England aduertised hereof, as well thus from the gouernor, and other the Scottish lords, as also from sir Rafe Sadler, his maiesties ambassador there, doubted greatlie least these lords, in whose hands the quene then was, in respect of the fauour which they bare to the French king, should conuie hir ouer into France: whereupon he requested the gouernor, and the other lords that fauoured his side, so to deale, that the might be sent into England, there to remaine, till the marriage might be consummate betwixt hir and his sonne prince Edward: hauing in the meane time such lords of hir countrie about hir to attend vpon hir, and to see to hir bringing vp, as should be thought expedient. To conclude, his maiestie not onelie sent his princelie comfort by waite of counsell and good aduise, but also according to their desire, and as by the duke of Suffolke (his highnes lieutenant then in the north) it was thought expedient.

Thomas lord Wharton, with two thousand men from the west marches, and the lord Euers with other two thousand from the east borders, were appointed to enter Scotland, and to ioine themselves with the gouernor, and his friends, to assist them against their aduersaries. But as they were in a readinesse to march, through the secret labors of the cardinall, wishing the aduancement of the earle of Arrane his kinsman (whome he thought he should well trowgh frame to be at his appointment) rather than Lennor that was knowne to be of a greater stomach, the matter was so handled, that by the cardinall and the earle of Huntley of the one part, and the quene Dowager on the other, that the earle of Arrane revolting from the king of England, came in to the Dowager, and ioined himselfe with the cardinall, and other the lords of the French faction: by reason whereof, they all concluded to mainteine him

in the estate of lord gouernor, and not to place Lennor, as their purpose was to haue done, if Arrane had continued faithfull to the king of England.

Shortlie after, the yong quene was crowned at Striueling, the cardinall taking vpon him to order things as he thought good, appointing the gouernor to beare the crowne as chiefe person, & next in blood to the quene, and the earle of Lennor to beare the scepter. After the coronation, a parliament was called and holden at Edinburgh, at the which, in presence of the patriarch of Apuleia the popes agent, and of the French kings ambassadors, monsieur la Brosse, and monsieur Penage, latelie before come into the realme, the earle of Arrane was newlie confirmed gouernor. And for the sure preservation (as they pretended) of the yong quene, it was agreed by the gouernor and the estates, that the shuld remaine with the old quene hir mother in Sterling castell, during hir minority, and certaine rents of that seignorie were assigned for maintenance of such traine as was thought expedient to be attendant about hir: and further, the lords Levingston, Erskin, and Flemming (as saith Buchanan) the lord Grams, John Arskine, John Lindseie, & William Lenthion were appointed to abide continual lie with hir, for the better safegard of hir person.

Thus was euerie thing ordered as seemed to stand with the pleasure of the cardinall. Whereupon the earle of Lennor, perceiuing how vncourteouslie he was vsed, to haue his aduersarie thus confirmed in authoritie by the French side, and himselfe relected, he first sent to the French king, informing him thoroughly of the iniuries to him done, putting him in remembrance of the promises made to him when he departed from him; also the constantness of his service, the hazard he had put himselfe in for his sake: and notwithstanding how he was yet vnkindlie dealt with, that through trust of his promised aid and assistance, he was brought out of credit in his countrie, and subiected vnder the commandement and authoritie of his enimie, and wrongfullie disappointed of his right, which he looked to haue recovered, and to haue bene mainteined therein by his support.

In consideration whereof, he renounced his service, willing him from thenceforth not to looke for the same any more at his hands. Wherewith Lennor ioining himselfe with the earles of Angus, Castles, and Glencarne, the lords Sparwell, and Somerville, the thirrist of Aire, the lord of Drumlanrig, and other of that side, called the English lords, set himselfe against the gouernor, the cardinall, and others of that faction, so that the residue of this yere was spent in ciuill dissention betwixt them. And here is to be noted, that a little before that the earle of Arrane revolted to the French part, there was arrived in the mouth of the riuer of Cloide on the west coast, sixe ships, which the French king had sent to the aid of his friends in Scotland, vnder the conduction of James Steward of Cardonold, and of the forenamed monsieur de la Brosse, & monsieur Penage, the French kings ambassadors.

There came with them also the patriarch of Apuleia, of whome ye haue likewise heard before. They had brought aboard in these ships fiftie thousand crownes, and munition to the value of ten thousand crownes. The earle of Lennor therfore, when he first resolved to turne to the English part, with the aduise of his confederats, seized vpon those ships, got the fiftie thousand crownes, and the most part of the munition into his hands, and brought it to the castell of Dunbzeton, reteining it to his owne vse, where it was sent to haue bene imploied to the maintenance of the French faction, against the king of England, and the lords that leaned to his side.

The coronation of quene Marie.

A parliament.

The patriarch of Apuleia.

Order for the custodie of the quene.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Lennor his displeasure.

He renounced his service to the French king.

Ciuill dissention in Scotland.

French ships arriuing in the riuer of Cloide.

The earle of Lennor seized vpon the French ships.

The earle of Lennor raised an armie.

An appointment taken. Pledges deliuered.

The earle of Lennor committed to the gouernor. He departed from him againe. He fortifieth Glasgow. Fr. Thin. Lellies lib. 10. pag. 468. 1543. Lellie

The earle of Lennor conferred with the quene Dowager.

1543. Lellie

The castell of Edinburgh recovered to the gouernors vse.

The yong quene conuieced to Striueling.

The king of Englands doubt.

The lord Wharton. The lord Euers.

The earle of Arrane a faith breaker.

The earle of  
Lennor rais-  
eth an armie.

An appoint-  
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Fr. Thin.  
Lesseus lib. 10.  
pag. 48.  
1547. Lesle.

The earle of Lennor therefore raising a power of men of warre with the assistance of the lords of his faction, came with them vnto Perth against the gouernor that was then in Edinburgh: but through the diligent trauell of the cardinall, the earles of Huntley, Murray, and Argyle, the matter was taken by, and an appointment accorded; so that sir George Douglas was deliuered as a pledge for his brother the earle of Angus; the maister of Glencarne for his father the earle of Glencarne, the abbat Callaghole for his brother the earle of Callisles, to remaine in safe keeping where it pleased the gouernor to appoint. The earle of Lennor came vnto Edinburgh to the gouernor, but within six daies after, they went both to Lithgow, from whence the earle of Lennor secretly departed from the gouernor without bidding him farewell, and comming to Glasgow, fortified the castell.

When the gouernor had receiued true intelligence that the earle had taken Glasgow, he assembling such power as he could make, as well of his friends and followers, as of others, especially of the lord Boid went vnto Glasgow, in which place the earle of Glencarne had before placed his armie, to the end there to trie the matter with his enemies. But before the battell the earle of Lennor had withdrawn himselfe vnto Dunbarton, to gather a greater assemblie, thortlie after to returne to Glasgow. The earle of Glencarne, with Elsbarne, Houstons, Buchanan, Macfarlane, Drumquhassie, and other barons and nobles of the Lennor, Kilmorie, and other places adioining, with the citizens, ecclesiasticall persons of all orders, and the other sort of common people, departed out of the towne to the plaine there of (being a mile from the towne) there to trie the event of battell (before the comming of the earle of Lennor) more in haste than good speed. Whereupon the gouernor (perceiuing himselfe to be drawne forward to battell) commanded the trumpets to sound to the alarmes. Whereupon the battels ioined, the hostes began to fight violently, and the conflict grew to be extreme on both parts: in which (with great slaughter) they long time fought with vncertaine victorie.

But in the end (that with the force of his armie, and the encouragement of the capteine) the full conquest fell to the gouernor, who put his enemies to flight. At what time, of the fauourers of the Lennor there were manie slain, partie of the nobles (as the sonne of the earle of Glencarne, and Moniepenne capteine of the footmen) and partie of the common sort (as the citizens of Glasgow, and manie ecclesiasticall persons.) Besides all which, there had manie more perished, if the gouernor (through his naturall clemencie) had not (when the victorie began to leane towards him) giuen a signe of retreat, & with much speed saued manie of them. On the gouernors part were few missing, except Cambuskie (the head of that familie) and the baron of Argentine. The gouernor pursuing this victorie, entered the towne of Glasgow, where he vsed (by the persuation of the lord Boid) wonderfull fauour towards the citizens, (farre beyond their deserts) although that he depriued some (of the chiefest condition amongst them) from all the life and benefit of their goods.

The earle of Lennor remaining at Dunbar, receiued into the castell the earle of Glencarne, and others, which had escaped the battell, who sometime after did rest (being feared with the ouerthrow) from a nie further turmoiles or troubles. But in the end, they which fauoured the Lennor, doo assestly stirre him to take weapon against the gouernor: whereupon he doth restrengthen the towne and steeple of Glasgow, determining to gather a new supplie, and once

more to cast the dice of war. But the gouernor (willing to prevent all his inuasions by just counsell) (being accompanied with the cardinall) call to him about Glasgow, all the nobles of the south parts, and (bringing forth the hired souldiours) commanded the great peeces to be planted against the citie. Whereupon (entering the towne) he besieged the castell and steeple of the church (in which place were both Scots and Frenchmen) and in the end (after a slaughter of some of them) enforced the other to yield their forts. After that the castell was thus comen to the gouernors hands, he hanged eightene of the chiefest and best loued vnto Lennor, and permitted the rest to depart at libertie. The earle of Lennor (vnderstanding that his affaires began to waver, and to obtaine such euill successe) doth send the earle of Angus and the lord Partwell to the gouernor, to treat of peace betwene him and the earle of Lennor, the which they laboured with great diligence, according to the trust reposed in them.

But the gouernor caused them both to be secretly conueied from the counsell by the backside of the blacke friers of Glasgow, vnto the castell of Hamilton, and from thence the earle was sent to Blackheffe. The lord Partwell was kept still in hold at Hamilton, and George Douglas, and the maister of Glencarne in Edinburgh castell. These persons thus imprisoned stood in great doubt of their liues (as some supposed:) but as diuerse other did suspect, they were rather committed for a colour, than for a nie euill that was meant towards them. Howsoeuer it was with them, the earle of Lennor by the aduise of his friends sent the earle of Glencarne, and a gentleman called Thomas Bishop, vnto the king of England with offer of his seruice; and request to haue in marriage the ladie Margaret Douglas daughter to the Earle of Angus, and neeces to the said king.

Herevnto the king granted. For the performance whereof (and the dispatch of other things) he sent the lord Wharton and diuerse others. And on the earles part, the bishop of Cathnes his brother and the earle of Glencarne were appointed, who met at Carleill to performe the agreement. The quene, the cardinall, and the other of the French faction, did helpe the gouernor all they might, with counsell, power, and monie; because they perceiued that he repented such friendship with England as he had taken in hand by the counsell of Angus and others. In the meane time there was a parlement assembled at Striueling, in which by common consent, the earle of Lennor was condemned of treason; wherefore the sentence of banishment was executed against him, and all his goods with his patri-  
manie were confiscat to the quene. Whilest the French king was ascertained that Lennor had forsaken his faction, & committed himselfe to the king of England, he suddenly committed to prison John Stewart lord of Aubigne baron in France, brother to the earle of Lennor, and depriued the said John Stewart of all such honors and offices as he possessed in France. For he was generall capteine of all the Scottish lands in France, being either such as had gard of the kings bodie, or botmen, or men at armes: for the king of France hath Scots in wages of all the orders.

But let vs now returne to the Patriarch, who was honorablie receiued by the cardinall and the bishop of Scotland into the citie of Glasgow: during whose abode there, great contention arose betwene the cardinall and the archbishop of Glasgow, who should in that citie be of greatest authoritie and honor. Which in the end came to this issue, that both families fell together by the eares, which of them should goe before

The earle of  
Angus and  
the lord Part-  
well commit-  
ted to ward.

Mens opin-  
ions for the  
imprisoning  
of the earle of  
Angus.

1544.  
The earle of  
Lennor sent  
both to the  
king of Eng-  
land.

Fr. Thin.  
Lesseus lib. 10.  
pag. 470.

foze with his crosse bozne bysight. For the cardinall archbishop of saint Andzeus and primate of the kingdome, did affirme that the archbishop of Glasgowe should not haue his crosse bozne in his owne church, so long as the cardinall was present. Which the seruants of the archbishop of Glasgowe toke in such disdain, that they plucked downe the cardinals crosse and threwe it to the ground. Whereupon, the gouernor (understanding the whole matter, and that it was now come from wordes to swordes) made hast to appease this factious commotion, & caused the Patriarch therewith to be brought to Edinburgh accompanied with the clergie, where he remained all the winter following. In which towne he was honozable entertained and feasted of the quene, the gouernor, and other of the nobles, whome he requited with the like courtesie.

Amongest these of the nobilitie, the earle of Murray had the Patriarch on a day to a banquet, in which this Murray did thew an honozable thing not accustomed amongest others. For where he abounded in stoe of siluer vessels, yet he commanded his seruants to furnish a great cupbord with christall glasses brought from Venice, & that in the midst of dinner he should ouerturne the cupbord as it were unwillinglie. Which the servant at the time appointed did performe. The noise of breaking of which glasses did suddenlie fill the eares of all the companie: and the Patriarch seeing the hurt, was somewhat moued. But the earle making no account of this thing, commanded his man afresh to furnish the same cupbord with as manie and fairer vessels of glasse than the former were, to the Patriarchs great admiration. For the Patriarch affirmed that the glasses of Murano and Venice did not anie way excell these. Trielte this earle of Murray was honozable, wise, iust, and famous amongest manie princes for his manifold vertues, & manie ambassages most happlie performed amongest them. Who shortly after this, departing the court, died of the stone at his castle in Turnwaite.

This Patriarch shewed to the gouernor (besides other priuileges that he had from the see of Rome) his great authoritie, in that he was legat from the popes see, amongest the Scots, as long as he remained there. Which office, when he departed to Rome, he procured to be transferred to the cardinall; at what time the Patriarch also in the name of the pope, did promise much helpe, and monie to be sent to Scotland against England. For he studied by all means he could, to hinder the marriage of those two kingdomes: because he suspected thereby, that some alteration might be made in Scotland touching the religion; with the ouerthrow of churches and monasteries. Now, after that the Patriarch had remained all the winter in Scotland, he departed from thence in March, who as he was honozable entertained in all places, so he spared not to recount to the French king and other princes (whome he visited in his iourneie) the humanitie he found in Scotland, which he also imparted to the bishop of Rome, to the other cardinals, & to the senat of Venice; not without singular praise and honor to the Scottish nation.]

They that were sent, so solicited the earles cause, that in the end the king was perswaded that Lennor ought of right to haue the gouernement of the realme of Scotland, and to be second person in the same. And herewith, in consideration how vnjustlie not onelie his maiestie had bene dealt with, but also how vnthankfullie and discourteouslie Lennor had bene vsed, both at the hands of the French king, and also of his adherents in Scotland, by the cardinall & others: he both thankfullie receiued his gentle offer of seruice, & also promised to aid him in his

title and all other lawfull causes: and herewith prepared an armie to passe into Scotland by sea, appointing the earle of Hertford, and the lord Lisle to haue the conduction of the same, who shipping at Tinnmouth with their people, arrived in the Forth vnder Werdie castell, a mile & a halfe aboue Leith the third of Maie, the whole naute containing aboue the number of two hundred ships. Here at Newhauen, a quarter of a mile from the said castell, they landed their armie of ten thousand men of warre, with great artillerie, and all kind of munition.

The lord gouernor being at that present within the towne of Edinburgh, hearing of their arrivall, went forth of the towne accompanied with the cardinall, the earles of Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell, and others, purposing to stop their landing: but perceiving the puillance of the aduersaries to be such, as they could not resist the same, they returned to Edinburgh againe, and sent maister Adam Ottenbozne prouost of Edinburgh, and two of the bailiffs to the earle of Hertford, to vnderstand the cause of his coming; and withall offered, that if there were anie injuries or wrongs done by anie of the Scots nation, he would appoint commissioners to talke with such as by him should be authorized thereto, for the full answering thereof, & to that effect he would gladly receiue them into the towne of Edinburgh.

The earle of Hertford answered that he had no commission to talke of anie such matter; but rather to take reuenge of the bristful dealing and breach of promise on those that had falsified their faith. And therefore minding to burne the towne of Edinburgh, as well as other within that realme, he willed the inhabitants and all all those that were within the same to come forth, and submit themselves before him the kings lieutenant, to stand vnto the kings will and pleasure, or else he would not faile to proceed in execution thereof. The prouost answered that he would rather abide all extremities, than accomplish his request and desire in that behalfe; and thereupon returned to the towne.

After the gouernor had heard what answer was made to the prouost, he caused the castell to be furnished with all things necessarie for defense, and departed straightwaies to Strimeling. The English armie lodging that night in Leith, marched the next day toward Edinburgh, passing by the Cannogat street to enter at the nether bow, where they found some resistance made by the Scots, so that diuerse were slaine on both parts. Towards night, the Englishmen, after they had continued long in skirmishing that day with the Scottishmen, retired to Leith. The next day the whole armie with the great artillerie came forward towards the towne, and breaking open the Cannogat, they entred the towne by the same, bringing their ordinance within sight of the castell, purposing to plant the same in batterie against it; but the capteine of the castell caused the artillerie within to shoot off at them in so great abundance, & so good measure, that they slue diuerse Englishmen, and dismounted one of their peeces, so that in the end they were constrained to draw backe their ordinance & retired; but yet in the meane time they set fire on the towne, and burnt the most part of all the houses in the same. They burnt also the Cannogat street, and the abbey of Holie rood house. The gouernor at that present released out of prison the earle of Angus, the lord Sparwell, the maister of Glencarne, sir George Douglas, and others.

In this meane time also there came from the borders by land foure thousand of English horsemen, vnder the conduction of the lord William Criers, and his sonne sir Rafe Criers; who joining with the armie at Leith, scowred the countrie on euerie

The king of England meaneth to aid the earle of Lennor.

The English armie landed by Leith.

The earle of Lennor.

The prouost of Edinburgh sent to the earle of Hertford.

The earles answer.

Edinburgh entred by force.

Shame hereof in England.

Edinburgh burnt.

Prisoners set at libertie.

Buchanan, lib. 5.

Fr. Thin. Leitus lib. 10. f. 474. 1544.

rie side of Edinburgh. Finalle, after the English  
armie had lien in Leith a certeine space, they burnt  
that towne also, and sent their ships awate fraught  
with pillage and spoiles (got as well in that towne,  
as in Edinburgh, and abroad in the countrie) backe  
towards England. And therewith the earle of Hert-  
ford, the lord amercall, and others, returned by land  
through the countrie unto Berwik, as in the Eng-  
lish historie more at large appeareth. Whilist the  
English armie was thus occupied in that part of  
Scotland, the erle of Lennor with an armie of men  
which he had raised, was ready to come on the backs  
of the gouernor, and his adherents, if they had assem-  
bled their forces and come forward to haue giuen  
the Englishmen battell. For all this season the ciuill  
contentions still continued, and sundrie confliats and  
skirmishes chanced betwixt the parties.

\* The Scots which inhabit the mountains, and  
the Isles, did now in these turmoiles begin to shew  
some tokens of their inconstancie. For they (which  
paied pœrelie tribute in the time of James the first,  
kept the peace, liued with in the bounds of law, and  
well obeyed the gouernor) did now (after they saw all  
things on a flame) begin againe to spoile and de-  
stroye their neighbors, in the same vttering the hu-  
mor of their naturall disposition. Whereupon the go-  
uernor, (to restraine their boldnesse) called vnto him  
George Gordon earle of Huntley, and the earle of  
Argyle, whereof he made the one gouernor of the  
north parts of Scotland, of the Orkades, and Shet-  
land; and to the other, he committed the rule of Ar-  
gyle, and the Isles Hebrides. Whereupon Huntley  
with all speed gathered an armie from the north  
parts, and determined to hyde the Glencamrons,  
the Gencronelles, the Mudiardes, & the Bindiardes,  
with force and authoritie. The capitaines or heads of  
which families, were Ewin Allanson, Ronald Mac-  
koneilglas, and John Mudiard, who did possesse the  
lands of the lords Grant, and Louet, hauing expel-  
led them by force from the same.

But when they first vnderstood that Huntley had  
incamped nere vnto them, they fled euerie one  
home to their owne possessions: which being defen-  
ded partly by the west sea, and partly included about  
with the mounteins, stopped Huntley, so that he  
might not haue anie passage vnto them: by meanes  
whereof (these disseisours being banished) the lords  
Grant and Louet were restored to their right inhe-  
ritance. But it fell out contrarie for Louet, who  
going to take his owne into his hands, fell into dan-  
ger of his enemies. For at that time both the com-  
panies were disposed into such order, that neither par-  
tie could abstaine from fight. Whereupon they first  
discharge their bodies one against another, and their  
arrows spent, they after sie to their swords, with  
which they fought so egerlie, that the night cutting  
off the battell, it could not be well knowne to which  
part the victorie gaue place. In which there was so  
great slaughter on both parts, that till the next mor-  
ning in viewing the dead bodies, the victors were  
not knowne. Amongest whome of the part of the  
Glencamrons and Mudiardes there were manie  
slaine.

But by reason of the death of the lord Louet, and  
of his sonne and heire (a youth of singular hope, and  
brought vp in France) with three hundred of the  
blond and furraine of the Fraisers (for Louet was  
the head and leader of that familie) the hurt seemed  
to be the greater on their part. For there was a ru-  
mor spread, that there was not one of the familie of  
the Fraisers left aloue that was of mans state. But  
it happened by the singular benefit of God, that they  
left their wiues with child when they went to the  
fight, by which meanes the familie was after raised

and restored. Huntley (greatlie grieved that the  
Fraisers had receiued this grieuous wound) gather-  
ed a power together, and with armes so pursued  
those factious people, that he took and beheaded E-  
win Allanson, and Ronald, with diuerse others, and  
put the rest in prison. The earle of Argyle discharged  
the office committed to him as well as Huntley did  
and with more happie successe, for all the Island men  
humble submitted themselves vnto him, and deli-  
uered pledges to liue quietlie hereafter.)

About this time the earle of Lennor, accompa-  
nied with Alexander the maister of Glencarne, o-  
therwise called lord of Kilmarloche, Walter Crahan  
brother to the earle of Montrose, sir John Borth-  
wick knight, and sundrie other gentlemen, take the  
sea to passe into England, and arrived at Wessche-  
ster about Midsummer: & passing from thence to the  
court, he was sofallie receiued. And immediatlie  
thereupon was the mariage celebrated betwixt him  
and the ladie Margaret Douglas, daughter & heire  
to the earle of Angus, and to Margaret his wife  
quene of Scots, sister to king Henrie the eight, at  
what time there was assured to him by way of in-  
heritance, lands to the value of seuen hundred marks  
of pœrelie rent of assise, in consideration of this ma-  
riage with the kings niece, and in recompense of  
lands lost by him in France, to the which he was in-  
heritor after the deceasse of Robert Stewart lord  
Dbenie, one of the foure marshals of France.

Afterward, king Henrie being now vpon his  
tourne towards Bullongne, as well for the auoiance  
of his highnesse enemies in Scotland, as for recou-  
rie of the said earles right in that realme, appointed  
the said erle to enter Scotland in the moneth of Au-  
gust, accompanied with sir Rife Hansfield, sir Pe-  
ter Hewtas knights, maister Thomas Audleie, ma-  
ster Thomas Brookes, old maister Winter com-  
ptrolloz of the kings ships, and his sonne sir William  
Winter that now is, and sundrie other capitaines, ha-  
uing vnder their charge two hundred hackbutters,  
two hundred archers with long bowes, and two hun-  
dred armed pikers, beside the mariners belonging to  
those ships that were appointed to go forth on this  
tourne, being in number about twelue or fourtene  
saile, belonging to Wiffow, and other of the west  
parts.

Upon their arriual on the coast of Scotland, they  
burnt the Ile of Arrane, and rased the gouernors cas-  
tell there to the ground. And afterwards arriuing  
at the Ile of Bute, they entered the same, and took  
the castell of Kile standing therein (from whence  
the Stewards kings of Scotland had their origi-  
nall) the captaine they had awate prisoner with them  
into England. Here also they took two French  
ships laden with wines, and this done they entered  
the firth of Clyde, thinking to find none but their  
friends in the castell of Dunbretton. But true it is,  
that in this meane time the earle of Glencarne with  
sundrie gentlemen being left in that castell, with the  
captaine thereof called Houson, to kepe it in the  
name and to the behoofe of the erle of Lennor, were  
in his absence perswaded thorough practise of the  
quene Dowager, not only to renounce their promi-  
sed faith to him, in defrauding him of that castell;  
but also to intrap and wind him within their dan-  
ger to take him prisoner.

For this purpose they so dissembled the matter,  
that they had got him on land onelie with three hun-  
dred men: and so farre forth they were growne in  
trust, that the erle of Lennor being entered into the  
castell with a few other with him, the monie was  
laid downe on the board, to be paid to the captaine for  
his satisfaction. But in the meane time, the earle of  
Lennor, & such as were with him, perceiuing some  
treasonable

Buchanan  
saith that this  
battell as it  
was belated,  
was procured  
by Huntley to  
destroye the  
Fraisers.

The earle of  
Lennor goeth  
into England

The marieth  
the ladie Mar-  
garet Dow-  
glas.

Lord Dbenie.

The earle of  
Lennor re-  
turneth into  
Scotland.

The Ile of  
Bute taken.

The earle of  
Lennor in  
danger to be  
betrayed and  
taken.

Leith burnt.

The earle of  
Lennor.

1544.

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Buchanan.  
lib. 15.

treasonable practise in hand, got forth of the house againe vnto their companie below, leaving the monie behind them, and after made shift to get to their ships, and not before it was high time.

For if they had staied that night, they had bene intraped by George Douglas, who with foure thousand men was secretlie drawn thitherwards, and entered the towne of Dunbretton, shortly after that the earle of Lennor was thus departed, and got to his ships lieng there at hand in the riuer of Clyde, downe the which he retired to the sea, not without danger to haue lost the same ships, by reason of the narrownesse of the water: for the erle of Argile being gotten betwixt him and the sea with a great power of men, with banners displayed, hailed the ships with shot of ordinance from the castell of Dinnune, annoyng the earle of Lennor his passage as much as he coult. But he escaping with the English gentlemen, and the ships out of danger, toke aduise together at the Ile of Bute what they were best to do.

The earle soze moued to haue bene thus repelled from Dunbretton, and stomaching the matter soze, to be so discountenanced by his enimie the earle of Argile, with the aduise of the English gentlemen, he returned with them, and with great shew of manhood toke land beside the castell and towne of Dinnune, where the earle of Argile with seven hundred men was readie to incounter him, & to keepe him off from landing: but by the helpe of the shot out of the ships, and great soze of botes, the Englishmen landed, slue foure scoze of the enimies, most part gentlemen, and put the residue to flight, with the losse of thre men onlie on the English side.

This done, the towne of Dinnune was burnt, and the church spoiled, that was full of goods and ornaments. When the night approched, by reason the Englishmen had no powder, nor other prouision on land, the earle with his people returned to shipboard in safetie, howbeit not without offer of skirmish made by the enimies though to their losse, namelie of those that advanced themselves most forward. About foure or fve daies after, the earle of Lennor with five hundred men landed in another part of Argile, and remaining on land a whole day together, burnt, spoiled, and wasted the countrie: the earle of Argile with two thousand men giuing the looking on, and not once offering the skirmish, so that the earle of Lennor with his souldiers retired to his ships without incounter.

After this they inuaded the Ile of Binter, where James Mackonell dwelled, burnt manie places in that countrie, toke and caried abwaie great booties of cattell and other goods. All the coasts of Bile, Carrike, & Coningham, and likewise of Gallotway remained in continuall feare, so that oftentimes their beacons were fired, and manie of the noble men constrained to come to the earle of Lennor, suing to him for assurance. In these exploits the earle had with him Walter Macferlane of Tirbat, and seven scoze men of the head of Lennor, that spake both Irish, English, & the Scottish tonges, light footmen, well armed in shirts of male, with bowes, and two handed swords, and being ioined with the English archers and shot, did much available service in the freids, the marshes, and mountaine countries.

\* During these things, they which had gouernment of the Scottish affairs (as the queene dowager, the cardinall, and the gouernor) called a counsell, in which they decreed that all such of the nobilitie as had force and armor, should be readie to follow the gouernor whither soener he went, and there to remaine with him for the space of eight daies. Shortly

lie after there assembled eight thousand men, and in the sharpe winter battered the church of Colbingham, standing in armor a whole day and night to the great toile and wearinesse of the men and horses. The next day the gouernor, either to accuse his tennernesse sustained in the last daies labor of warre, or else fearing the inuasion of the enimie (for he was certified of an armie of men that should come from Hertuoke) suddenlie (vnbknowne to the other nobilitie) did sile to Dunbar with a few of his owne traine. They which went about to excuse the defame of this flight, reported how he feared that he should haue bene betrayed to the English by his host, for hatred which they had conceiued against him for manie of his offenses.

This departure of the gouernor brought great trouble to the armie, & so much the more, because the secreter it was (and the reason vnbknowne) the more cause it gaue to the rest to feare some further euill. Wherefore the greater part remained in this obstinate mind, that euerie one should returne the next way home, and leaue the artillerie at random. But others (who were more carefull, and would seme lesse fearefull) did agree to stufte the pecces full of powder, and to breake them, rather than they should fall in the hands & helpe of the enimie. To the which deuise onelie Archembald Douglas did resist, least he should ad a wicked deed to a wicked flight. Who when he could not staie any man, either by threat, in-  
30 treatie, or authoritie, he exclaimed with a loud voice (for euerie one to heare him) that for his owne part he had rather die an honest death, than to haue a secure and rich life with such dishonor. Wherefore you my friends consider what you will do, for either I will bzing awaie this artillerie, or I will not returne home with life; wherefore I meane to make this the last end both of my life and glorie. When he had spoken this, a few (whose honor was deare vnto them) were moued therewith, but the rest (despairing by reason of the shamefull flight of the gouernor) did scatteringlie depart, wandring whither they thought good, without anie order. The Dowglasses with such companie as he had (placed in good order) followed the artillerie, and brought the same to Dunbar, the hostmen of his enimies in vaine hastening after them behind at their backs. This expedition by the gouernor rashlie begun, and shamefullie perfozmed, brake the hearts of the Scots, and aduanced the minds of the English, who gloriously applied the da-  
50 stardnesse of the gouernor to their owne glorie.)

To conclude, after the earle of Lennor and his companie had atchiued these enterpises afore mentioned, he returned towards England, and sent sir Peter Helotas knight, & Thomas Bishop a Scottish gentleman, to aduertise the king of England of his proceedings, who found him at the siege of Bullongne, where they declared to him the whole circumstance of euerie thing, as the same had passed in the earles soznie, which the king toke in verie good part. And vpon his returne into England, after the conquest of Bullongne, the earle of Lennor was also called home to the court by letters to him directed, he being then at Bziffaw.

About the middell of Februarie, sir Rafe Cure commonlie called Cuers, lord warden of the English middle marches, entred Scotland with a power of foure thousand Englishmen, Irishmen, and assured Scots; and comming first vnto Jedworth, lodged there that night. And therewithall understanding that the gouernor and the earle of Angus were at the abbeye of Melros, about eight miles distant from thence, the next morning he was got forth so earlie, that he was almost vpon the enimies in such wise on the sudden, that they fled out of their lodgings, and

The earle of Lennor landed at Dinnune.

The towne of Dinnune burnt.

The earle of Lennor landed againe in Argile.

Winter inuaded.

Walter Macferlane.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 15.

De defectu  
the moni-  
ments of the  
Dowglasses.

Fr. Thin.  
Buch. lib. 15

Fr. Thin.

Sir Peter  
Helotas.

1545.  
Sir Rafe Cure  
entred Scotland.

1544. Lesle.  
Buchanan.  
Sir Rafe Cure  
and others  
came.

be detesteth  
the monu-  
ments of the  
Douglases.

Fr. Thin;  
Buchan. lib. 15

and left their beds and all their household furniture which they had in store there with them, not having time to convey it away at their departure; their warning was so short. Sir Rafe Cuers at his coming thither, finding them fled and gone; spoiled the towne and abbete, utterlie defacing the tomes and monuments of the earles of Douglas, greatlie to the displeasure of the earle of Angus, and those of his linage.

\* After this (the coming of the English being looked for the next yere) the minds of the borderers were greatlie troubled, because they were hopelesse to attaine anie succor from the gouernor, which used the abuse of the clergie, but chieflie of the cardinall. Whereupon Archibald Douglas earle of Angus (greatlie moued partlie with his priuat losses, for he had great possessions in the marches, and in Lincolne, and partlie to see his ancestors monuments defaced) came to the gouernor, and fullie laid before him the greatnesse of the danger wherein the realme did stand, perswading him to encounter and resist the same. At that tyme also (after the gouernour had opened vnto him, that he was forsaken of the nobilitie, and now left alone) the Douglas shewed that the same happened vnto him by his owne fault, and not by the nobilitie, which would imploie their liues, linings, and goods, for the defense of the common-wealth. For he contemning their counsell, onlie leaned to the spiritualltie, who were cowards in warre, and seditious in peace.

Out of this founteine (saith he) a suspicion (that you dare not trust one another) is growne betwene you and them, which is the onelie cause why things are no better performed. But if you determine (in great affaires) to take the aduise of them (who will not refuse to spend their blood therein) I doubt not but that we shall be able to execute as great matters as euer our ancestors did: but if we shall (by our mouth) permit the enemie to take all things from vs, then of necessitie will folow, that either they shall spoyle us hartly vs, or bying vs into perpetuall seruitude: the inconueniences of anie of which cannot well be spoken. As touching our selues I know that thou art suspected to be a coward, and I a traitor, which reproch if thou thinke to purge (for thou canst not auoid it) prepare to cleare the same, not with painted speeches, but with bloudie weapons.)

Whereupon the gouernor and the said earle (soe agreed) to be thus foiled at the Englishmens hands) assembled together [vnder the leading of Porzman Lesle son of the earle of Rochefort] all such forces as they might reconer, so that they had quicklie got them about sixtene hundred men, whereof eight hundred at the least were gentlemen. Who hearing that the Englishmen were retiring towards Jedworth, they met them at a place called Hammer hugh, or Broomhouse, where both the parties alighting on foot, went to trie the quarell by plaine force of hand. But as they were redy to ioine, the assured Scots, to the number of seven or eight hundred revolted vnto the part of their countreymen, by reason whereof, after a right sharpe and fierce conflict, the Englishmen in the end were constrained to flie, whome the Scots right egerlie pursued, slue sir Rafe Cuers, the lord Ogile, sir Brian Leiton, and other gentlemen & souldiours to the number of eight hundred. They took also about two thousand prisoners, with certeine peces of artillerie and other munition.

This victorie fell to the Scots the sevententh day of Februarie, the report whereof was right displeasing to the English nation; but speciallie the losse of that worthy gentleman sir Rafe Cuers was greatlie bemoaned, and that euen of the king

himselfe, for the noble prowesse and great loialtie which at all times had bene found in him. His seruice had bene such in these wars against Scotland, that he had brought the more part of the Scots with- in twentie miles space of the English borders, vnto the obedience of the king of England, although at length they holpe to worke his confusion, as before ye haue heard. ¶ Of this gentleman & his singular seruice in the field, I omit here to speake, because he was imploied otherwise, besides Scotland: wherefore I remit the readers to the twentieth yere of king Henrie the eight, where to his high commendation this gentleman is recorded.]

\* The occasion of the English overthrow (as saith Lesleus) and the Scots victorie, were chieflie by these meanes. First they fought vpon equal ground, and with vnequall helpees. For the Scots with the sunne on their backs (being declined toward setting) came forth of a narrow & marshy place, and set vpon the English (at the side of an hill which was betwene them) hauing the sun in their faces, by which meanes they could neither well perceiue what number the Scots had, nor with their gunnes hurt anie of the Scots. But those that fought in the first battell, whereunto was ioined (a feare not in vaine) which they had conceiued of the Scottish march-men, who in great number hauing red crosses (the note of the English) ran vp and downe hither and thither to see the euent thereof.)

About the same time that the victorie before mentioned chanced to the Scots, Robert Corncole bishop of Ross departed this life, to whome succeeded David Pantane, secretarie to the gouernor and prior of saint Marie Ile. In Aprill, William Steward bishop of Aberdeen likewise deceased, and maister William Gordon chancelor of Burrie, uncle to George erle of Huntley, was by the cardinals sute promoted to that see, greatlie to the displeasure of the earle of Angus, that labored to haue preferred another thereto. For this and other causes, the cardinall was greatlie in hatred of the Douglases.

\* About that time, the king of England by priue & pries perswaded the Flemings to take sixtene of our ships harborred in the hauen, and to conuert the commodities (wherewith they were fraught, being verie costlie) to their owne commoditie. By means whereof at one time we had warres with two nations, England and Flanders. But sith the Flemings did not the same maliciously for hatred to the Scots, but carefullie for the loue vnto the English, as the Scots did certeinly know, they shewed none other token of enimitie to the Flemings, but that they forbade them to sith on their coasts, and did sometimes intercept their ships, without further iniurie done vnto them.)

This yere also, Montgomerie, otherwile called monsieur de Lozges, knight of the order of saint Michael, was sent by the French king with foure thousand Frenchmen into Scotland to assist the Scots against England. He landed at Dunbretton, & came in good order to Edinburgh the thirtenth of Aprill: he brought with him from the French king the order of saint Michael, to inuest therewith the lord gouernor, the earles of Angus, Huntley, and Argyle. Herewith also was an armie of Scots raised, and ioining with the Frenchmen, they approached the borders, where they laie for a season: but the earle of Hertford lieutenant generall of the north parts coming downe, took such direction for the safe keeping of the English borders, that after the Scots had laie there in campe a certeine space without achieving anie great enterprize, though some notable exploit was looked for to haue bene attempted by them at that present, they brake vp their armie & went home.

I. i.

\* This

This seruice  
against the  
Scots.

Abr. Fl.

Fr. Thin;  
Buchan. lib. 16.  
pag. 478.

Death of his  
ships.

Fr. Thin.  
Lesleus. lib. 16.  
pag. 479.

1545. Buch.  
Monsieur de  
Lozges sent  
into Scot-  
land.

Knights of  
saint Mich-  
els order.

An armie of  
Scots lieth  
on the borders

Fr. Thin.

Peter  
1545.

1545.  
Rafe Cu-  
ers & others  
slaine.

1544. Lesle.  
Buchanan.  
Sir Rafe Cu-  
ers & others  
slaine.

## The historie of Scotland.

\* This castell of Dunbryeton was at that time so carefullie kept by the capte in therof, that he determined neither to deliuer it to the gouernor, nor to anie Englishman, nor to anie Scot. Whereupon, the gouernor fearing lest it should fall into the hands of the English, prepare to besiege the same; the newes therof comming to Glencarne, he signified the same vnto Lennor, affirming, that if he would come thither, he should shortly obtaine the castell. The king of England reioysing of that newes, prepareth two ships, and in the meane time sent the bishop of Cathnessie into Scotland, which should forthwith be receiued into the castell. Therefore the gouernor making the more hast, commeth to Dunbryeton together with the cardinal, and the earles Huntleie, and Argile, laing present siege to the same, which was stronglie done, and the castilains pressed to great extremitie by the slaughter of manie people. But at length by the policie of the earle Huntleie, it was so agreed, that the castell (which was by nature inerpugnabile) should be deliuered. Which the gouernor receiued (with certeine conditions) and honozable intreated the capteine for the singular discharge of the trust committed to him: and therewithall he restored the bishop of Cathnessie, brother to the earle of Lennor to his bishoprike, which before he had lost by his going into England.)

Frenchmen  
and Scots o-  
uerthrowne.

The lord  
Dunbar was  
taken prisoner

The earle of  
Lennor pro-  
cureth them of  
the Isles to  
serue the king  
of England.

The lord of  
the Isles elec-  
ted, being one  
of the Mac-  
mels.

The sixteenth of September, three or foure hundred Scots, with Marwell, Lochinuart, and Johnstone, aided with the Frenchmen, attempted to enter into England on the east borders: but the Englishmen perceiuing where they were about to passe by a certeine streit, they set vpon them with their archers, discomfited them, sleaing, & taking to the number of seven score of them. Among other that were taken, one of the sonnes to the lord Hunne, with a French capteine, and George Elphinston archer of the corps to the French king, were accounted chiefe. Also on the west borders, Robert Marwell eldest son to the lord Marwell, was taken in a rode made by him and others, into the English confines on that side; although at an other time certeine Englishmen making a rode into Scotland were distressed, the more part of them being taken or slaine. At a parliament holden at Linlithgow, begun there the twentieth eight of September, and continued till the first of October, Matthew earle of Lennor, and Thomas bishop of Wilhelme, were forsailed, and all their lands and goods giuen auaite and annexed to the crowne.

In this meane time, the king of England desirous to haue the seruice of the Isles of Scotland for sundrie great causes and respects, moued the earle Lennor to deale with them to that end: which he did. And his trauell toke such effect, that the Island men were contented to rest at the king of England his deuotion, partly for that they were in a manner sworne enemies to the earle of Argile, and his familie; and partly for that they doubted the king of Englands puissance, if he should attempt to inuade those parties: and againe, bearing an old speciall fauour to the earle of Lennor and his house, hauing an ancient bond of alliance and amitie with the same, they were the more readie to satisfie his motion. Whereupon, they elected amongst them a lord of the Isles, the next of blood: a title long since verie odious to the state of Scotland, and by the inducement of the earle of Lennor, he was contented as the king of Englands pensioner, to receiue two thousand crownes of him yerelie, with certeine rich apparell of cloth of gold and siluer from the said earle.

The first profe he attempted to shew of his seruice in the king of Englands behalfe, was this. Hauing instructions thereto from the earle of Lennor, vnder colour of conference for matters touching

the estate of the countrie, he had suborned one of his aliance and seruants, called the clane Reginald, to intrap the earles of Argile and Huntleie. And although they escaped verie narrowly, the lord Lennor an ancient baron, & great friend to those two earles, was slaine by the said clane, together with seven hundred of his kinsmen and friends: insomuch that there remained not but one young boy of that linage to succeed in that lords lands [which is before more fullie handled out of Lesleus.]

After this, the lord of the Isles, with six thousand men imbarked in certeine vessels, passed ouer into Carrike, harried and burnt the lands of the earle of Castles, then a great enemy to the king of England. In this voiage he got great spoiles, and que manie of the enemies. After which enterprise, acquainted, he came with his power by sea, and landed in Ireland, where the earles of Lennor and Armond were, with twelue hundred Irishmen, appointed to loins with him, that with their whole power they might inuade the earle of Argiles countries, & consequently the maine land of Scotland at the broad side. But before the preparation could be made ready for that iournie, the new lord of the Isles deceased, whose buriall in Ireland to honor the earle of Lennor, had the king of England in foure hundred pounds sterling.

But now to returne vnto the doings on the borders betwixt England and Scotland in this season. We shall vnderstand, that after the armie of Scotland was broken by, the earle of Hertford by vertue of his commission, raised an armie in the countries of the further side of Trent northwards; so that when the same was assembled together, with such strangers as were then in the kings wages, they were in all of horsemen and footmen twelue thousand fighting men. With this armie guarded with great store of artillerye, munition, and all manner of furniture necessarie, the earle of Hertford entered Scotland, and marching to Coldingham, past by by the water of Tweed, and burnt a great part of the Abers, and Tindale, the abbetes of Kelso, Melrose, Dryburgh, and Jedburgh, with townes & villages, to the number of five score.

Whobett, he entered not farre within the said countrie beyond the said water, but kept alongest nere to the same, and returned backe without anie encounter: for after the Scottish armie was broken by, it was not like they would assemble againe, and so the earle of Hertford taking the time that serued his purpose, he indamaged the Scottish borders at that present. Manie other small inuasions were made, as well by the one part as the other, and some skirmishes fell out betwixt them, sometime to the losse of the Scottish, and sometime of the English, according to the course of warre.

\* About about this time, or rather before, Robert Marwell, the sonne of Robert (a young man of singular vertue) was taken by the English. Besides which there was nothing done worthy the memorie, but that in the beginning of the next winter Montgomerie returned into France. After this, the cardinal leade the gouernor about the nere countries, vnder colour to reconcile such parts as were at dissention: then they came first to Perth, where foure men were punished for eating fleshy on forbidden daies: from thence they went to Dundee called Aodune (to vse the name of the place, as Buchanan hath) to punish (as they said) such as vied the late new testament of Anthers translation. Whither came also Patrick Greie (the head of a noble familie in those parts) accompanied with a good traine, together with the erle of Rothseie, being before that commanded to be there by the gouernor, after the pacifying of the

Clane Regi-  
nald slayeth  
the lord Lennor.

Fr.Thin.

The lord of  
the Isles in-  
uadeth Car-  
rike.

He commeth  
into Ireland.

He departed  
thence.

But eight  
thousand, as  
some say.

The earle of  
Hertford in-  
uadeth Scot-  
land.

Fr.Thin.  
Buchan.lib.15.

ther tumults. But the cardinall (supposing it small safetie to receiue at one time two such noble and factions persons addited to the restored religion, into the towne) wrought with the gouernor that he and they might go backe to Perth.

The next morning, when those two noblemen (redie for the iourneie) understood that the gouernor was on his waie towards Perth, they presentlie followed him. Who being come in sight, did strike such feare into the cardinall, that the gouernor commanded them to sunder themselves, and severallie to enter the citie: which they did. Whereupon the next day they were both committed to prison. But Kothleie being shortly deliuered, Creie (whome they hated more, and feared most) was kept longer in that restraint. But before they parted thence, it seemed good to the cardinall to abate the strength of Kuthwen capteine of the towne. For which cause, the gouernor taketh his office from him, and bestoweth the same vpon Kinsane Comarck, neighbor and kinsman to Creie. For this Kuthwen was a great enimie to the cardinall, and much fauored the restored religion: as likewise was Creie, who after the same sort did not beare a friendlie mind to the cardinall, nor to his religion.

By reason whereof, the cardinall supposed, that if he might let them (by this meanes) together by the eares (with manie of both parts would soine for defense of the chiefe of their families) and that if anie side had the worse (as both must be diminished) that then he had by so much abated the power of one of his enimies. Upon which occasion the gouernment of Perth (which had by manie descents remained in the familie of the Kuthwens) might be thus translated to Kinsane. Thus the new capteine was sent with a power to subdue the citizens by force, if they would not willingly obeye: as it seemed that they would not; because they toke it with some grieue, to haue (in this new capteine) the old libertie of voices (in choosing of their gouernor) taken from them. The besieging of the towne being therefore divided into parts, Creie (which had whole taken the matter on him) attempted the ouerthrow thereof, from the bridge of Tale. The other band (hauing laid their artillerie along by the riuer ouer against the towne) did invade the open side of the said Perth.

But because the swelling of the sea did not answer their deuise, they came not in time to doe anie thing therein. Creie assailing it by the bridge (which Kuthwen hauing receiued, and conueied the aid into the next houses, would seeme to leaue vngarded) when he saw no armed men stirring, did (without all feare) enter further into the towne, where he was so sharplie set vpon by Kuthwen, and his companie (suddenlie and vnlooked for breaking out of the houses vpon them) that euerie one hastened to some place by which he might flee awaie. But the multitude confused and diuised into a streit, did let one an other thereof. For they behind, thinking to breake in amongst the other, did hinder the first that they could not flee: in which vnoorderlie multitude, manie were troden vnder foot, and three score were killed with the sword.

The cardinall (although against his mind) hauing heard of the victorie of Kuthwen; yet he did not greatly lament the slaughter made of his aduersaries. After this, the cardinall hauing thus sufficientlie progressed to Angus: he led the gouernor after the fourteenth of December to saint Andzeus, to the end (if it were possible) to bind the gouernor more stricte vnto him. For although before he had the gouernors sonne as pledge with him; yet (as often as he remembered the eagernesse

of the Scottish nobilitie, the strength of his enimies, and the inconstancie of the gouernor) he greatly feared, least the said gouernor should with like lightnesse be drawn, to assist his enimies, as he had bene led to take his part. During the time whilst they were at saint Andzeus, the cardinall caused in the Lent season all the bishops & prelates of the realme to assemble at the towne of saint Andzeus, where a learned man, named master George Wilchart, that had bene in the scholes of Germanie, was accused of heresie, which he had (as was alleged against him) publikelie preached, and priuatlie taught in Dundee, Brechin, and diuerse other parts of Scotland, since his returne home. This matter was so vged against him, that he was conuict, and burnt there in the towne of saint Andzeus during the time of that conuention or assemble.

George wilchart a learned man burnt.

When these things were thus done, the cardinall, although he greatly trusted to his riches; yet because he was not ignorant what were the minds of men, & what speeches the common people had of him) determined to increase his power with new deuises. Wherefore he goeth into Angus, and marieth his eldest daughter (as saith Buchanan) to the earle of Crawford's sonne. Which marriage was solemnized with great preparation, almost answerable to kingly magnificence. During which time, the cardinall vnderstanding by his spies, that the English did prepare to invade the Scottish borders on the sea (and speciallie did threaten those of Fife therewith) returned to saint Andzeus, and appointed a day to the nobilitie, and such as dwelled about the sea coasts, to assemble together to prouide in common for the defense thereof, and to prepare remedie for that hastened euill. For the easier and better performance whereof, he had determined, together with the lords of that countrie, to haue sailed himselfe about the coasts, and to haue defended such places as were most conuenient.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan, lib. 15.

Amongest others that came vnto him, there was a noble young gentleman called Forzman Lelle, sonne to the earle of Kothleie, whereof we haue spoken before manie times. This man (after that he had manie times employed his valiant and faithfull diligence in the behalfe of the cardinall) grew to some contention with the said cardinall for a priuat cause, which for a time did estrange both their minds the one from the other. This same contention did Forzman (being thereto induced with manie faire promises) afterwards let fall. But certeine moneths following (when he returned to demand the performance of such liberall promises) they began to grow from common speech to brawlings, and from thence to bitter taunts & reproches, not fit to be used by anie of them both. Whereupon they departed with the græued minds of euerie of them. For the cardinall being intreated more vnreuerentlie than he would or looked for; and the other threatening that being overtaken by deceit, he would reuenge it: they both returned discontented to their owne people. Whereupon Forzman, declaring to his partakers the intollerable arrogancie of the cardinall, they easilie agreed all to conspire his death. Wherefore, to the end that the same might be lesse suspected, they departed in sunder after ward. This Forzman accompanied onelie with five of his owne traine, entered the towne of saint Andzeus, and went into his accustomed Anne and lodging; trusting that by such small traine he might cunninglie dissemble the determination of the cardinals death. But there were in that towne, ten of those which had consented to this conspiracie; which closed in secret corners, some in one place, and some in an other, did onelie expect the signe which was to be given vnto

to them to execute this devise. **Which** small companie this porman feared not to adventure the death of the cardinall in the same towne, furnished in euerie place with the servants and friends of the cardinall.

Whereupon the thirtieth of Maie, the cardinall being within his castell of saint Andrews, certaine of his owne friends (as he took them) that is to say, the said porman, lord Lesleie, William Kirkcaldie, the young lord of Grange, and Kirkmichell with sirs chosen men, entered the castell verie secretly in the morning, took the porter, and all the cardinals servants, thrusting them out of the place by a posterne gate. And that done, passing to his chamber where he laie in bed, as he got up, and was opening his chamber doze, they slew him, and seized upon the artillerie and munition, wherewith that fortress was plentifully furnished, and likewise with rich hangings, household stuffe of all sorts, apparell, copes, iewels, ornaments of churches; great store of gold and silver plate, beside no small quantitie of treasure in readie coine.

Sir James Warrmouth, porman of saint Andrews, assembled all the people of that towne for the rescue of the cardinall, after he heard that the conspirators were entered the castell; but they shewed the dead bodie of the cardinall over the walke as a spectacle to the people, and so they made no further attempt, with they saw no meane how to remedie or revenge the matter at that present. The cause that moved the conspirators thus to kill the cardinall, was thought to be partlie in revenge of the burning of maister George Wishart, fearing to be served with the same salve, and in the end to be made to drinke of the same cup. Partlie it was thought they attempted it through counsell of some great men of the realme, that had conceived some deadly hatred against him.

\* But Lesleus also, writing of the causes of his death saith, that they were diuerse: as the severall tormentors severallie framed euerie one a part for his owne excuse. For porman & John did complaine, that they were wronged by him with no small iniurie, because that the cardinall had not recompensed him for the losse he sustained; when the cardinall had restored to Colvaine lord thereof (before through the cardinals counsell banished by the king) the castell and possessions of Caister Twemes; which the king had after given to the said porman. The lord Grange affirmed that he revenged himselfe, because he was removed by the cardinals aduise from the office of the treasurer ship, which (being granted by the king to him) he had discharged with great profit to the realme, & honor to himselfe. And Kirkmichell did also say that he was dispossessed by the cardinall of some other (I cannot tell what) possessions. All which causes were but veiles which they spread against the wind and report of so wicked and shamefull a deed. For upon the fact, porman being vered with remorse of conscience, did not onelie labor to pacifie the anger of such, that (either by blood or benefit) were tied to the cardinall with all kind of duties: but did also, to shun the danger thereof, passe into France, and there by valour (in the service of Henrie the second king of France) endeuored to wipe away that note of infamie, which he had cast upon his familie. All which notwithstanding, both he and others (some after one sort, and some after another) were worthilie punished for their wickednes.

The same evening that the cardinall was slaine, the old lord of Grange, maister Henrie Balnais, one of the counsell of the realme, and sundrie gentlemen of the surname of the Spelains, John Knoxs and others, to the number of seven score persons,

threw the cardinall to their support, taking upon them to resist against the gouernor, and his partakers. Not long after, the gouernor, considering that his severe confine the cardinall was thus made auaile, assembled the great lords of the realme, as the earle of Argyll, Huntly, Argyle, and others, by whose aduise he called a parliament, and forsaith them that had slaine the cardinall, and kept the castell of saint Andrews.

Whereupon he raised a power, and besieged the same castell, planting diuerse peeces of great artillerie against it. But it was so strongly furnished with all manner of artillerie & munition by the cardinall in his life time, that they within cared little for all the inforcements that their aduersaries without could aduance against them. Whereupon, after that the siege had continued the space of three moneths, the gouernor was glad to take an appointment with them within, to the end he might get out of their hands his eldest sonne, who was remaining with the cardinall at the time when he was murdered, and so kept by them that did the murder, till now they agreed to deliuer him to his father, with condition that he should raise his siege.

They deliuered also the dead bodie of the cardinall, after it had laine buried in a dunghill within the castell, ever since the day in which they slew him. The gouernor did name the abbat of Passlew his brother to the bishopricke of saint Andrews, and gaue the abbacie of Arbroth (being before granted to James Besson kinsman to the slaine cardinall) to George Dologlasse bassard sonne to the earle of Angus: which things were afterwards occasions of great troubles in the realme. In the yeare next ensuing, king Henrie the eight departed this life, after whome succeeded his sonne Edward, the first of that name, king of England, France, and Ireland. Shortly after, that is to say, the last of March, Francis the French king deceased, and his sonne Henrie the second of that name succeeded him; who at the desire of the gouernor of Scotland, appointed Leone Strofie prior of Capoa, a knight of the order of Malta, with a nauie of 16 gallies, fraught with men of warre, and munition, to passe into Scotland, to helpe to win the castell of saint Andrews.

The gouernor in the meane time with an armie passed to the west borders to besiege the castell of Langhain, the which was kept at that present by Michael Wharton, hauing then with him but sirs ten Englishmen, who neuerthelesse abid three or foure daies siege, and seven canon shots, and so yielded the house to the gouernor: and hereby was the peace broken, first by the Scots, even as the Englishmen could haue wished. Moreover, at the same time, the erle of Rothous then returned out of Denmarke was acquit by an allice (as they call it) of earles and lords, of an accusation wherewith he was charged; as confederat and partie with them that had murdered the cardinall.

Whilist the gouernor was thus passed with his armie to the west borders, he was aduertised that the prior of Capoa was arrived, and against the wills of such as were against it, entered into the towne of saint Andrews: whereupon the gouernor, with all the nobilitie that were then about him, hastened thither to assist the prior, and so the siege was strongly laid about the castell there. The prior caused certaine peeces of artillerie to be dratzen up, and mounted on the top of a church, which was higher than the castell; so that those peeces shot plump into the castell; that none durst shew themselves on the walls, or abroad in the yard within the castell. He caused also certaine canons to be dratzen with engines,

The cardinall of saint Andrews murdered.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 481.

1546. The ouerthrow of the cardinall completed.

The castell of saint Andrews besieged.

The siege raised.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 483.

1547. The king of England deceased.

The death of the French king.

The castell of saint Andrews yielded.

The prior of Capoa.

The duke of Summerlee protector of England.

He entred Scotland with an armie.

The order of the English armie.

The castell of saint Andrews besieged by the French.

The order of the English armie.

gins, were to the herte walls of the castell, which battered the same in such sort, as the ditches were nere hand filled with the rubbish and stones of the walls that fell do wne.

Whereupon, the gallies at an high water approached on the river side so nere to the castell, that with shot of canons and other artillerie, they soe annoyed them within, and the diuerse. The defendants perceiving themselves thus besieged on all sides, & not able long to hold out, put forth a token upon a speares point, to signifie that they desired parlee, which was granted, and certeine of their comming forth, were admitted to talke with the gouernour, the quene, and the prior of Capoa. They offered to surrender the castell, so they might depart, and haue their liues saved with bag and baggage.

But, this would not be granted: the gouernour, beinge refusing it, at length he was content to pardon them of their liues, if the French king should thinke it good, else to stand to his pleasure. The spoile of the castell was giuen to the Frenchmen, who by on the surrender ontring the same, left nothing behind him that might serue them to auie use in taking it away. All the principall men within it were led to the gallies, and conueied abate into France prisoners at the French kings discretion. Diuerse of them were committed to sundrie prisons on the coast of Britaine, and others were appointed to row in the gallies till the yeare 1550, in which the prisoners we set at libertie, and the others that were in the gallies were redeemed by their friends for certeine summes of monie.

Thus was the castell of Saint Andrews, renued the nine and twentieth of Julie, fourtene daies after the arrivall there of the prior of Capoa, whereby his great magnificence, well known afore that time, was so renowned, as his praise for his speedie dispatch and good success thereto was much advanced. Shortly after, the duke of Summerset, theretofore in his booke named earle of Hereford, uncle by the mother unto the young king of England, and admitted gouernour of his person, and protector of all his realmes, dominions, and subiects, minding the advancement of the young king his nephew, thought good both all speed to procure the consummation of the marriage, betwixt him, and the young quene of Scots.

But perceiving that the same could not be brought to passe without force, he seemed loth to let passe the opportunitye of time, which offered (as he took it) to serue his purpose; and thereupon by aduise of counsell, leued an armie with all expedition, and came to Wexford, about the latter end of August; and in the beginning of September, entred Scotland with the same armie, containinge seauentene thousand men, which was diuided into three principall warres, and a fourth guard by the hand of earle of Arundell, the battell by the duke of Summerset himselfe, and the rearward by the lord Darnley the north and colindale north, and south.

There were certein brigades and troopes of men of armes, demilances, and light horsemen, (and also of harquebussiers, that attended them these three wayes) a great number of great artillerie. The lord Darnley was high marshall of the armie; him the generall conducted the men of armes and demilances, Sir Francis Balfour, lieutenant of the light horsemen, and eight hundred of the reir were appointed with the same guard. Sir Peter Spens was captaine of the hundred harquebussiers, and Sir Francis Balfour was captaine of the hundred light horsemen, which were appointed to the battell. And Sir Richard Spenser, with the hundred light horsemen, attended upon the rearward. In this order marching through the spers, and

Louthian, they came at length into a place called Buckling Braies, nere to the fifth side, in which river the English fleet was arrived, and lay before the towne of Leith, but now by order giuen came backe from thence, and lay nearer to the armie. The gouernour of Scotland aduertised of the comming of this armie of England thus to invade Scotland, with all diligence sent abroad solemn summons for the leuieng of a new armie swift of all parts of the realme, supposing thereby to be sufficientlie furnished and enabled for the encounter; happen when it should, the contrarie part (no doubt) being likewise opinioned, and both hoping, as greedilie gaping, after the glorie of victorie.

For the gouernour did at tempt at this time that which is accustomed to be used in the greatest dangers of the countrie: which was, that he sent out wellengers through all the realme, who carrying a herte crosse in their hands, should make signe (and declare) asswell to the laitie, as to the churchmen; that all they which were above fiftene yeares old, and under fiftie, should presentlie (with their armes) repair to Dunblow, and there be ready to defend the libertie of the countrie; who accordingly came to Dunblow (within lesse than two miles of the place where the English armie came to incampe, lieng at Breton) placed themselves at Intuernele ouer against their enemies.

Here we haue to vnderstand, that the Scots light horsemen oftentimes would come picking almost within their stauess, length of the Englishmen as they marched, whooping and shouting, to the end they might traine them forth from their strength, and with railing words would still be in hand to provoke them thereto. But the duke of Summerset, doubting the goodnesse of the Scottish pickers, gaue secret commandement, that no offer of skirmish by the Scottish horsemen should be taken. But at length the lord Greie of Wiltton, not able to heare such bold presumption in the Scots, aduenturing (as he spoke it) ouer rashlie, and more than stood with their owne hurtie, made sute to the duke of Summerset, that if they continued in such brauerie, it might be lawfull for him to set them further off.

The duke at the first by no means would assent thereto, telling the lord Greie, that his desire proceeded more of a coloure of courage, than of any knowledge of the enemie, and seemed to defend the goodnesse of the Scottish horsemen: but when the lord Greie persisted in his sute, and the earle of Arundell assisted his request, the duke in the end yielded thereto. Whereupon when the lord Darnley with the Scots the next time (which was on the fiftidate the ninth of September) came forth to offer the skirmish after their wonted manner, the lord Greie taking with him certein bands of horsemen, both vnder of armes, demilances, and also light horsemen, diuided them in troopes, appointing the Spanish and Italian bagbatters on horsebacke to keepe on a wing, and to guard the hindermost troope of the English horsemen.

He also gaue order to the leaders of euerie troope, that to which soeuer the enemie should once offer, in any wise, that no answer by skirmish were made them, but after they had drawne them to their accustomed plain, and offer of charge, that troope that it was offered unto, presentlie upon the enemies whooping about should thoughtlie giue it them; and that so giuen, the next troope presentlie to giue it in the face: and so (as occasion) should without breauing. The Scots comming forward, picking and whooping after their old wont, the Englishmen for a while, till at the last, foure of five hundred.

The English fleet.

The gouernour raised an armie.

Fr. Thin. Lessius lib. 10. pag. 485.

The goodnes of the Scottish horsemen feared of the Englishmen. The lord Greie desired to encounter the Scottish horsemen.

Order giuen by the lord Greie.

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The castell of S. Andrews pulled.

The prior of Capoa.

The duke of Summerset protector of England.

He entred Scotland with an armie

The order of the English armie.

at the first

fell of the

died of them came scattered upon the spurre, with a marvellous shout within a stones length of the for- most troope.

Nicholas Gainefford.

The Scots horsemen put to flight.

Fr.Thin.

English cap- tains taken.

Fr.Thin. Buchanan lib. 15.

These thinking then to haue wheeled about, mas- ser Nicholas Gainefford, the leader of that troope, and lieutenant of the lord Greles band of his men of armes of Bellinghrie, cried; A charge, which as spee- dily on the English part as vnlooked for of the Scots being giuen, from charging at that time in sport, the Scots were dyuen to gallop atwaie so fast as their horse might beare them, losing of their companies that were taken and slaine, to the number of eight hundred and more (as some haue written) [at what time the lord Hume (as sayth Lelcus lib. 10. pa. 486) falling from his horse, was grievously wounded, and caried to Edinburgh, and his eldest sonne was taken prisoner] but yet, as diuerse of the English men aduentured to farre in following the chase, they were distressed, and sundrie of them taken prisoners, among the which were some of their captains, as se- 20 Rafe Bulmer, Thomas Colver, & Robert Crouch, each of them hauing in charge the leading of seuerall bands of light horsemen. & Thus much for this first daies skirmish, wherein the chiefest force of the Scottish horsemen was defeated, to the great discour- agement of the rest.

\* The English armie remaining still at Per- thon, did from a hill behold the number of the Scots, who (supposing that they saw a greater number than in truth there was) assembled in the meane time to consult of the estate of their affaires. And thereupon sent letters to the Scots, desiring that if they might obtaine any thing by iustice, that they should rather end the warre with covenants than with canons. The effect of which letters tended to this end. That the English did greatlie intreat the Scots, first to remember that both armies were christian men, to and of whom (vnlesse they utterly forget their pro- fession) there should nothing be more welcome nor desired than peace & tranquillitie, and nothing more detestable than warre and vnjust force. Besides this, that the cause of this present warre did not grow of couetousnesse, hatred or enuie, but from the desire of perpetuall peace, which could not be better or more firmly established by any means, but by the league of matrimonie (being promised and confirmed by the publike consent and pledge of the nobilitie) with those conditions which were more beneficiall for the Scots than the English, being such as did not call them into seruitude, but into a fellowship and liberall 50 imparting of all their fortunes each to other. For so much more should that marriage be commodious to the Scots than to the English, by how much the hope of profit, and the feare of injuries should be greater from the stronger to the weaker.

Wherefore they should chiefly consider (and in this kind) this to be their greatest reason, that since that their quene was of necessitie to be giuen in mar- riage by the Scots, and that the same necessitie was not to be avoided; and the moderation therein belie- 60 hard: that the onelie power to chuse hir a husband was left vnto the publike counsell or parliament. And if they would chuse (to their quene) a husband for the publike profit and dignitie: of whom could they better take chuse, than of a king their neigh- bor, borne in the same land, neere of blood, instruct- ed in the same lawes, brought vp in the same man- ners and language; not their superiour onelie in re- ches, but almost also in all commodities and in- uments of eternall things, and such a person which did bring with him peace, concord, amitie, and the for- getting of all old injuries: But if they call to them any other (differing from them in language, man- ners, and lawes) to take the kingdome: let them

thinke with themselves, what and how manie dis- commodities will grow thereby, and to what euill counsels they shall indanger themselves: the which they may learne by the example of other nations, be- ing farre better to be taught it by the misfortunes of others, than to feele the smart thereof by their owne experience.

Wherefore (as touching themselves) if they shall not perceiue the Scottish nation to be estranged from this amitie and concord, they would mitigate somewhat of their former promises (which by law they might challenge) and be contented that the maiden quene should be brought vp amongst them, and be alwaies in their power, vntill the time that nature should enable hir fit for marriage, and vntill such time as she might chuse hir a husband by the aduise of the nobilitie. And that in the meane time (vntill the same might be performed) that both the nations should ab- staine from warre: and that also the quene (during that time) should neiether be conueied into any strange nation: nor that they should conclude any pact or covenant with the French, or any other for- reyne prince touching hir marriage. The which if the Scots would most holliely and handsomely promise, the English would forthwith depart with a quiet armie. And further, that if the English had commit- ted any hurt or spoile (since they came into the coun- 30 trie) they would recompense the same by the indige- nent of good men.

These letters thus sent, the gouernor did impart vnto a few, and of those especiallie to John his bro- ther bishop of saint Andrews (taken vnto him in place & authoritie of the same cardinall.) These two aduanced with great hope of victorie, were the cause that these letters were suppressed, because they feared that if the equall conditions of peace were knowne abroad, the most part would willingly incline to the same quiet aduise. Wherefore they procured a false rumor to be spread through the host, that the English men were come thither with determination to take atwaie the quene by force, and by strength of armes to bring the whole kingdome into their subiecti- on. For the gouernor, being faint spirited by nature, had chosen vnto him foure such other counsellors (like vnto himselfe) in the affaires of warre, by whose com- mand & becke all things were performed. Of which number were his three kinsmen, John archbishop of saint Andrews, the abbat of Dunfermling, George Dornie, with Archibald Beton; and the fourth was Hugh Wige, a lawyer, rather famous for his grosse bodie and foolish conditions, than any know- ledge in politicke affaires. There were had so passed by the gouernor (inconsistant by his owne nature, and hanging his counsell by the wind of euery rumor) that he would with stopped eares heare all other menes of pacification. For the teneue time, his friends ha- 40 uing heard a false tale (though the Scottish host by him was led), the Scots ran in all hast to their weapons, whose vnadvised speed was in the end the cause of their vnfortunat proceedings, as after shall appeare.

For he taught us (as the Scots haue reported) that the gouernor and the nobilitie of Scotland meant not to hazard battell with their owne realm, but rather to be still in defence their ground, if the Eng- lishmen should come forward to giue them battell there. The Englishmen aduised therof, the more rois at this great skarmish, called their field to be ready, purposing to take an hill called Pinkhill, where they might place their ordinance, and to that into the Scottish campe, whither they should force the Scots to vnderstand that they stood of honor- 60 tage. The gouernor and the Scottish lords beholding their enemies thus marching forward, thought best to

The Scots meant not to haue giuen battell.

The outposts of the Eng- lishmen.

to state their enterprife, and therefore suddenly, notwithstanding their former determination, rushing forth of their campe, passed forward to encounter their enemies.

They were divided into three battells; Archibald Dowlaglas earle of Angus, with certeine lords with him, led the vant-gard; George Gordon earle of Huntleie, and his friends the rere-ward; and the gouernor accompanied with the earle of Argile and the rest of the noble men, were in the maine battell. The Englishmen hauing got the hill, and perceiuing the Scots to come forwards with great hast, staied for their comming: but the Scots were so rash and ha- stie, passing first through the water in their armour, and so by towards the hill, that continuing their march with such speed, as they seemed rather to trot, than to keepe anie ordinarie marching pace, before they could come to loine with the Englishmen, they were almost out of breath.

Robert, the earle of Angus, and the other in the vant-gard, boldlie abid the charge of all the Eng- lish horsemen, and forgozoudie reencountred them, that slateng and beating downe no small number both of men and horses, they put the rest to flight; so that no small part of them retired backe in such dis- order, that they ran thorough the ranks of the foot- men in the fore-ward, wherewith such feare entered a- mong the Englishmen, that (as hath bene reported) they had vndoubtedlie fled, if the manfull courage of the earle of Marwick had not bene shewed at that present, according to the wonted valure of his often approued prowesse, whereby he caused them to state, and relie themselves againe.

In the meane time, the battell and the rere-ward of the Scots advanced forward with great courage. But there was a gallee & two pinesses of the Eng- lish fleet, which from the sea shot so terrible at the Scottish armie, that the same was not onelie foze galled and indamaged thereby, but also staied, that they could not come easilie forward. And herewith the English vant-gard incouraged with the comfor- table words and behavior of the earle of Marwick, and other the capteins, made towards the Scottish vant-gard againe: the which not able of it selfe to re- sist, retired in good order to the great battell of Scot- land. Whereupon, the multitude fearing, by reason they saw them in the fore-ward thus retire (albeit in good order) that all had bene lost, gaue backe, and toke them to flight; whome the Englishmen follow- ed amaine, slateng the Scottishmen downe on heaps in passing great numbers. Many were also drow- ned in the water of Anderfke, through the which they toke their flight.

The earle of Huntleie and the rere-gard stood still with their ensignes and banners, till the chafe was past by them: but at length were diuinen to make a- waie as well as the rest, and the earle himselfe in the retire being taken on foot, well clad in gilt armour inameled, was led prisoner to the lord protector. Di- uerse other men of name, barons, and knights, were taken prisoners. There were slaine no small number of personages of good account. Among other, the lord Fleming, the maister of Erskin, the maister of Cra- bam, the maister of Hestine, the maister of Agiluite, the maister of Leningston, the maister of Kelle (the maister of Argendale and Hestane) the lord of Lo- chintwar, the lord of Glencarnocke, & others. [There were taken prisoners diuerse noble men, the lord Zelltrie, the earle of Huntleie chancelor of the realme, and others, as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 487.]

The next day, the English armie remoued to Leith, where the prisoners were put into a church, di- uerse of them being sore wounded. But the earle of Huntleie, entering bond for them that they should

well and trulie paie their ransomes, agreed vpon be- twixt them and their takers, or else to come and pre- sent themselves prisoners in England by a certeine day, they were suffered to depart. \* The calamitie of which bloudie day, there were not a few which did impute lustie to happen to the Scots, because they did arrogantlie reiect such honorable and beneficiall peace, and did hope (if they obtained the victorie) to haue used more crueltie to their owne people than vnto the English, either because they would (as I my selfe coniecture) reuenge old quarels, or else haue used extremitie against such as secretlie misliked this condia with the English.)

The gouernor, escapng from the battell, came to Striueling, where the quene regent was, together with hir daughter the yong quene. Here, by the counsell and abuse of the earle of Angus [Argile, Kotesen, and Castles] and diuerse other lords that were also withdrawne thither after the battell, they were conueied to the countrie of Henteith, where they remained in the abbey of Inch Spahome [deli- uering the yong quene to hir mother, Erskine and Leningstone to be kept there] till the English armie was departed out of the realme, and then they re- moued againe, and came to Striueling. [After that the gouernor had deliuered the earle out of prison at Edinburgh] the English name Iuan the Ile of saint Colmes Inch [in the meane time] and did sundrie o- ther exploits by sea, as in the English historie it may appere.

Moreouer, the earle of Bothwell, whome the go- uernor had before kept in prison, and was the night after the battell set at libertie, repared to the duke of Summerfet, with diuerse other lords and gentlemen of Louthian, whilst he late at Leith, offering them- selues to be at the king of Englands commande- ment, and so were assured from receiuing hurt or da- mage by the English powder. The duke of Summer- fet hauing remained at Leith eight daies, burnt a peece of it, and demanding the castell of Edinburgh, but could not obtaine it, departed thence the eight- teenth of December homewards the next waie, ouer the mountains of Soutreie, comming the third day befoze the castell of Hume, where they did so much by countenancing to win that fortresse, that within three or foure daies after their comming thither, it was surrendered.

This castell being woone, & a garrison left there, in to keepe it, they remoued to Rockesburgh, where within the compasse of the ruinous walls of an old castell, they built a fort; & after returning into Eng- land, left a conuenient garrison to keepe it. They got also about the same time a strong fortresse, called Fast castell, standing nere to the sea side, and placed a garrison within it. And moreouer, in this meane time, their fleet by sea Iuan the castell of Broughtie crag, and put in like manner a garrison within it to keepe the same (as in the English historie it may fur- ther appere) and in what fort also all the chiefest lords and gentlemen of the Spers and Luidale came in, and submitted themselves to the duke of Summer- fet, vpon assurance had and giuen.

Furthermore, whilst the duke of Summerfet with his armie did thus invade Scotland on the east part, it was ordeined by the said duke, and other of the counsell to the king of England, that Mattheu earle of Lennox, and Thomas lord Barton, then warden of the west marches of England, should with a power invade Scotland on the west side, to the end that there should not anie of the west borders nor countries come to assist the gouernor against the duke of Summerfets armie, but be diuinen to re- maine at home to defend their owne countrie. Here- vpon, there was an armie ledd, to the number of

The earle of Huntleie en- tereth bond for his coun- triemen. Fr. Thin. Buchan lib. 15.

The quene remoued from Striueling. Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 487.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

The Ile of saint Colmes Inch Iuan by Englishmen.

The earle of Bothwell.

1547.

The English armie retur- neth home- wards.

Hume castell rendred to the Englishmen.

Fast castell woone by them. Broughtie crag woone.

The ordering of the Scottish battels.

The English horsemen waren backe.

The valiant- nefe of the earle of Mar- wick.

The gallee and two pin- wises.

The earle of Huntleie ca- tan prisoner.

Open of name of Scots realme. Fr. Thin.

not at en

hope ng.

The castell of  
Whike pielded

five thousand footmen, and eight hundred light horse-  
men, with which powder the earle of Lennor and the  
lord Wharton entering Scotland the eighth of Sep-  
tember, incamped the first night upon the water of  
Elke, and marched the next day through the nether  
part of Annandale, till they came to the castell of  
Whike, a fortreffe of good strength, the wals being  
fourtene foorthie.

Captaine of this castell was one John Stewart,  
brother to the lard thereof, who upon the approach  
of the earle of Lennor, yielded the house to him, with-  
out any shew of resistance. Whereupon, Fergus  
Graham, brother to Richie Graham of Erke, was  
appointed with a garrison of souldiours to keepe that  
castell to the vse of the young king of England, and  
was afterwards confirmed captaine there with fif-  
tie light horsemen, by appointment of the duke of  
Summerfet, the counsell, so that during the wars,  
he remained there to the great annoiance of the  
Scots, enemies to England, and preservation of the  
countie therabouts to the king of Englands vse.

On the twentieth of September, the earle of Len-  
nor, and the lord Wharton, incamped nere to the  
towne of Annand, and on the morrow after appo-  
ching nearer to the same, gave summons unto the  
captaine thereof, called Lion, of the house of Glamis,  
who with an hundred Scots, whereof Sparwell and  
Johnstone, and Cokpull (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. p. 489.  
being parcell) kept the church and steeple of An-  
nand, being peeces of themselves verie strong and  
mightilie reinforced with earth: they within there-  
fore refused to yeld, and valiantlie defended them-  
selves. The greatest peeces of artillerie, which the  
Englishmen had there at that time, were certeine  
double and single falcons, wherewith they beat one  
lie the battlements, till they might with certeine en-  
gines approach hard to the wals, and undermine the  
same, so as the rofe of the church was shaken downe,  
and a great number of them within the church slaine  
and crushed to death. Such as escaped fled into the  
steeple.

Two of the Englishmen that wrought about the  
mines, were slaine: but at length, the captaine mo-  
ued by perswasion of the earle of Lennor, to whom  
he claimed to be of kin, rendered the steeple to him,  
with himselfe, and 96 Scots souldiours, with conditi-  
on to haue their liues onelie saued, and the captaine  
to remaine prisoner, and to go into England. Im-  
mediatlie upon their coming forth of the steeple,  
fire was giuen unto the traines of powder in the  
mines, and so both the church & steeple were blazen  
up into the aire, & faced downe to the ground. This  
done, they burnt the towne (after they had sacked  
it) and left not one stone standing upon another, so  
that the same towne had euer borne a verie noisome  
neighbor to England.

The Englishmen had conceived such spite to-  
wards this towne, that if they saw but a pece of  
timber remaining unburnt, they would cut the same  
in peeces with their bills. The countie here with was  
stricken in such feare, that the next day all the Bil-  
patricks, the Jordeins, the lards of Kirkcubell, A-  
pplawth, Clontarne, Dalmenides, Pubie, and the  
Berreings, the Wels, the Rigs, the Spurroies, and  
all the clanes and families of the nether part of  
Annandale, came on, and receiued an oath of obe-  
dience, as subiects to the king of England, deliuering  
 hostages for their assured loialtie. The residue that  
would not come in and submit themselves, had their  
houses burnt, their goods and cattell seuerallwise  
by the English light horsemen, that were sent a-  
broad into the countie for that purpose.

These things thus executed, the earle of Lennor,  
and the lord Wharton, returned backe into England

with their prisoners, booties, and spoiles; receiuing  
great thankes and commendations by gentle letters  
on the first of twentieth of September, from the duke  
of Summerfet, then lieng at Rochesburgh, about  
fortifienth of that place. The gouernor perceiuing  
thus that without the assistance of France he should  
not be able to resist the Englishmen, hauing now  
got such hold within the realme of Scotland, re-  
quired the quene Dowager, and monsieur Doffell,  
liger ambassador for the French king, to persuaue  
with him by letters, to send an armie into Scotland,  
to the aid of his friends there.

The quene and monsieur Doffell, perceiuing a  
readie way prepared to bring that to passe which they  
most desired (which was, to haue the quene of Scot-  
land ordered in all things by the French kings ad-  
uise) they undertooke to procure an armie out of  
France, according to the gouernors desire, if he with  
the states of the realme would agree that the quene  
might be sent into France, and a contract made for  
his bestowing in marriage, as stood with the French  
kings pleasure. The gouernor condescending here-  
unto, assembled the states, and by their aduices, pas-  
sed certeine covenants to the effect aforesaid, & sent  
the same in writing by certeine messengers into  
France.

The French king gladlie accepting this message,  
prepared a nauie of ships and gallies to transport an  
armie into Scotland the next summer. In the  
meane time, the gouernor laied siege to Broughtie  
crag, and the duke of Summerfet, as well for meane  
to cause the Scots to retire that siege, as also for the  
annoiance of Clibdale, appertaining to the gouer-  
nor and the earle of Angus, and other Scots that  
would not come in to the obedience of the king of  
England; appointed the earle of Lennor to make a  
new invasion into Scotland, and to vse for trial of  
their skelties the helpe of two thousand Scottish  
light horsemen, that were already assured & sworne  
to serue the king of England in all such exploits in  
which they should be employed.

The earle of Lennor desirous to aduance the king  
of Englands affaires, and hauing receiued letters  
from William earle of Glencarne, with promise of  
his assistance, and like wise of his father, in law the  
earle of Angus, the lard of Dumlairig, and those  
lards and gentlemen of the countie of Aile, Con-  
ningham, Kenfren, and Lennor, entered Scotland  
about the twelfth of December, accompanied with  
Henrie Wharton, second son to the lord Wharton,  
with two hundred light horsemen, of the garrisons  
in Scotland, and coming first to Dunfreis, where  
the generall assemblee was appointed of the two  
thousand assured Scottish light horsemen, when the  
muster should be taken, he found scarce three hun-  
dred, and those for the more part of the broken con-  
tries of Annandale, Clibdale, Eldale, and Aildale.

The earle of Glencarne came thither indeed, but  
under a counterfeit shew of good meaning, where in  
truth he went nothing but craft to discover all the  
earle of Lennor his purposes: who perceiuing his  
double dealing, and finding no such forces readie to  
assist him, as he looked for, and moreover, mistrusting  
the loialties of the matter of Sparwell, & the gentle-  
men of Clibdale, meaning (as he took it) to intrap  
him, and deliuer him to the quene Dowager, and  
the said gouernor, stood in some perplexitie what way  
should be the best for him to follow, thinking it not to  
stand with his honor to returne, without atting  
some enterprize.

The earle of Glencarne had shewed to him two  
letters written by the lard of Dumlairig, signifi-  
fing that if the earle of Lennor came, accompanied

The gouer-  
nor is late to  
the quene  
Dowager,  
and to the  
French am-  
bassadors.

The quene  
Dowager  
promiseth aid  
out of France  
with condi-  
on.

The gouernor  
sendeth into  
France for  
aid.  
Broughtie  
crag besieged  
by the gouer-  
nor.

The earle of  
Lennor enter-  
eth into  
Scotland.

The earle of  
Glencarne  
his double  
dealing.

The earle of  
Lennor in  
doubt what to  
do.

The earle of  
Lennor du-  
mblairig &  
dumblairig

1547. Bu

hopsteme  
sent forth  
scourge  
Dumblairig

They ha-  
the count  
house Dum-  
laurig.

Dumblairig  
purloin  
English

He is a  
light.

The  
Dum-  
crag

Fr. Thin.

The church  
of Annand  
undermined.

The steeple  
pielded.

The church  
and steeple of  
Annand  
blazen by  
with powder.

The Scots  
that came to  
assure them-  
selves.

onellie with Scottishmen, he would both serve him  
and honor him in the best sort he might; but if he  
brought those Englishmen in his company, he  
would not onellie refuse to aid him, but also raise all  
the powers might make, either by his friends or o-  
pponents to resist him, and protest him a repulse.  
The earle thus perceiving that he was in danger  
to be betrayed among them, and that there were all  
the double practices that might be used, those that  
should comend the devotion of the king of England,  
disssembled the matter with Glenarvie, and other  
that were shewnt to betray him, pretending to  
them, that he would follow the course of their devi-  
ses.

The earle of  
Lennor dis-  
sembled with  
dissmblers.

1547. Buch.

But in the meantime he gathered together the Eng-  
lish captains that were appointed to attend him, and  
also such Scottishmen as he knew he might trust.  
Amongst them he chose William, the son of his  
brother, for that he was the chief instrument to raise  
all the Scottishmen to those parties. Then entering  
friendship with the Englishmen, he gave secret  
warning to all the captains & leaders about nine of  
the clocke at night, that they should be ready with  
their men to follow on horsebacke at the sound of  
the trumpet, and keepe with them the earle of Gles-  
carne, the master of Sparwell, the lards of Clot-  
burne, Kirkmichell, and others the gentlemen of Gl-  
desdale and Annandale.

He sent forth six hundred chosen horsemen upon  
sound of the trumpet, at twelve of the clocke at  
night, under the leading of Henrie Wharton, and o-  
ther the captains of the garrisons, who in the daw-  
ning of the next morning, arrived nere the place of  
Dumlanrig, where they appointed four hundred of  
their horsemen to passe to the forre, who raised fire,  
and burnt two milles in length, both towne and vil-  
lages on each side, even hard to the gates of Dum-  
lanrig, spoiling the houses of goods and riches, worth  
to the value of two thousand marks, got three thou-  
sand sheepe, two thousand herd of great cattell, be-  
side nine score horses and mares.

The Annandalers laden with spoile and cattell,  
being in number four hundred men, departed with  
their prey homewards. The lard of Dumlanrig, li-  
eng all this while in ambush with seven hundred  
men, forbare to breake out to give any charge upon  
his enemies, doubting least the earle of Lennor had  
kept a stale behind; but now after he perceived that  
the most part of the enemies were departed, and that  
the residue of the gentlemen & captains of the Eng-  
lish horsemen were withdrawing towards Dunfre-  
is, being not past six score men, he fiercely followed  
after them with his power, in hope not onellie to o-  
verthrow and distress them, but also to take the earle  
of Lennor at Dunfreis.

Maister Henrie Wharton and those six score horse-  
men, retiring beyond the water of Forth, and percei-  
ving that Dumlanrig and his men entered the wa-  
ter rather to pursue them, returned, and gave such a  
desperate charge upon them, that Dumlanrig and  
his company were scattered and put to flight: yet  
Dumlanrig himselfe, although there were some  
speares broken upon him, through the goodness of  
his horse escaped. Two gentlemen of his surname  
and traine, that were in no small estimation with  
him, were slain, and six score prisoners taken, and  
led to Dunfreis. The terror of this overthrow, and  
the hate of the earle of Lennor his entire thus  
made into Scotland, raised the governor to lenie  
his siege from Broughtie crag, and with speed to  
come from thence, the better to defend his countrey  
of Clidesdale, and Dowgladale. Sir Andrew W-  
leie, capitaine of Broughtie crag, bare himselfe verie  
valiantlie, in defending the castell during this siege,

The siege of  
Broughtie  
crag raised.

so that the Scots vertes lost discrete hardie persona-  
ges: and among other, Gawen Hamilton, the go-  
vernors kinsman, was slain at the same siege.  
The priot of Whiterne by his letters  
and messengers, offered himselfe to obiect the king of  
England, and the inhabitants of the burrough and  
haunt towne of Winton and Birchoberie, the  
knights of Loghinwar and Carlets, the lard and tu-  
tor of Bomble, the lard of Carlines, & all the gentle-  
men of Annandale, Glidesdale, and Galloway, then  
to Whiterne, being four score miles in length from  
Caerleill, through the fastiment of the forest of  
Dumlanrig, and of the knights of Loghinwar and Carlets,  
(for the favour they bare to the earle of Lennor) with-  
in two daies after the discomfiture of Dumlanrig,  
came unto Dunfreis, and there received an oth to be  
true to the king of England, and afterwards went  
with the earle to Caerleill, leaving the countrey in  
good quiet, and the king of England acknowledged  
for lord of Galloway, Glidesdale, and Annandale,  
by the inhabitants thereof.

And after that the forenamed persons had reman-  
ned for a space at Caerleill, they delivered pledges,  
but especiallie for John Sparwell, & returned home  
to their countrey, as assured men & subjects to the k-  
ing of England. In this meane while, the governor ha-  
ving held siege before the castell of Broughtie crag,  
by the space of thirtie daies, and now retiring from  
thence (as before ye have heard) by the aduise of the  
principall lordes about him, he caused maister James  
Halsburton, tutor of those parties, to raise cer-  
teine companies of horsemen, and appointed him  
with capitaine Leismouth (whome he left in Dun-  
fre with certeine footmen) to defend the countrey a-  
gainst the Englishmen, if they issued forth  
Broughtie crag, to attempt any enterprise  
where nere thereabouts.

The duke of Summerset by aduise of the residue  
of the counsell in England, intending to abide the  
Scots that refused to come in & submit themselves  
to the king of England, took order with the lord of  
Wilton, who (as saith Lelies lib. 10. pag. 491) re-  
mained in Scotland from the fourth Ides of April,  
until the tenth kalends of June for the building of  
one fort at Larder, and an other at Waddington, as  
in the English historie it may appeare. And further  
it was appointed also, that about the end of Februa-  
rie, the earle of Lennor and the lord Wharton, with  
seven hundred English horsemen, beside the assu-  
red Scots horsemen, and about four or five thou-  
sand English footmen, should by the west borders in-  
vade Scotland: they according to their commission  
set forward, and the first night came to Wuchina-  
ben, and there lodged.

The next day they marched to Dunfreis, and  
whilest they remained there, the earle of Angus be-  
trug come to Dumlanrig, by messengers entred  
some talke with his sonne in law the earle of Len-  
nor. But sith it was perceived that this was done,  
rather to intrap the earle of Lennor, or rather at the  
least wise to draw time, upon consultation had with  
the maister of Sparwell, the lard of Clidesdale and An-  
nandale, it was concluded, that the towne of W-  
ton, Wudere, and others, nere adjoining together  
in those parts, should be burnt; to the end that the  
earle of Angus might so be drawn to the field, and  
caught by some one meane or other.

About midnought therefore, the forrate being set  
forth, under the leading of maister Henrie Whar-  
ton, to the number of twelve hundred light horse-  
men, the maister of Sparwell, now lord Herries,  
and the residue of the assured men being amongst  
them kept forward, and in the morning the earle of  
Lennor,

The priot of  
Whiterne.

The Scots  
deliver pled-  
ges.

James Hol-  
burton.  
Capitaine  
Leismouth.

1547. Lesle.

Fr. Thio.  
Forts built.

1548.

The earle of  
Lennor and  
the L. whar-  
ton invade  
Scotland.

The dissim-  
ulation of the  
earle of An-  
gus.

Maister Hen-  
rie wharton,  
re wharton.

The earle of  
Lennor.

e gover-  
sute to  
quene  
wager,  
to the  
mch ame  
accors.

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y into  
cotland.

he earle of  
encarne  
double  
ding.

he earle of  
unor in  
ubt what to

he lard of  
zumlanrig.

He is put to  
flight.

The earle of Angus put to flight.

Dunsdore set on fire.

The revolting of the assured Scots.

A false rumor spread.

The Scots put to flight.

Dunfries spoiled,

Lennor, and the lord Wharton marched forth with the footmen, till they came ten miles beyond Dunfries. And where the earle of Angus was drawn to the castell of Dumlanrig, vnder pretense to commune with his sonne the earle of Lennor (but meaning to intrap him) if it were possible, he was so intrapped by the English footmen yet he could haue sufficient warning, that he was forced to flee onelic with five persons in his companie. But now the English horsemen being come to Dunsdore, eight or foure miles within the realme of Scotland, hauing passed sundrie great rivers, they set that towne on fire.

But the maister of Spawell, with the other Scottish gentlemen and light horsemen borderers, to the number of foure hundred, being in companie of the English horsemen (as before ye haue heard) had contriued the destruction of the Englishmen afore hand. And the better to worke their feat, they had procured (as ye haue heard) the earle of Angus to come vnto Dumlanrig with a chosen power of men for that purpose. There were also vpon euerie hill about, great numbers of Scottish footmen, with speares and lancehaues to assist the earle of Angus and his complices against the Englishmen. The lord of Dumlanrig with a number of chosen horsemen was advanced forward in sight of the Englishmen, as they were busie in firing the towne of Dunsdore.

The assured Scots therefore, thinking the enterprise to be surer inough conueid for their contriued purpose, openlie vpon the field nere to Dunsdore, hoisting vp a blacke pennon vpon a speares point for a token, revolted wholie, and ioined themselves to the lord of Dumlanrig and other their countrie men, & thrust in betwixt the English horsemen & footmen, to the great perill of distressing aswell the one as the other. For making toward the place where the earle of Lennor, and the lord Wharton were comming forward with their footmen, nere to the old castell of Dauswinton, sometime the house of the Cumins, they huted it abroad, that the English horsemen were quite ouerthrowen.

The earle of Lennor, beholding the manner of his aduersaries, lighted on foot from his horse, willing the lord Wharton to do the like; for this day (said he) I will die a true Englishman. At length the English horsemen fetching a compasse in retiring backe from Dunsdore, came nere to the place where the earle and the lord Wharton were ranged in order of battell: and thinking no lesse but that their horsemen had bene ouerthrowen, were readie to march backe toward Dunfries. But their horsemen thus comming in, and perceiuing how the matter stood, gaue a right valiant charge vpon the Scots, that stood countenancing the footmen, and readie to take the aduantage, if they might haue giuen them through thinking backe into anie disorder.

But such was the violence of the shooke giuen at that instant, with great manhod (vndoubtedlie) by the English horsemen, that the Scots were there with put out of araye, scattered, & quite put to flight; the lord of Dumlanrig being taken prisoner, corrupted his taker, and so got away. The maister of Spawell escaped in great danger of life, for he had sundrie speares broken on him in the chase as he fled awaie. There were yet taken that day of the Scots to the number of foure hundred, beside sundrie that were drowned in the water of Tyth. Amongest the prisoners were these men of name; the abbat of new abbete, Christs Freising of Bonthaw, a brother of the lord of Hemsfield, & manie other gentlemen of name. Dunfries was rifled and spoiled, as the earle of Lennor and the Englishmen returned thither, and a marshall court appointed there for execution of pledges; but yet suspended and staied, till the counceils pleasure might be knowen in that behalfe.

There were at the first euill news spread abroad, and certified to the court of England of this towne, how the earle of Lennor and the English armie was ouerthrowen, so that it was by order appointed that the earle of Derby, the Lord Scrope, and Coniers, with their powers should repaire to the west borders to garnish the same for defense against the enemies: but vpon the true report how the matter had passed, made by maister Henrie Wharton, and one Bishop a Scottishman, sent in post for that purpose, that appointment was staied; and maister Wharton was at that time made knight, and the said Bishop richlie rewarded for bringing so good news. There were letters directed downe from the counceill to the lord Wharton, for the execution of certaine pledges, that is to saie, the maister of Spawells pledge, being one of his nearest kinsmen of the house of the Berkes, also the warden of the Greie friers in Dunfries, the vicar of Carluarocke, and diuerse other which were executed at Carlill. In this meane time, were the forts at Laboder and Hadington built, the castles of Pesser and Dabwich towne, all the mills burnt within foure miles of each hand of Edinburgh, and other exploits atchued by the Englishmen, as in the historie of England is more at large expessed.

But now the French king, hauing prepared an armie readie to come into Scotland, caused the same to drate downe to Brest in Britaine, where the ships and gallies were rigged and made readie to passe therewith into Scotland. The chiefe leaders of which armie were these, which had charge chiefe to command in the same: monsieur de Welle lieutenant generall, monsieur Dandelot cozonell of the French footmen, the counte Keingraue cozonell of the Almaines, monsieur de Walleraie, monsieur Dossell, Pietro Strozio cozonell of the Italians, monsieur Ctauges capitaine of the horsemen, sir Nicholas de Villegaignon a knight of the Rhodes (or rather Malta) capitaine of the gallies, and monsieur Duno commissarie of the artillerie: with diuerse other worthie personages, and men of approved valiancie. These capitains with their powers being imbarked at Brest, sailed alongst by the east seas, and at length about the middell of June came into the roade before Leith, where they landed their people and ordinance. A little before whose arrivall into France (as faith Lesleus, libro 10. pag. 491.) Chapelle Bitonne landed in Scotland, accompanied with other nobilitie of France, to giue good counsell to the Scots answerable to the time, which was (to please their eares therewith) that there should a greater armie shoorte come out of France, to succor their extremities.

Afterwards, with the aduise of the gouernor, and other of the Scottish lords, the French power went to besiege Hadington, and comming thither, incamped themselves in places of aduantage about the towne, cast trenches, planted their ordinance, battered the rampires, and kept them within streittlie besieged on each hand, vntill all the waies they could deuise to confine the Englishmen to yeld. They forbore yet to giue a generall assault, because they would not hazard (as they haue reported) the losse of so manie men as might haue bene slaine and maimed thereby, to the great weakening of their power there, hauing not meanes to supplie it when they would.

And yet they had a great armie of Scots with them for a season, and had made the breaches so reasonable,

Pledges executed,

1548. Buch.  
1547. Leile.  
A name prepared at Brest in Britaine.

The chiefe capitains of the French armie that came into Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

1547. L.

Honfieu 1543c.

Fr. Thin.

The young queene of Scots came into France.

Fr. Thin.  
Lesleus li.  
pag. 494.

The English horsemen ouerthrowen.

The earle of Shrewsbury remoueth siege from Hadington.

Sir Rich. has de Will gaignon.

The French gallies come about realme of Scotland. Dungeon had.

Honfieu 1543c.

Fr. Thin.

The young queene of Scots came into France.

Fr. Thin.  
Lesleus li.  
pag. 494.

scorable, that with small paine they might have entered by the same, if the force of the defendants had not sufficed with handblowes to haue beaten them backe, as no doubt there was no want of good toils in them so to haue done, if the Frenchmen had put the matter in triall: yet during this siege, they with in hand in great necessitie of things behouefull for the defense of the towne. Whereupon Sir Henrie Wharton with a band of light horsemen of the west borders, and others, came and put into the towne a certeine number of men with powder, and other necessaries, greatlie to the reliefe of the besieged: & no lesse displeasure of the Frenchmen and Scots, that were not aware of this enterprise till it was done in the night season, by the good and fortunate conducti- on of them that had the conuenance thereof.

But after this, there came a powder of English horsemen to the number of little lesse than two thousand penitances, light horsemen, & harquebussiers on horsebacke, under the leading of Sir Robert Wolues, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Henrie Wharton, capitaine Gambo a Spaniard, and others; the which adventuring ouer rashlie within danger of the whole French power, were overthrowne and chased: Sir Robert Wolues, & Sir Thomas Palmer, with a great number of other captains, gentlemen and souldiers being taken prisoners, besides those that were slaine. Yet after this overthrow of those horsemen, the French removed their siege from the places where they had first planted it, and lodged further off from the towne, continuing there; till at length by an armie sent south of England under the conduct of the erle of Shrewsburie, the lord Greie, and others, they were constrained to retire from thence, as in the English historie ye may find moze largelie expresse- ed, to the which for the further report of the events chancing during that siege, I referre the reader.

The carle of Shrewsburie remoueth the siege from Haddington.

Sir Nicholas de Wille- gaignon.

But this is to be remembred, that whilst the siege remained at Haddington, by a conuention or assem- blie of the lords it was decreed, that the queene shuld be sent into France. And thereupon monsieur de Willegaignon, with foure gallies departing from Leith, made semblance as though he would haue sailed into France: but hauing passed the mouth of the Forth, he turned his course on the left hand to passe alongst the shore northward by the Germane seas, that compassing the land on the east side, he might passe about by the Isles of Orkney, and so by the west Isles, till he came to Dunbretton where the young queene laie. This iourne he fortunatelie at- chieued, the same neuer before (to mans remem- brance) being made or attempted with gallies.

The French gallies com- passe about the realm of Scotland by Dungerbie head, 1547. Lesle.

Monsieur de Wille- gaignon.

Fr. Thn.

The young queene of Scots con- uincd into France.

Fr. Thn. Lib. 10. P. 44.

At his arrivall & convenient landing at Dunbret- ton, he found all things readie provided, necessarie for the imbarcking of the queene, that he might con- uey her into France, for the accomplishment wherof he had taken that iourne in hand. Whereupon the being brought aboard into the kings owne gallie, wher- in monsieur de Willegaignon was also appointed to be a- board with her, as he that had bene sent with expresse commandement to see her conueied into France; [with the lords (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. 494) of Ar- skine, and Levingston, the ladv Fleming, with cer- teine noble maidens named after the young queene, as Marie Levingston, Marie Fleming, Marie Se- ton, and Marie Beton] who together with Willegaignon shewed such diligence in attaining that enter- prise, that finally they arrived with prosperos wind and weather in the haven of Wexel in Brittain with that young queene, being as then betwixt five and six yeeres of age.

From thence being accompanied with the nobi- lity of that prouince, she kept her right course to the kings palace of St. Germins in the towne of La-

on, where she was receiued with great preparation, & there taried the coming thither of the king, at that time pacifying the seditions and turmoiles in the inward parts of France. When the king was come, he gladdened all men with his presence, and provided that there was a large household, as well of the noblemen and women of Scotland, as of others appointed to the young queene, which he still increased (as the queene grew more in yeeres) untill such time as she might be married.)

But now to returne to the doings in Scotland concerning the warres there: After that the siege of Haddington was raised by the English armie (as be- fore ye haue heard) the Frenchmen thereupon reti- red themselves unto Spuskelburgh; and choosing forth a plot of ground for their advantage, kept them- selves within the same. And hereunto there came to them sixtene thousand Scottishmen to assist them, so that when the Englishmen came towards to assaile them, they found them so stronglie embattelled, that (whether their commission did not so farre extend; or whether they had no liking of the match) they for- bare to set upon them in that ground of so great dis- advantage for the assailants, and so returned backe to Haddington; and after homeward, having furni- shed the towne with new supplies of men, munition, and vittels sufficient.

The French- men in campe at Spuskel- burgh.

See moze herof in England.

Here is to be noted, that the English fleet enter- ring into the Forth, was readie to haue aided the ar- mie by land, as occasions might haue bene offered. But the lord admerall perceiuing no likelihood of battell by land, toke vpon him to attaine some other enterprises, and first comming to Brent Island, set certeine ships on fire there, of the chiefest in the re- uet; and saluting the towne of Leith as he passed by with canon shot, he determined to land some of his men on the north side of the Forth, to make some spoile within the countrie of Fife. But John Gre- kin lord of Dun, as then somewhat diseased, and re- turned home from the campe, caused such baillie and nightlie watch and ward to be kept, that this enter- prise could not be so secretlie conueied by the Eng- lishmen, but that the same was perceiued, and so prevented, that vpon their landing they were forced to retire with losse: and happie was he that might first get againe to shipboard.

The lord ad- merall in England.

The lord of Dun.

The English men repelled at saint Menees.

Fr. Thn. Buchan. lib. 15.

\* For James Stewart, brother to the queene (hearing of this tumult) came thither in half with the common people of saint Andrews, and some other few citizens which were remaining in the towne, to whome the neighbors about did also toine them- selves, understanding the cause of that assemble. The English being now come on land, about twelue hundred, stood in warlike sort readie for the battell, and with the feare of the artillerie (which they dis- charged out of their ships) did easilie cause the rude multitude to flie awaie. But this James Stewart (by litle and litle suppressing the feare of such as fled) did (with such violence) rush vpon his enemies, that forthwith he overthrow them, put them to flight, compelled them to returne to the sea with great slaughter, when also manie of them (as they fled to their ships) were drowned, besides those hundred that were slaine, and one hundred taken.)

The erle of Shrewsburie being come backe from Haddington vnto Dunglas, vnder was giuen for the building of a fort there, as in the English historie further may appeare. And in the meane time mon- sieur de Wille, remaining in campe at Spuskel- burgh, hearing that the English armie was retin- ued homeward, & how diuerse new bands of horse- men and footmen being left in Haddington, were readie to come forth to skirmish abroad vpon sight of the enimie; he toke aduise, to trie if he might draw

drazo them forth to their losse, and thereupon was monsieur Dandelot, and the Keingraue appointed to chose forth a thousand of their lustiest footmen, the which with thre hundred horsemen were conueied and laid close in ambush, behind a little hill not farre from the towne.

This done, a few horsemen were draine forth to draso the Englishmen out of the towne to skirmish with them. The Englishmen were no sooner aduised that the enemies were there at hand in the field, but that all their horsemen issued out of the towne backe with certeine footmen, and straight had the French in chase; who retiring, maintained the skirnish, of purpose to make the Englishmen more earnest to come forthward. But immediatlie as monsieur de Wesse saw his time, he gaue signe by sound of trumpet to the footmen to breake forth, who together with the horsemen gaue so fierce an onset vpon the enemies, that they were incontinentlie discomfited: and fleeing toward the towne, were followed by the French, euen hard to the walles, diuers were slaine, and aboue an hundred taken prisoners.

After this, monsieur de Wesse raised from Gouthburgh, and coming to Leith set in hand to fortifie that towne: The marshall Strozzi, and monsieur Dandelot, with diuerse other capitains imbarcking themselves in the gallie that yet remained, toke their course to returne to France. One of the same gallies (they being eight in number, beside a sloop and a biggandine) was taken by an English ship called the falcon, as she passed through the narrow seas at a place named the Southfarlong, she being alone, and (as it chanced) hindermost of all the companies.

After the departure of monsieur Dandelot, monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron remained coronell of the French footmen in Scotland. As for the furniture on the water, there remained now but foure gallies vnder the guiding of one capteine Bach an Italian, a man of great experience and approued skill. For ye must vnderstand, that before the arrival of the English naue & armie to the succours of them in Haddington, monsieur de Hallerie viceadmirall of France returned home with the fleet of ships that had brought the French armie into Scotland. In what sort the lord Greie of Willton assailed the countreies of Linlithgow and Liddesdale, after the returne of the earle of Shrewsburie, is partly touched in the historie of England.

About the same time, there chanced a mutinie to rise betwixt the Scots and the Frenchmen in Edinburgh, by reason that a French souldier fell a quarrelling with two or thre Scottishmen; and falling together by the eares, diuerse Scots that came to depart the frate, would haue had the Frenchman to prison; but other Frenchmen being there also present, would not suffer the Scots to take him awaie. Whereupon arose a great tumult and stirre among them, insomuch that there were diuerse slaine on both parts, namely James Hamilton lord of Stanbouffe, knight, capteine of the castell, and prouost of the towne of Edinburgh, with his sonne; and master William Stewart one of the quens seruants, besides sundrie other. For the Frenchmen doubting some contriued commotion against them, assembled together in order of battell in the streets; so that before the matter might be appeased by the capitains that shewed their diligent endeours therein, they had inough to bring it to passe as they wished.

The beginner of this businesse was hanged the same day in the market place of Edinburgh, where he began first to pike the quarell. Monsieur de Wesse, to shew that this variance had not proceeded so farre as the bruse thereof gaue forth (for it was rather in-

creased ye may be sure than diminished) undertooke an enterprisse in hand to win the towne of Haddington by a canisado, but in what sort they missed their purpose, and how they were well beaten backe, and sent away by the valiant manhood of the English capitains and souldiers then within the towne, ye may read further thereof in the English historie. There were seven score (some say thre hundred) slaine in the base court.

But now, so farre as I haue said nothing of Broughtie crag, since the lord gouernour raised his siege from thence, ye shall vnderstand, that (as some haue written) shortly after the earle of Argyle came thither with an armie of his Irish Scots, and besieged it. But when he saw he could not preuaile, he toke truce with them within for a time, and because the same was expired, there came new succours to the Englishmen: so that the earle of Argyle (by reason his people had remained there the full terme of their bounden & ordinarie seruice) was constrained to leaue his siege, and suffer the Englishmen to become masters of a little hill, where afterwards they builded a fort. And now in the latter end of this yeere, they purposed also to haue fortified Dundee, and to haue kept the same with a garrison of souldiers; but hearing that monsieur de Wesse with his Frenchmen was coming thitherwards, they auoided the towne of their owne accord, hauing first spoiled the houses, and after set them on fire.

The Keingraue with two bands of his Almains, and monsieur de Ctauges with his companie of horsemen were sent before, who coming to Dundee, and finding the Englishmen gone, incamped there, tarrying till monsieur de Wesse was come, that followed at hand with the French footmen. Within two daies after, they going forth to view the fort, were in danger to haue bene caught per they could get backe againe. For the Englishmen and Lancashire knights that were there with them (part of Conrads Hennings bands) issued forth, and droue them to retire, not without danger to haue bene distressed, if the Keingraue had not vied the greater policie in retiring the troupe. To be short, monsieur de Wesse, to stop the Englishmen from entering anie further into the countreie on that side, left seven ensignes of Frenchmen, & two ensignes of Scots within Dundee, with artillerie and pioners to fortifie the towne, & to keepe it in safetie from the Englishmen. This done, he returned to Edinburgh, and sent the residue of his people abroad into the countreie, to lodge in townes and villages here & there, as was thought most expedient, for the better refreshing of them after their long trauell.

While these things were in doing, the gouernour of Scotland sent the lord Carnegie knight (and senator) ambassador to the protectour of England, which should for ranfome (as the custome is) demand deliuerie of the earle of Huntlee being prisoner: which if he could not obtaine, that then he should request this libertie, that his wife and children might come vnto him into England. Wherevnto the protectour answered, that he would not set the earle free, untill the warres were ended: but for the companie of his wife, he was content to grant it for certeine daies; with this prouiso, that he should not withdraue himselfe by anie means from the custodie of Mase Wane (corruptlie by Lesleus called Wane) who had taken him in the warres. Wherefore, when the ambassador was returned into Scotland, Huntlee was committed to certeine keepers, who should carie him from London to Dordrecht, distant twentie and foure miles from the borders of Scotland. Now whilest the earle doth there looke for his wiues coming to him, he thinketh vpon escape, and to come to hir, for

The Frenchmen give a canisado to Haddington, & are beaten backe.

Broughtie crag besieged by the earle of Argyle. Vipian Ful.

The castle, his siege.

The fort builded by the Englishmen at Broughtie crag.

Dundee abandoned of the Englishmen.

The Keingraue.

Dundee fortified by the Frenchmen.

Fr. Thin. 1548. Lesleus lib. 14. pag. 498.

Home called recovered the Scots

R. Thin. Buchan. li 1549. Lc

The Englishmen put to the sword at a skirmish nere to Haddington.

Leith fortified.

A gallie taken

Capteine Bach.

Monsieur de Hallerie viceadmirall of France.

A fray betwixt the French souldiers, and the townesmen of Edinburgh.

he had agreed with George Har, that he should one night practise bying to him thither, two of the swiftest horses that he could get to flie afoote upon them. According whereunto Har was readie out of the borders of Scotland with such horses as he knew would serue the turne, whereof one was for the earle, and the other was for his man.

The earle prepareth a supper for his keepers, whereunto they were solemnely invited, and to plaie at cards with him to passe afoote the tediousnes of the night. At length (as though he had played enough at cards) he left off, but earnestly desired his keepers that they should continue on their games. During which, the earle (going into the window, and looking out) did by a secret signe (for he could not well discern anie thing, it was so extreame darke other all the element) easilie understand that all things were readie for his iourneie. The earle then doubtfull (being sometime in good hope, and sometime in feare) thought upon manie things, which he muttered to himselfe: and at length vnadvisedlie (as doubtfull men are wont to do) burst out in these speeches; Oh sorrow, all these things be a hinderance vnto me, the sharpenesse of the winter night, the doubt of my weake force and helpe, the let of an vnknown way, and the want of a faithfull guide: God prosper the iourneie. His keepers hearing him speake to himselfe, asked him what those secret speeches might signifie: to whom the earle (knowing that he was guilty of his fault) answered, that those words were used as a proverbe amongst the Scots: and first had their beginning by the old earle Hoxton, uttering the same in the middle of the night when he lay in dieng. Whereupon (to the end that his keepers should not haue anie suspicion of his determined flight) he stteth downe againe to cards.

After which suddenlie he rose from them, as vexed by losenesse of his bellie to vnburden nature, by which occasion he forthwith (accompanied onelie with his seruant) leaped forth, found the horses ready furnished for himselfe and his man, got on them, & with speedie iourneie did flie to the borders of Scotland. When he was passed ouer the riuer of Ewed, and had a little refreshed himselfe from the labor of his iourneie in the house of Har, he went the same night (being Christmas eue) to Edinburgh, where he was iofullie & honozable receiued of the queene, the gouernor, his wife, and his other friends, with an vniuersall gladnesse of the whole multitude of the towne. As soone as his keepers perceiued that he was gone, they speedilie ran to horse, and (doubtfull which way to follow) they seke him here, and there, and euerie where, but all in vaine, for the diligence of the earle put them out of all doubt for obtaining him. Whose flight was not onelie a freedom to himselfe, but also to manie other noble prisoners; who (upon the assurance of his faith and word) were permitted to depart into Scotland. The gouernor therefore, to congratulate with the earle for his returne, restored vnto him the chancellorship, and the rule of manie of their prouinces which he had before his captiuitie. For which cause when he had remained a while at Edinburgh, he returned to the north parts of Scotland, where speedilie and easilie he appeased all the tumults of those people.)

On saint Stephens day at night, the castell of Hume was scaled, and wone out of the Englishmens hands. One of the surname of the Humes, a man of threescore yeers of age, was the first that entered on the wall, being one of the watchmen that kept his walke on that side. Not long after, when the capteine of Falkercassell had commanded the husbandmen adjoining, to bying thither (at a certeine day) great store of vittells, the young men there

being having that occasion, assembled thither at the day appointed, who taking their burdens from the horses, and lasing them on their shoulders, were receiued (after they had passed the bridge, which was made ouer two high rocks) into the castle, where (lasing downe that which they brought) they waited lie (by a signe giuen) set upon the keepers of the gates, slue them, and (before the other Englishmen could be assembled) possessed the other places, weapons, and artillerie of the castell, and then receiuing the rest of their companie into the same (through the great and open gate) they wholie kept and inioied the castell for their countremen.)

About the same time, the Keinsgrau returned into France, leaving his five ensignes of Almainis behind him, vnder the charge of capteine Ketonz; a good man of warre and of great experience. Also monsieur de Ctauges was taken in a skirmish at Broughtie crag, as I haue noted in the English historie: & about the same time, there landed at Dunbretton foure bands of souldiers, Bonancots and Galscoignes, bringing monie with them to pate the souldiers their wages, behind as then for the space of thre moneths. Sir James Willford also was taken about the same time by the Frenchmen, in a skirmish at Dunbar (as I haue also noted in the historie of England.) Not long after, monsieur de Delle was appointed by the queene Dowager, to go vnto Jedworth, to prevent that the Englishmen should not fortifie there, whereof he stood in some doubt.

Immediatlie vpon his coming thither, the lord of Fernhurst requested him to helpe to recouer his castell of Fernhurst out of the Englishmens hands, which they had taken from him and kept, greatlie to the annoiance of all the countrie thereabouts. Monsieur de Delle taking with him monsieur de Dsell, and monsieur de la Chapelle de Biton, hasted thither with the chiefest part of his armie, sending before certeine capteins with their bands to surueie the house; who at their coming thither, used such diligence in following the offered occasion, that they both repelled their enemies that came forth to giue them the skirmish; and pursuing them with great rage, wan the lims of the house vpon them, forcing the capteins and souldiers to retire within the dungeon, and kept them so short therein, that they had opportunitie to mine an hole through the wall, of such largenes, as a man might easilie enter by the same.

Wherevnto a great number of Scots having broken open the gate of the base court, where the Frenchmen were busie to assault the dungeon, but in on heapes, vpon desire to be reuenged vpon the Englishmen, and namelie of their capteine, who (as they said) had done them manie great displeasures. The capteine perceiuing this, and doubting if he fell into the Scottishmens hands he should die for it, he presented himselfe at the hole which the Frenchmen had made, and peeked himselfe to monsieur de Dufac, and la Ponce Rouge, who minding to vse him as became men of warre, would haue led him out of the pree: but suddenlie a Scot coming behind him, whose wife (as was reported) he had rauished, smote off his head so iust from the shoulders, that it leapt foure or five yards quite from the bodie. Manie other cruell parts the Scots seemed to shew against other Englishmen, taken here at Fernhurst: but they excused the matter by the euill dealings of the Englishmen towards them before that time.

Monsieur de Delle returning to Jedworth, aided by the furtherance and counsell of the Scots, ceased not in occasions of advantage to attempt new enterprises against the Englishmen, as time and opportunitie serued: and among other exploits, the castell of Coznelwall (an old house built after the ancient

1546.  
The Keinsgrau returned into France.  
Monsieur de Ctauges taken prisoner by the Englishmen.

Sir James Willford taken

The castell of Fernhurst wone by the Frenchmen.

The crueltie of the Scots.

The castell of Coznelwall wone.

Captaine Cobos.

maner of fortifying) was taken by the Frenchmen, and spoiled of all things worth the bearing atwaite. Also captaine Cobos a Frenchman, hauing a band of fiftie light horsemen Scots seruing vnder him, on a night had a faire hand against a number of English horsemen, whome he charged so on the sudden, as he saue them out of order, that he easilie discomfited them, and toke moze prisoners (whome he brought to Jedworth) than he had persons in his companie to assaile them.

A road made by monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron.

Monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron, was sent forth by monsieur de Delle, with the companie of horsemen that belonged to monsieur de Canges then prisoner, and five hundred footmen beside Scots, to make a road into England: which enterprise he achieved in burning townes and villages, and returned without any great losse sustained at that time.

Another made by monsieur de Delle. Fourd castell waine.

Within two daies after his returne to Jedworth, monsieur de Delle dislodged from thence, & taking with him foure field peeces, and all his men of war, entered into England, toke the castell of Fourd and burnt it, with ten small villages in the countie thereabouts, situate within halfe a mile ech of other. There was one tower yet parcell of that castell of Fourd, which was kept by Thomas Kar, so that the Frenchmen could not win it, for they had no time to staie long about it, remouing that night ouer the water, & incamped there within the Scottish ground.

Thomas Kar.

As the Scots and Frenchmen executed these enterprises, they were coasted by certeine light horsemen; but neuertheless the Frenchmen returned in safetie to Jedworth, hauing sore indamaged the English borders by that road: inso much as it was thought, the Scots (which were with them at that road) gained at that time, by pillage and booties to the value of nine thousand crownes. The Englishmen sore grieved, that the Frenchmen lieng thus in Jedworth, should in such wise adde one enterprise after another against them, so greatlie to their annoyance, assembled a power together at Norburgh, purposing to haue assailed the Frenchmen in their campe at Jedworth.

Scots gaine by spoile.

Monsieur de Delle fleeth out of Jedworth for feare of the Englishmen.

But monsieur de Delle hauing warning thereof, departed from thence first to Melrose, and after further off within the countie, fearing to be constrained to giue battell, which he could not haue done without manifest losse of his feeble armie, hauing not past fiftene hundred footmen, and five hundred horsemen able to haue done seruice: for such was the miserie, which they had in manner continually sustained through want of vittels, and other necessarie helps during the time of their incamping at Jedworth, that what through sicknesse and hurts received in assaults and skirmishes, no small number of them were dead, and manie other so feeble, that they were not able to aid themselves; inso much that now being got out of danger, they thought themselves hapilie escaped.

The miserable state of the Frenchmen in Scotland.

Shortlie after, in the beginning of the summer, the Englishmen armed five and twentie saile of men of warre, the which arriving at the Walle, nere to the mouth of the Forth, assailed by faire and pleasant words to haue persuaded the keepers of the castell, there standing on the height of a great rocke, to haue yielded the place into their hands. But perceiuing their persuasions would not be regarded, they toke their course vp into the Forth, and finding in their waie foure ships of Frenchmen and Scots, seized vpon them as a wished prey: and the morrow next ensuing, at the verie breake of day, they came before Airth, and saluting the towne with canon shot, remained there at anchor ten or twelue daies, in which time while they landed their people at Inskith, and began to fortifie with all diligence. But before the

Inskith fortified by the Englishmen.

place could be put in any strength, the ships departed from thence backe towards the sea, and left in the Island foure ensignes of Englishmen, and one ensigne of Italians, to defend the pionsers, and the Island against the Scots and Frenchmen, if they should attempt to assaile them.

After the English nauie was thus departed, monsieur de Delle, and the queene mother being at Edinburgh, determined with all diligence to impleie all such forces as they might make about the recovering of the Isle, before the fortifications begun by the Englishmen should be brought to any perfection. Wherevpon, monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron, which barked in the galle of monsieur de Villegaignon, resolved forth to vieto the maner of the Englishmen dealing within the Isle, which he did in such effectuall wise, that approaching within harquebuse shot, he brought knowledge with him not onelie of the state and whole circumstances of their buildings, but also of the perfect number of their ensignes, and the qualitie of the men of warre that serued vnder the same.

At that present also, monsieur de Thermes latelie before arrived at Dunbretton with an hundred men of armes, and two hundred light horsemen after the manner of France, and one thousand footmen, was come to the queene, busie now to further this enterprise. She had got together within Airth haue all the booties that belonged to all the creekes & hauens of the Forth: so that on Thursday after Trinitie Sunday, euerie thing being prepared readie for the purpose, in the morning by the breake of day the queene was come to Airth, to see the imbarcking of the men of warre appointed that day to trie what successe fortune would send them. There was no diligence wanting, neither among the Scots nor Frenchmen, to bestow themselves abroad, & the comfortable words of the queene greatlie encouraged them thereto, beholding them, and deuising with monsieur de Delle and the other capitaine, till they were all set forthward.

Villegaignon with his gallees passed on before to keepe the Englishmen occupied, so as they should not perceiue the Frenchmens meaning: but they discouering the vessels at their setting forth, concealed streightwaies what was intended: and therefore prepared to keepe the enemies off from landing, so that vpon the Frenchmens approach, they saluted them with arrowes and harquebuse shot verie hotlie: yet at length by fine force the Scots and Frenchmen got on land, and drove the Englishmen and Italians backe from the sea strand vp to the higher ground, where they stood at defense on a plume together, doing their best to defend the place against the assailants.

But finally, their generall named Cotton, being slaine by George Applebie esquire, a captaine of an ensigne of footmen sent forth of Derbyshire, and one Gaspar Pizoni, that was captaine of the Italians, beside diuers other gentlemen, and the most principall men of warre and souldiers among them: the residue were constrained to retire vnto a corner or point of the Island, where they were taken without further resistance, although before they had made verie stout defense, hurt and slaine diuerse Scots and Frenchmen, both at their landing, and also after they were entered on land. Among other, monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron was stricken through the hand with an harquebuse shot, and his burgonet beaten so into his head, that his friends that were about him, were faine to conuie him into one of the gallees to be doctored of his hurts by a surgian. Also a gentleman named Desbois, which bare the said monsieur de la Chapelle his coronell ensigne, was slaine with a pike by the hands of the forenamed Cotton the English generall.

Thus

Inskith recovered by the Frenchmen

Monsieur Delle returned into France.

Monsieur Thermes succeeded the place.

A fort built at Airth.

The diligence of the Scottish queene.

The forwardnesse of the souldiers.

The earlie Scotland.

Inskith assaulted by the Frenchmen.

Captaine Cotton generall of Inskith and others slaine.

Monsieur de la Chapelle hurt.

The Frenchmen in doubt to haue been distressed.

Indith recovered by the Frenchmen.

Monsieur de Delle returned into France.

papers on.

Monsieur de Thermes succeeded in his place.

A lost battle at Aberlath.

diligence Scottish.

forward of the men.

with assisted by the men.

petine ton gene of Jins and o: g. Gene.

onsieur de Chapelle.

Thus was Indith recovered out of the English mens hands, after it had bene in their possession by the space of thirtie daies, the more to the high contentation of monsieur de Delle, for that at the same time he stood upon his discharge and returned into France, being appointed to surrender up his place to monsieur de Thermes, latelie before arrived (as ye have heard) with commission to receive the same. So that monsieur de Delle, to end his charge with the glorie of this achieved enterprise, esteemed it much to stand with his honor: and no doubt with the swelling humor of the glorie thence redounding he was blown up; as in cases of victorie it cometh to pass in them that make a good hand: whereas the vanquished (God wot) are contrarie qualified.

Shortlie after, he returned into France with the gallies, and monsieur de Thermes succeeded in his place for the generall conduct of the French armie in Scotland. Who by the advise of the gouernor, and other of the Scottish lords, determined with a siege volant to keepe the Englishmen in Haddington from bittels and all other reliefe. First therefore, after that Delle was departed towards France, monsieur de Thermes with his Frenchmen and some Scots incamped at Aberlath, where they began the foundation of a fort, so to impeach the Englishmen from setting on land anie bittels there, to be conveyed from thence to Haddington, as before they had done.

In this meane time, the Englishmen had increased their numbers of Almains, and other strangers, and not onelie furnished their forts with new supplies of men; but also had an armie in the fields which lay most an end at Dungalas, and one while besieged Hume castell. But after they saw themselves disappointed of the meane, whereby they supposed to have recovered it, they raised from thence, and spoiled the most part of Cluidale and other the marches thereabout; in reuenge (as they alleged) of the disloyaltie and breach of promise proued in the assured Scots. Generall of this armie was the earle of Rutland, lieutenant at that present of the north parts, a noble man, right valiant, wise, well aduised, and staied in his dealings, verie honorable and courteous in all his demeanors.

He was accompanied with captains of good estimation and approved prowesse, as sir Richard Spaners, sir Francis Leake, sir John Savage, sir Thomas Holcroft, sir Oswald Wolstrop, & others. He so behaued himselfe in that dangerous time of the vproyes and rebellions of the commons, through the more part of the realme of England; that although the appointed forces against Scotland were staied, and turned to the suppression of the rebels, to the encouragement (no doubt) both of Scots and Frenchmen in Scotland, yet they were so fronted and kept in awe by that armie vnder the earle of Rutland, that they rather lost than gained in this season at the Englishmens hands.

At one time the same armie, vnder the conduct of the said earle, passing forth with a conueie of bittels into Haddington, came so suddenlie vpon the Frenchmen where they laie in campe, that whether through default of their scouts, or other negligence vnder them, or through the great diligence and prouident forwardnesse shewed by the Englishmen, the Frenchmen were in such hazard to haue bene utterly distressed, that if the Englishmen had not doubted more, than by anie was thought needfull, they might haue overthrown, taken, & slaine the Frenchmen handsooth (as was supposed) at their pleasure. But the Englishmen even at their first coming in sight of them (as it stood with the reason of warre, sith by the aduenturing rashlie oftentimes in such cases to late repentance easilie infused) staied, the

The Frenchmen in danger to haue bene distressed.

better to conceale of that which they had to doe. Wherby the Frenchmen had leasure to march their waies a maine pace, till they were got out of danger: for after they once beheld all the troops of the English horsemen almost at their elbowes, and heard with the battell of the Almains suddenlie appearing on the hill top ready to come downe vpon them, it was no need to bid them packe awaie.

The Frenchmen retire.

The Scottish light horsemen coming on the backe of the English armie, perceived where the Almains (to make them ready to giue battell) had shrowen off their clothes, and left the same (with all their baggage and stuffe which they had about them) in keeping of none but of their women and boies: wherupon those Scottish horsemen, not minding to suffer such a prize to escape their hands, came galloping in, and took all the best stuffe they could lay hold vpon, and returned in safetie, before anie enimie could come backe to the rescue. The Almains were in no small chafe for the losse of their garments and other necessities; but there was no helpe then to seeke remedie in that behalfe: for the Scots were withdrawn and got quite out of danger.

The baggage of the English Almains spoiled by the Scottish horsemen.

The English armie, after that the Frenchmen were thus fled and gone, passed forth to Haddington, with their cariages laden with bittels, to the great comfort of them within that fortresse, standing in great necessitie before this conueie came. This summer also, and a little before the bittelling thus of Haddington, vpon knowledge had that Julian Romero with his band of Spaniards, wherof he was captaine, seruing the king of England, was lodged in Colvingham, six miles distant from Berwick: certeine bands of Almains and Frenchmen came thither vpon the sudden, and surprizing the Spaniards before they were aware of their approach, set vpon them in their lodgings, took, and slue in maner the whole number of them.

Haddington battelled.

Julian Romero distressed.

Things passing in this wise in Scotland in the summer of this yeare 1549, the Englishmen were not onelie in the meane time sore troubled with commotions raised by the commons of that realme; but also with the warres which the French king made against them, within the countrie of Boullognois, so that they had not meanes to imploye their forces against Scotland as they had determined to haue done; as partlie before, and more largelie in the historie of England is mentioned. By reason wherof, anon after Michaelmas they gave over the keeping of Haddington, and raising their fortifications there, they returned into England to the great reioicing of Louthian, to whome that to wme had giuen occasion of great troubles and calamities. Vpon the giuing over thus of Haddington, the gouernor and the queene Dowager were aduanced, in hope to recover againe all that the Englishmen held within the bounds of Scotland.

1549.

But first it was thought good to assaie the winning of Broughtie crag; for it sounded (as was thought) greatlie to the diminishing of the estimation, aswell of the Scots as Frenchmen, that the English should keepe fast so far within the realme, in besight of their whole puissance. Wherupon monsieur de Thermes about Candlemasse, hauing all things in a readinesse for the siege, came thither, and did so much, that with shot of canon to make batterie, and other meanes of intorcements, that giuing the assault both with Scots and Frenchmen, they entered the fort the twentieth of Februarie by fine force, so that all those within were either taken or slaine. Wherupon those English also that kept the castell, rendered by the same without further resistance, amongst other prisoners: sir John Luttrell the captaine was one.

Haddington raised and left by the Englishmen.

1550.

Broughtie crag won by the Frenchmen.

Ab. 15.

34

A treatie for  
peace.

Sir Hugh  
Willoughbie.

A peace con-  
cluded.

The names of  
the commis-  
sioners ap-  
pointed to  
treat of peace.

Fr.Thin.

The articles  
of the peace.

Monsieur de  
Hourret.

The French-  
men returns  
home.

The mar-  
quess de  
Paine.

The death of  
the first duke  
of Guise.

In this meane time there were certaine commis-  
sioners appointed betwixt the two kings of Eng-  
land and France to commune of a peace: but be-  
cause they continued long in their treatie per they  
could agree, the Scots and Frenchmen surceased  
not in occasions of advantage to pursue the warre,  
so that comming before Rowder they besieged that  
fortresse, & skirmishing with the Englishmen that  
issued forth, to encounter them, drove them in at the  
gates with some losse on either part. And this done,  
the French held them within so streitlie besieged,  
that if peace had not bene the sooner concluded, sir  
Hugh Willoughbie captaine of that fort must needs  
have yielded through lacke of shot, & other necessarie  
things serving for defense; which were spent, so that  
they were constrained to use their powder bestell in  
stead of bullets. But as it fortun'd, a peace was ac-  
corded, passed, and confirmed, that verie selfe time  
betwixt the two kings of England and France,  
through the diligent and orderlie travell of the com-  
missioners appointed to deale therein, whose names  
insue.

First for the king of England, the right honora-  
ble John earle of Bedford, knight of the garter,  
and lord privie seale; William Paget lord of Beav-  
desert; knight also of the garter; sir William Peter  
knight, chiefe secretarie to the said king; sir John  
Mason knight, secretarie to him for the French  
tong. For the French king were appointed Francis  
de Montmorency, lord of Rochfort, knight of the  
order of saint Michael, and lieutenant for the same  
king of Picardie, in absence of monsieur de Man-  
dosme; Gaspar de Coligny, lord of Chastillon,  
knight also of the order, and captaine generall of the  
footmen of France, and the said kings lieutenant  
generall in the countie of Bullogne; Andreu Guil-  
lard lord of Mortier, knight also of the order, and one  
of the same kings privie counsell; and Guillaume  
Bouchetell lord of Sasse, knight likewise of the  
order, & secretarie of the estate of the finances. [And  
for the Scots (as faith Lesleus, lib. 10. pag. 506.)  
D. Painter bishop of Ross.]

Among other articles comprissed in this peace,  
it was covenanted, that all such forts, castles, and  
places as the Englishmen held in anie part within  
the Scottish dominions, should be delivered and re-  
stored to the Scots; and that the forts of Douglas,  
Korburgh, and Aymouth, which the Englishmen had  
built and raised out of the ground, should be rased  
and throwen downe, to avoid all occasions of new  
controversies that might grow by reason of keeping  
or defending the same: so as the peace now conclu-  
ded, might in all points be firmelie and truelie kept  
and observed, aswell betwixt England and Scot-  
land, as England and France, and betwixt all and  
everie the subjects of the same realmes; both by sea  
and land. Monsieur de Hourret was sent into Scot-  
land with the copie of this peace, by whose means it  
was proclaimed anon after Casser about the begin-  
ning of Aprill, and everie thing used and ordered ac-  
cording to the articles of the agreement concluded.

In Maie the Frenchmen and Almaines were im-  
barkeed at Leith in sixtene French ships, and cer-  
taine Scottish ships, and departed from thence in-  
to France. A few there were, as Pigropeleice and  
Saint Jalcise, captaines of light horsemen, with o-  
thers that passed through England, and so home into  
their countrie. Moreover the marquess de Paine,  
after duke Daumals comming over into England  
about the same time for an hostage, passed after-  
wards through the realme into Scotland, to visit his  
sister queene Dowager, and shortly after returned.  
They mourned both for the death of their father  
Cland de Rozaime, the first duke of Guise, who de-

ceased the eighteenth of Aprill this present yeare  
1550.

\* Now when the French departed out of Scot-  
land, there were manie Scots appointed unto them,  
partlie, to defend them from pirats, if they should of-  
fer them anie insurie in the streit of the Wiltish  
sea, and partlie for honours cause to bring them on  
their iourne into France. By whose departure  
Scotland was free deliuered from all forren sol-  
diers, except certaine Frenchmen, who remained  
still in the countrie; because they had the Ile of In-  
keth and the castell of Dunbar committed to their  
charge, which afterwards they did most faithfullie  
discharge. Monsieur de Hermes, Chappellie, and  
diuerse other captaines of France, remained also in  
Scotland (after that the others were imbarkeed to be  
gone into France) for pleasures cause, and to see the  
countrie; who (travelling ouer Scotland, and behol-  
ding the cities, searching the castles, and marking  
the bulwarks of defense) did constantlie affirme,  
that in the whole world they neuer sawe forts and  
townes more pleasantlie placed, or more naturallie  
defended. In seeing thereof they consumed the  
time with great pleasure, untill the moneth of  
December, in which they all went into France  
with the queene Dowager.

Thus, as there was peace (by the departing of the  
French) with forren nations, which continued three  
yeares: so was there within the walls and king-  
dome warre and dissention amongst the Scots;  
which was most perillous and troublesome. For  
they which were the chiefe rulers (as the gouernor  
and his brother the archbishop of saint Andrews  
and others) did vse all things with extreme cruel-  
tie & couetousnesse. For the archbishop, being given  
to all libertie, followed by late his pleasures in all  
things, as though it had bene permitted unto him.  
For first, as a presage of his following tyrannie, he  
permitted the slaughter of William Cheynton to  
go unpunished, the same William being slaine in  
the gouernors house (if not within his owne sight)  
by Robert Semple: next followed the death of  
John Maluill an old man of life; who next unto  
the gouernor was most accounted of by him, as chie-  
fest of his familiars. This John had his letters  
(which he wrote to an Englishman, to whom he did  
commend a deposite his friend) intercepted. In  
which, although there were not anie suspicion of anie  
fault, yet was the author of them punished with the  
losse of his head, whose patrimonie made his death  
seeme the more vile; because the same was given to  
the younger sonne of the gouernor. The harts of these  
wicked parts did pertaine to seth, the enemie there-  
of to manie, and the example vniuersallie to all. For  
by reason of this unskillfull gouernement of the  
kingdome, and the slouth of his life, which offended  
the common people; the gouernor began to be had  
in contempt almost of all men.

In September following, the queene Dowager  
accompanied with the earls of Huntley, Castile,  
Marshall, Southerland, and diuers other of the  
Scottish nobilitie toke the sea, and sailing to France  
landed at Diepe: she was conueied thither by the  
prior of Capoa, & Leon Strazze, sent and appoin-  
ted with six gallies to haue the conduction of her;  
from Diepe she remoued to Roue, where the king  
then late, of whom she was right courteouslie recei-  
ued, and had such attendance and seruise done vnto  
her, during the time of hir tarlance there, as stood  
with the dignitie of hir person, and was answerable  
to the wishes and expectations of her traine; to the  
high praise likewise of the king and his court in that  
behalf.

The causes of the queene Dowagers going into  
France

Buchanan.  
lib. 15.  
Lesleus lib.  
pag. 508.

Fr. Thin.  
Lesleus lib. 10.  
pag. 507.

1551. Lesle  
lib. 10 pag

Buchanan  
lib. 15.

Lanchlan  
Shakint  
appietent

Lesleus, li  
pag. 509.

The queene  
Dowager sail-  
eth into  
France.

Buchanan.  
lib. 15.  
Lefleus lib. 10  
pag. 508.

1551. Lefleus.  
lib. 10 pag. 508

Lanchlane  
Spakintolche  
apprehended.

Lefleus lib. 10.  
pag. 509.

France were, that now hauing disposed all things at home in Scotland, the might renew the old league in France, the might see his daughter and his other friends, and procure the gouernement of the realme to his selfe. For the ambitious and subtil woman did thinke in his mind, that the gouernor by his euill demeanour would soon be put out of his office, and that the might easilie find means to be substituted in his place. But before his shipping into France, and whilst they were preparing, the earle of Huntley commanded William Spakintolche (chiefe of the familie of the Glenchattens, and his followers) to be apprehended (for a conspiracie secretlie begun against him, whilst he was the kings deputie in those north parts) and from thence (being first deppriued of all his goods) caried him to Strachbolgie, where he was beheaded. Which fact (greatlie offending the minds of the earle of Castles, and others that fauored the Spakintolche) did so stir them against Huntley, that a commotion and tumult had bene raised by them, vnlesse the wisdom of the quene had appeased the furie of their minds.

For although the quene certeine yeares after, had vndone the sentence of proscription for the gods of Spakintolche (restoring the same with the possessions and inheritances vnto the sonne of Spakintolche) and thereby had seemed to cut abate the cause of dissention betwene Huntley and them: yet the kindred and friends of the Glenchattens (not suffering so great an iniurie to their familie to go vnreuerged) did secretlie (but eagerlie) pursue the same with great contention of mind. Wherefore entring the castell of Pet by deceipt, they apprehended Lanchlane Spakintolche, and (condemning all his followers to banishment) did cruellie kill him (as the betrayer of the head of his owne familie) because they supposed, that he ministred and blew the cole that fired Huntley, to make the said William Spakintolche out of the waie.

A little before which, the maister of Cresskine, and Henrie Scenclere deane of Glasgow were sent into England; who at London did anew confirme the peace concluded before with the English; from whence they passed into Flanders, to make the like league with the low countries, which they did renew, to the great reioicing of both nations; although in the beginning of the treatie there grew great and contentious questions for the restitution of the ships of Flanders and Holland (whereof the Scots had taken manie in the warres) notwithstanding that the Scots had alleged, that they did not offer anie violence to those of the low countries, before that they (by the persuation of the English) had offered waring to the Scots, in deteining their ships and merchandize.

Thus much digressed from the quene Dowagers going into France, whereunto aforesaid to direct our pen, we say; that being at Rome, the king did there openlie make shew of his welcome vnto him by diuerse arguments. Amongst which, this was not the least: that (besides other shew, honorable triumphs, & manie courtesies shewed to the Scots) calling a chapter of the knights of the order of saint Michael, he admitted the earle of Huntley and other chiefe lords of Scotland vnto the quene, and fauored by him, into the said order. Which honors and pleasures seemed the more augmented, in that the young quene of Scots was there present, adorned with such singular beantie, as was not easilie to be spoken, by the iudgement of Lefleus. After that they had thus spent some time in delights of courtesie, to feed the mind and eye, the king of France, the two queens of Scotland, and the other nobles, departed from thence to Paris; where they were with great triumph of

the citizens most iustlie receiued. At what time & gaine, the French king shewed such humanitie to Huntley, and the other Scots; that he seemed for euer most firmelie to bind them vnto him. After that they spent some daies there at Paris, the king with that companie remoued to Blesies; where he remained all the winter.

Now the quene Dowager, thinking the time and place fit for the executing of the cause of his coming into France, and vising therein the aduise of the duke of Guise, and the cardinall of Lozeine (his brethren) openeth the same vnto the French king, shewing that amongst others, the chiefe cause to take that iourne, was to require his opinion, touching the gouernement of the kingdom of Scotland: and to know, if it pleased him that the helme of the same kingdom should be committed to his rule. Which if he misliked, or deemed the contrarie; that yet the would whole rest on his determination. The which matter pleased well the king, but yet with this promise; if the gouernor without anie tumult or raising of quarrels would giue it ouer.

Whereupon the quene, to bring euerie thing about as she desired, did perswade the king to confirme the dukedome of Chatelerault in France, vnto the gouernor, before granted to him and to his heires, to make his eldest son erle of Arraine chiefe capteine of the bands of Scots in France. And further, to giue the earledome of Purreie to the earle of Huntley (kinsman to the gouernor) and to his heires; the earledome of Rothleie to his sonne, which had married the kinsman of the said gouernor; the whole earledome of Angus, to the earle thereof; and the earledome of Moriton, to the sonne of George Dowglasse. All which he should procure likewise to be confirmed by such, as should be gouernors of the young quene. These things now done, the French king carefullie receiued the young quene of Scots into his protection; vntill she should come vnto more sufficient yeares, able to confirme all these gifts; the which if she refused then to do, the French king would then bestow as large possessions on them in France.

In the meane time the gouernor had sent Carnegie knight and senator into France, who should in the name of the Scots giue great thanks to the king for the aid which they receiued out of France, against the Englishmen. After this the French king did liberallie open the determination of the quene mother of Scotland to the bishop of Rolles (then ambassador for the Scots in France) to Robert Carnegie, and to Calvin Hamilton (to whom, as was said, the abbey of Bilmain was giuen in commendam) to the end that the same which was at the first secretlie consulted betwene the king of France & the quene Dowager, might now openlie be considered among the Scots which were in France: declaring further, that he desired nothing more, than that the quene mother should susteine the parts and place of the quene his daughter, in the administration and gouernement of Scotland, with the same moostlie stood with reason and equitie; and that he (the better to win the gouernor to yield therevnto) had giuen the gouernor the dukedome of Chatelerault, to his sonne the capteinship of all the Scots in France, and manie other liberrall benefits to manie other of his kinsmen.

And to the end that no deceipt might be supposed to be hidden vnder this liberalitie, the French king willed the ambassador to take possession of all these things in the dukes name. Robert Carnegie hauing his errand, returned into Scotland; & shortly after, the bishop of Rolles was appointed ambassador, who at length with much adoe did waring from the gouernor a consent to part from his authoritie, and

Lefleus lib. 10.  
pag. 510.

Buchanan.  
lib. 16.  
Lefleus lib. 10.  
pag. 410.

h. h. ij. and

and to applie himselfe to the will of the French king: which thus in the end obtained, the bishop of Rosse goeth againe into France, to aduertise the king what he had done. Whereupon the king considering his painfull & faithfull seruice, did rewarde him with the abbete of Labete in France.

Lesleus lib. 10.  
pag. 511.

Blot.

Whilest these things were in doing, Edward the first, king of England, did send the marquesse of Portsmouth, & other of the nobler sort of ambassadoys to Henrie the second, king of France, then so 10  
tourneying at Blesies, to moue him to giue his daughter in marriage to the king of England. At what time there were manie martiall games and pastimes shewed before the king, in which the English joining the Scots with them as companions of their sports, did beare a part, and wan the garland (from the others) to their singular commendation. The summer next following, the French king accompanied with the quene mother of Scotland and other of the nobilitie, did with great pompe enter Turon, Anisw, 20  
Pants, and other cities of Britaine, which he had not before sene since he attained the crowne. After certeine moneths consumed in those iournies, he returned to Founteinblew.

Lesleus lib. 10.  
pag. 512.

But the quene Dowager of Scotland, taking hir courteous leave and farwell of the French king, hir daughter, & of other the nobilitie, departed from the court, and with easie iournies came to Jamellie: there remaining a certeine time, she had the pleasant companie of hir mother the duchesse of Gulse, and hir other friends to their great ioy: but that she shewed a certeine grieffe (for hir father lately deceased) which somewhat diminished the sweet pleasure of that meeting. Now when the quene Dowager had remained almost 12 moneths or more in France, honorable interteined, bountifullie feasted, louinglie saluted by hir friends and kindred, and hauing obtained a willing grant of the effects of hir request, the Scots too bige hir to hasten hir returne into Scotland, preparing at Paris all things necessarie thereunto.

Lesleus lib. 10.  
pag. 512.

Wherefore departing thence, and comming againe to Rone, the quene mother moued and persuaded the nobilitie about the taking of hir iourne through England into Scotland. By occasion whereof, losing their ships from Newport, they passe the seas, and hapilie landed at Portsmouth, a famous port of England. The knowledge of which arriual comming to king Edward the first, he presentlie sent 50  
thither the earle of Southampton, and the lord William Howard to interteine hir: who receiued hir with singular ioy and courtesie, and conueied hir through Hampshire, Sussex, and Surreie (three prouinces of England) to Hampton court, where the king as then remained; from whence (after that she had bene there most honorable receiued) she came along the riuer of Thames to London, and landed at Poules wharfe in the after none, and from thence rode to the bishop of Londons palace by Poules, and there lodged.

Hir receiuing  
at the court.

The fourth of Nouember, she rode in hir chariot to the kings palace of the Whitehall, accompanied with the ladie margaret Douglas, the three dutchesses, of Suffolke, Richmond, and Northumberland, and diuerse other great ladies and gentlewomen, both Scottish and English. At the court gate the dukes of Northumberland, and Suffolke, and the lord treasurer were readie to receiue hir. And at hir entering into the hall, the king stood in the upper end thereof, and the erle of Marwicke holding the sword before him. She at hir approaching to him, kneeled downe, and he courteously tooke hir vp, and kissed hir; and taking hir by the hand, led hir vp into his owne chamber of presence, & after into the quenes

chamber of presence, where he kissed all the ladies of Scotland, and so departed for a while.

She dined on the quenes side that day with the king, his seruice and hirs comming both together, the kings being placed on the right hand of the table, and hirs on the left. What plentie of all manner of coslie meates and drinks there was, and what rich furniture of plate and all other things was shewed to set forth the feast, it were superfluous to write. All the ladies both of England and Scotland dined in the quenes great chamber. After dinner the king shewed hir his gallerie and gardens, with all other commodities of the place. And about foure of the clocke, he brought hir downe againe by the hand into the hall, where he first receiued hir, and there kissing hir, she tooke hir leave, & returned to the bishops palace from whence she came.

\* And here I must not forget that Lesleus hath 20  
set downe in this place for the defense of his people, in not deliuering the yong quene of Scots to the English, to haue entered the marriage bed of king Edward the first. Whose reasons although they may (the first ground of the warre considered, with the consent of the Scots parlement to that marriage, and the willingness of the English to haue caused them to performe their promise without battell) be well answered, as matters that not berie greatlie defend the cause: yet I will not anie way say anie thing of him (being a man estranged from vs in religion, but learned, wise, of great experience, a faithful seruant to his mistresse, and a graue bishop of Rosse) but set them downe plainelie as he writeth them, leaving the same to the iudgement of others, sith I meane not in anie thing to derogate from them, or arrogate vnto our selues more than is due. Thus therefore he writeth.

Fr. Thin.

When the quene (saith he) of Scots was come to London, the king of England shewed vnto hir his treasure, openeth the monuments, laith abroad the antiquities of the kingdome, and laboured by manie other such kind of means, that he might prepare himselfe a passage (with the open notes of courtelie) to obtaine the good will of the quene. For he after persuaded hir with manie speeches, that she should giue hir daughter vnto him, as it was before decreed by the Scottish nobilitie: which he proueth by manie arguments to be most beneficiall vnto both nations. When on the contrarie part (if she were giuen vnto the French kings sonne) it should not be profitable either to the Scots, which should giue; or the French, which should receiue hir to wife. Wherewithall adding this vnto it, that there should alwaies be continuall hatred, and deadlie enimitie betwene him and that person which should marrie hir.

Lesleus lib. 10.  
pag. 513.

Wherevnto the quene both presentlie and wisely answered, that the cause of hir daughters marriage to be solemnized with the French, was onlie by reason of the protector of England, which so bitterlie pursued the Scots with such earnest warre as then 60  
was made against them. For it was vnaduisable done of him, to seeke to compell by force of battell a woman, which is to be allured to the marriage bed with faire promises and flattering speeches. Wherevnto she ioined, that the Scots were so vehementlie pressed by him, that they were enforced to craue aid from the French: for the more speedie & easie obtaining whereof, they were biged to leaue the yong quene of Scots in France for a pledge. Wherefore she greatly grieved that the matter was so fast knit vp by the necessitie of time, otherwise than the Englishmen would haue had it. But yet, she would labo the French king by hir letters and messengers, with all the diligence that she might, to see if hir trauell and furtherance could doe anie thing with him therein.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.  
Lesleus lib.  
pag. 513.

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therein. Thus much Lesleus, and so againe to the matter.)

The first of Nouember, the quene Dowager departed from London toward Scotland, riding from Poules through the citie, passing forth at Bishops gate. The duke of Northumberland, the erle of Penbroke, and the lord treasurer brought hir to Shordich church, and there toke their leaue of hir. The duke of Northumberland had an hundred men after him with ianelins, whereof fourtie were gentlemen clad in blacke velvet cotes garded with white, & hats of blacke velvet with white feathers, and chains of gold about their necks. The earle of Penbroke had six score men well appointed also, with blacke ianelins and hats with feathers, and the lord treasurer had an hundred gentlemen and peomen with ianelins in like manner, well apparelled: which three companies of horsemen furnished the streets on either side, from the crosse in Cheape, to Birchen lane end, as the passed that waie.

The shiriffes of London had the conduction of hir to Waltham towne end, where she lodged that night: and in euerie shire through which she passed, the shiriffe, with the gentlemen of the same shire, receiued hir, and gaue their attendance on hir, till she came to enter into the next shire, where the shiriffe and gentlemen there receiued hir: and that order was obserued till she came to the borders of Scotland, and all hir charges for meat and drinks, as well for hir selfe, and whole traine, as also the prouision for their horses, was bozne and allowed by the king. [Besides which, (as saith the same Lesleus) Richard Shelleie, now master of the knights of Malta in England, and Edward Dumbleie baron, were appointed to attend on hir all the waie through England, from London to Edenburgh, where she was honorable receiued by the earle Bothwell, and the lord Hume.] The earle of Huntleye, and diuerse other of the Scottish lords returned home by sea, the said earle landing at Spontrosse, about the latter end of December.

\* After that the quene was arrived in Scotland, she labored euerie waie to stop all occasion of dissention; and that these bzalles which were risen amongest the nobilitie in the time of the warres, and were not yet fullie quenched, might grow no further, to bring the common wealth (alreadie much impaired) into new troubles. Wherefore, by the aduise of the gouernor, of the earles of Huntleye, Angus, and Argyle, and by the quenes trauell, the controuersies moued about the archbishopricks of saint Andzeus and Glasco, the bishopricks of Dunkeld and Brechin, the abbeies of Aberbrothie, Inchcaptrie, and other benefices, were ended: by bestowing some of them vpon noble mens chyldren, and some vpon such persons as woorthilie deserued them.)

Doctor Warthop, whome Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 514. calleth Robert Warhope, a Scottishman bozne, archbishop of Armachane, so nominated by pope Paule the third, and after created *Legatus à latere* by Julius the third, deceased this yeere in Paris, the tenth of Nouember. This man was blind from his infancie, but yet gaue himselfe so to studie, that he was first made doctor of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Paris, and after attained to such estimation in the court of Rome, that he was by the foresaid popes aduanced (as before ye haue heard.) So that it is to be presumed, that the sufficiencie of his learning, (where to he must needs aspyre altogether by the eare) (sith he was quite depriued of the benefit of sight) coupled with other god qualities of mind, were means to preferre him first into the popes fauour, and then to promotion of his bestowing.

This yeere in the moneth of June, the quene Dowager, and the gouernor, went into the north parts of

Scotland; and at Invernes, Elgin, Banff, Aberdeen, and Perth, the gouernor sat in iustice for redresse of wrongs, and administration of righteous lawes and orders. And afterwards they repaired to the west parts, and sat likewise in iustice at Dunfreis, Glasgowe, Lanricke, and in other places of that countrie, where diuerse were put to their fines for transgressing the lawes, but few or none touched by corporal punishment. Which was but a slender course taken in reforming enomities, and little better than impunitie; though in leuening of the fines (perhaps) a proportion were vsed: for by that meane manie an offense was redeemed by monie, and iustice was little better than bought and sold, as at a publike mart.

\* After this, they returned to Edenburgh, where all things requisite for the establishing of iustice were confirmed by the counsell of the nobilitie, and of the wise senators. Wherevpon, when nothing seemed to want for the setting of a perfect peace through all the realme, but this, that certeine of the inhabitants of the east limits (accustomed to spoiles) did by buying booties of cattell from the borders of England, seeme to offer new occasion of warre. At this time, the gouernor goeth to Jedworth, and remoued such magistrats as had negligentlie governed their owne prouince, or dispatched the generall affaires of the kingdome: where taking pledges of euerie familie, he made them after that time in better quiet. Wherevpon a long time following, there was a mutuall peace betwene England and Scotland. About which time also, the protestants religion making breach into the doctrine of the Romans, there was a prouinciall counsell kept at Withquoe, where the Calvinists with their doctrine were condemned and accurssed; and all things decreed in the counsell of Trent vnder Paule the third, were established, with manie other needfull lawes made to purge the corrupt manners of the clergie.

In which meane time, Dauid Panter or Painter (for I find both written) being a man of great learning, and famous by great experience, hauing faithfullie consumed seuen yeeres in France, in the seruice of an ambassador legier, came out of France to Jedworth: where, when he had declared to the gouernor (in the assemblie of the nobilitie) the reason, order, and meane which he vsed in accomplishing of his office; he was greatlie commended of all men. And for that he had so diligentlie, wiselie, & trustilie performed that great charge, he was with great solemnitie consecrated bishop of Ross, in the presence of that assemblie. At which time also, the gouernor did dub into the order of knighthood certeine bozners, who had deserued well of the common-wealth, to the end that their vertue adorned with such honorable recompense, might be more enlarged toward the care of their countrie. Amongest which persons so aduanced, these were the chiefe: Cessford and Fernihurst, Andzeu Bar of Littleiden, Conbinknols, Greimberdie, Balclenche, with manie other valiant men.)

In this toznie (wherein the gouernor was thus the iustice) the quene secretlie trauelled with the lords, both spiritual and temporal, to haue their consents to be regent of Scotland, immediately after hir daughter the quene came to sufficient yeeres, and that the time of hir tutorship were accomplished, or sooner; if the lawes of the realme would so permit. And to assure hir selfe of their good wills in this behalfe, she contracted sundrie priuite bands with them, making large promises of great rewards vnto euerie of them. To conclude, this matter was so handled by hir and others, to whome she committed the doings therein, that in the yeere following, the gouernor agreed to surrender by the gouernance into

wronge done  
are by iustice  
redressed.

Fr. Thin.  
Lesleus lib. 10.  
pag. 515.

1552.

Lesleus lib. 10.  
pag. 516.

The quene  
mother & her  
to be gouernor

1552. Lesleus  
1553.  
The gouerne-  
ment is relig-  
hic

hin.

Neus lib. 10.  
pag. 113.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.  
Lesleus lib. 10.  
pag. 513.

The archbi-  
shop of Arma-  
chane.

1551.

1552.

## The historie of Scotland.

hir hands, hir daughter the yong quene being not yet full twelue yeres of age.

The gouernour was promised not onelie a full discharge and a *quiescent* of all his doings, as well for receipt of monie, Jewels, & other things, during the time of his gouernement, but also a confirmation of the heritable gift of the dukedome of Chateleault: likewise an other confirmation of all gifts and restitutions by him made. During the time he had exercised the office of gouernour. And forthwith the quene Dowager sent into France, to get all these things dispatched, with such assurances of writings vnder hands and seales, as was expedient, and to be sent home into Scotland for his securitie in all things.

Fr.Thin.  
Lesleus lib. 10.  
pag. 517.

1552.

\* But before the gouernour had consented to the quenes demand, there was great contention about the matter: for the well vnderstood that he would not depart with his office, before the time that the yong quene had attained to the age prescribed for hir full yeres. For it is ordeined by the law of the kingdome, that the king shall not remaine anie longer vnder tutors, than to the age of fouretene; & the quene (as it is in other women) at the yeres of 12, at which times they may appoint procurators, which shall haue the gouernement of the kingdome vntill their full age. For which cause, the yong quene chose amongst other (as after shall more appere) the quene Dowager to be one: whereupon, the quene Dowager challenged the gouernement vnto hir selfe, for that hir daughter was certeine moneths aboue those yeres of twelue. Against which the gouernour did strik contention, constantly affirming that the yong quene did not exceed the age of eleuen yeres.

Whereupon the quene, to take from the gouernour all starting-holes and other shifts, doth bryge the custome of that kingdome, and the obseruation of those lawes to be, that they must reckon the yere in which the Scottish king or quene is yet vnbome in their mothers bellie, to be part of that number of twelue or fouretene; in which they may appoint gouernours to rule vnder them. Which the gouernour perhaps did seeme to confesse for the king, but that the same was true for a quene it did not appere; sith it seemeth to be wrought by Gods high prouidence, that the kingdome of Scotland was alwaies heretofore by manie ages gouerned by kings, and that a woman did neuer before this time (except allie one within age) challenge that kingdome vnto them, although the male line (as appered from the Buses to the Stewards) descended from the women, haue sometime possessed the sterne of Scotland.

Lesleus lib. 10.  
pag. 519.

1552.

Sundrie  
slaughters of  
the nobilitie.

But in the end, fate or do what he could, the gouernour did surrender his place (as after shall more plainelie appere) vntill which time we will pursue the orderlie course of things done in this place: which is, that whilist the gouernour & the quene mother were in this discord for the regentship of the realme, manie seditious persons (taking occasion thereby with hope to scape unpunished) did renew the memorie of old injuries. For hereupon it happened, that manie of the familie of the Iars did (at Edinburgh) with great boldnesse utterlie slay Balcleuche the knight. Besides which, the yonger sonne of the lord Ruthwen or Kewen, did publikelie thrust through and slea John Chartrusse a noble and a valiant yong man, for deadlie hatred (as was thought) betwene those two families. Yet it was spred abroad, that the chiefest cause why Ruthwen did kill Chartrusse, was for that Ruthwen (being called into lute of law by the other) distrusting his cause, and supposing that it would passe against him by iudgement, had none other remedie to relieue the matter, than that verted day to kill Chartrusse. Which matter was the occasion of making this law, that whosoener with force or

armes did either pursue or abate, recover or lose in anie action, should not onelie be punished for the rashnesse of the fact, but also should haue the matter forthwith (even in that moment of time) iudged against him.]

This yere, the first of Iulie, Edward the first of that name, king of England, departed this life, after whom succeeded his sister Marie, eldest daughter to R. Henrie the eight. [Touching whose regiments, sith this historie requireth matter appropriate vnto it selfe, we will saie little in this place, remitting the readers to the conuenient course of time wherein they flourished and vaded. Onelie this is worthy the noting, that the realme of England was not so much in hir time afflicted with exquisite troubles of barbarous persecutors, to the diminishing of Gods seruants, and the increasing of satans synagog, as it was like to haue triumphed vnder the glorious title of the victorious gospell, if God had not (for the vnworthinesse of the English people) taken the yong king awaie. For the prosperous beginning of his gouernement foretold an happie proceeding, and a blessed ending. But to returne to Scotland.]

\* About this time, Rozman Lelle, who (as you heard before) had fled for the death of the cardinall Beton bishop of saint Andrews into France (where he then was imprisoned) being now set at libertie, did priuile conueie himselfe into Scotland. Which vnderstanding of the gouernour, he fined all those that had receiued him into their house, & compelled Rozman to fle to Denmarke, for feare that (if he were taken) he should suffer extreme punishment. But when he knew that there was no place of safetie for him in that countrie, wandering ouer manie prouinces, he came at last into England, in the reigne of Edward the first, of whome, with the rest of his companions, he was most courteously receiued, with yerele pensions out of the exchequer or common tresurie assigned vnto them for their maintenance, according to their estates.

But after that king Edward was departed the world, they all were also commanded to depart the realme, to whome earnestlie bryng that their pensions might be paid to them in an other place where they should remaine) the duke of Norfolk did publikelie say in the counsell, that it seemed not iustice, that a catholike prince should paie anie pensions to such as had murdered a catholike cardinall. With which answer the said Rozman was almost stroken dead, and being then wearied with the griefe of his exile, went againe into France, and there by king Henrie (by the meanes of the baron Brunfons, whom this Lelle had sent before to request the same) he was made capteine of the Scottish light horsemen in France. This man did so valiantlie, worthilie, and honozable behaue himselfe in warres, which the French king had (with Charles the first then emperor) on the borders of Flanders, that he was alwaies foremost in the front of the battell, to assault the enimie; hoping by that meanes to wipe awaie the blot of the cardinals slaughter, and more firmitie to bind the French king vnto him.

But after certeine light skirmishes (which he hapilie performed against the enimie) following the battell at Kenton (a towne in Picardie) most hotlie, and drawing nere within danger of the enimie, he was so wounded with a shot, that he could hardlie returne to his companie: but being relieved by his otome souldiers from the hands of the enimie, he was caried to Spontulle, where he shortly after died, greatlie repenting him of his former wicked fact, and greatlie abhorring the other authors thereof, as furtherers of him therein. Towards whom (after his death) the French king was yet so looting (for the singular

1553.

Abr. Fl.

The con-  
nants and ar-  
ticles are per-  
fected.

1553. Bucl

1554.

A parliament  
at Edinburgh  
called be-  
cause to the loy-  
alstie to  
hope.

The quene  
made gouer-  
nor by parlie-  
ment.

The gouer-  
nor made Duke.

Fr.Thin.  
Lesleus lib. 10.  
pag. 520.

1554.

Fr.Thin.

The gouer-  
nor resigned his  
office vnto  
quene.

Fr.Thin.

The quene  
griued the  
ueruance  
the realme  
the quene  
mother.

Buch. lib.

Lesleus  
pag. 522.  
Buchan.]

lingular fortitude of mind that was in him) that he procured all such of his Scots (as returned from the warres with Bunkstone) to be received into their owne countrie, and restored to all their goods and possessions.]

In lent all the lords of the realme of Scotland assembled at Striueling, where all the covenants and articles of agreement betwixt the quene and the gouernor, were perfectlie and fullie concluded, and thereupon a parlement appointed to be holden in Edinburgh, the tenth of Aprill next ensuing: and in the meane time the gouernor deliuered the castell of Edinburgh vnto the lord Erskin to keepe, as it were by waie of assurance for his part, that all things at that parlement should be accomplished according to the points of the agreement made by full consent. The lords then assembling in parlement at Edinburgh, on the said twelfth day of Aprill, all the covenants of agreement had & made betwixt the quene Dowager and the gouernor were presented & read, touching the dimission and giuing ouer of the gouernors authoritie, confirmed by the quene hir selfe in France, with consent of the king of France hir husband, the duke of Guise, and the cardinall of Lozrain hir curators, with a gift of the dukedome of Chastelaunt vnto the gouernor, vnder the great seales of France, and others, to whome it appertained.

After this, there was read a confirmation of the thre estates of Scotland, touching the premises, in which they bound themselves to warrant the quenes discharge made to him, & to establish him as second person of the realme [ & to haue the gouernement of the castell of Dunbretton (as saith Buchanan) with other things contained in the contract: to the which there in open parlement all the estates subscribed, and put therevnto their seales. Which done, the gouernor gaue vp his office of tutorship, in presence of the said estates, the quene mother, & monsieur Dowager being there present, who receiued the same in the quenes name, at that time remaining in France. And herewith presentlie was a commission shewed, giuen by the quene of Scotland in France, with consent of hir curators, making the quene Dowager hir mother, regent of hir realme: which office she toke vpon hir, and was thereto admitted by the estates of the realme. Then was the parlement newlie authorized in the quenes name, with consent of hir curators, and in name of the quene regent.

\* Where is to be noted, that as at the first they which had the administration of the common-wealth vnder the king of Scotland in his minority, were first called gardians, and then gouernors: so now began they to haue a new title for the same, to be called regents of Scotland, not before accustomed among the Scots, which name hath ever since remained to all such as exercise that place (euen in our age) during the minority of Charles James the first, now ruling the scepter of Scotland. In which declaration of things (as before you heard) to the gouernement of the French, the Scots could neuer be persuaded that the castell of Edinburgh should be deliuered to the rule of strangers: fearing that if the quene should die without issue, that then the French would there by tyrannie settle themselves. Wherefore the same was committed to the defense of John Areskine, which he should not deliuer to any, but to one of the order, and of the nobilitie and parlement.

About this time, the quene regent sent George Gordon earle of Huntlye to apprehend John Spaldard (or Spaderac, as saith Buchanan) chiefe of the familie of the Reginaldins, a notable theefe, & one that was fraught with most wicked deeds: which towne it is supposed that Gordon did not verte faithfully discharge. Wherefore, when he returned without the

dispatch thereof, in not taking of that man, he was committed to prison untill the day appointed, where in he should answer the cause. Whose friends in the meane time (to mitigate the enuie against him for the same) did spread false rumors thereof, laiting all the fault in the familie of the Cathans: for they said that the same was hindered by them for the malice that they bare vnto the Gordons: which speeches did one lie rise almost vpon this occasion.

Whilest the quene prepared for hir tourne into Scotland, Gordon did cast into prison William (the head of the familie of the Cathans) a yong man li berallie brought vp with the earle of Spurrelle for kinreds sake, being success son to the said earle, for none other cause but for that he would not yeld him selfe to the protection of him. Gordon therefore grieued at this man, did not thinke it safetie to leaue him free and at libertie behind him, when he should go into France with the quene, although he could find no fault to late to his charge nor this anie punishment. Wherefore (by his friends) he perswaded the yong man (ignorant of all deceit) that he should yeld him selfe into his protection and tutorship: for so by that one meanes, both the fame of the one and safetie of the other might be prouided for, which the yong man did accordingly lie.

Wherefore Gordon being now lord ouer the life and death of this William, did (dissembling his hatred to him) breake with his owne wife to execute the yong and gilliesse man in his absence, supposing thereby to transerre all the malice which should rise thereof vnto the fact of his wife, as not done by his consent. Which fell out quite contrarie: for when euerie one knewe the subtil wit of Gordon the earle of Huntlye, and that his wife (a chosen and rare woman) had passed all the rest of hir life within the bounds of womanlike modestie; they were all casilie perswaded, that he alone was author vnto hir of that wicked counsell. Whereupon, Gordon being now cast in prison for that fact, there was (in a councell holden by the regent) great contention and varietie of opinions, touching the punishment which he should haue. For some would haue him banished into France for certeine yeares, & some would onelie haue an excessive mule to be laied vpon him.

Both which opinions were reiected by the chiefe of his intimies, Gilbert earle of Caillies. For he, perceiving by the present state of things, that peace would not long continue betwene Scotland and France; did bitterlie withstand his banishment into that countrie. For he would not haue that man (being so subtilie and vncoustantlie witted, proud, and desirous of reuenge; of and vpon such as were enuious, or backbiters against him) to be a firebrand and capstane to those French, who (he was assured, for their insolent pride) would haue warre with the Scots. For although he thought, that of right he ought to be punished, yet he did not iudge, that anie domesticall euill was so much, or the punishment thereof should be thought so great, that they should accustom the French to shed the Scottis blood. Wherefore at length his punishment was agreed vpon (as after shall appeare) in renouncing of all his right to the earldome of Spurrelle, & other things.

The quene having the disposition of all things, did at hir pleasure change all the officers; and made the earle of Caillies treasurer, & Westmost a French man controller; also another Frenchman called monsieur Rubie, keeper of the great Teale, as vicegerent in place of the earle of Huntlye, who was chancelor; and then in waite; and James Spachill register, and the abbot of Couper keeper of the priue scale, as saith Buchanan lib. 10. pag. 521. Donald gouernor of the Isles. These men's counsell and mon-

Officers are changed.

Fr. Thin.

The covenants and articles are presented.

1555. Buch.

1554. A parlement. Edinburgh castell deliuered to the lord Erskin to keepe.

The quene made gouernor by parliament.

The gouernor made duke.

Fr. Thin.

The gouernor resigned his office vnto the quene.

The quene giueth the gouernance of the realme vnto the quene mother.

Fr. Thin.

Buch. lib. 16.

Lecheus. lib. 10. pag. 521. Buchanan. lib. 16.

53.

Fl.

in. is lib. 10. 10.

54.

The earle of Huntieie renounced manie things.

Fr. Thin.  
Lefleus lib. 10.  
pag. 522.

1551.

The lawe for fishing.

Covenants for seamen.

Lefleus lib. 10.  
pag. 523.

1555.

seuer Doffels the bled principallie in all things. The earle of Huntieie being to be deliuered out of ward, did for his punishment renounce his title to the earldome of Arrere; whereof he had a gift in heritage. Also he renounced his interest vnto the farmes of Dykenetie and Sheatland, and to the earldome of Spar, and of the quenes lands of Straits Die: and further was contented to go ouer into France, there to remaine for the space of five yeares. But yet afterwards the quene was contented, that he should still remaine within the realme, for the which he gaue to hir five thousand pounds in monie.

About the same time Marie the quene of England, and the regent of Scotland, thought good to haue a peace betwene both nations, and that their commissioners should meet to determine all controuerfies. At what time for the Scots, were Robert of Kirkwardie, and John Bellenden of Achnotwale knights: and for the English, were Thomas Cornwallese, and Robert Bowes knights. At what time there were lawes made touching fishing, aswell in the sea, as in certeine other limited rivers; by which all occasions of contention was taken awaie from both nations. Richard Forston, a man of great counsell in prosperitie, and of great stomach in aduersitie, being capteine of Porham castell in England, was at that time cause of the making of this lawe for the commons: That if anie Englishman from a Scot, or a Scot from an Englishman, did by force take away anie fish that was taken; that he should paie the muld of twentie shillings for the same: beside other punishments of the common law.

Further it was agreed, that whosoener by force of tempest, or for anie other cause, were driven into Scotland or England, he should not by anie pretense be staied; but he might freely by land or sea, either on horsebacke or on foot returne home. Provided, that he had the testimonie of the next maister of the port, or of the next towne, to witnes the cause of his arrivall; and that during the time of his abode in such a countrie, he attempted nothing against the lawes of the kingdome. Not manie daies after this, Henrie Sinclere deane of Glasgow, senator, and vicepresident of the high court, did returne into Scotland out of France; being a man greatlie familiar with James the first, aswell for the singularitie of his wit, as the excellencie of his learning.

But in the time of the gouernor, the courtiers (not greatlie esteeming such wisdome & learning) made no account of him, although the quene Dowager, and diuerse of the nobilitie held him in great honor; aswell for his deepe studie in the best arts, as for his rare knowledge of the publike lawes and antiquities of Scotland. This man, vpon his first returne, was forthwith both author and persuader to and of the bishop of the Archades chiefe president, and to the other senators; that there should be new lawes made for the short ending of lutes in law; for the obseruation of a right course of iudgments, and for the taking awaie of all euill customs. In the making & tempering whereof, he was of so great iustice; that such things as were set downe in the law, were more holie and perfecte brought to their ancient forme than they had bene before.

The reason is readie; to wit, aswell for that in equall deliuering lawe to all men: as in pleading, there was by his meanes, more diligence vfed by the magistrats, aduocats, scribes, and officers; in cutting awaie vaine and superfluous formes and orders: which ministred occasion; that their lutes did long hang in court, before they could be determined. At this time also the marquesse of Spaine (being after made duke of Almaine) who in the meane time

with manie other nobles of France, had remained pledges in England, did (hauing licence therevnto) come into Scotland to see his sister, accompanied with sir Thomas Stewkleie of England now knight; who after he had remained some daies with his sister in pleasure & delight, discharged his faith, and returned againe into England.]

In Julie was a parlement held at Edinburgh, in the which manie acts and statutes were made, right profitable (as was then thought) for the common-weale of the realme. Amongest which, to passe over the rest, these same worthie to remaine chronicled to posteritie. First, that none of the citizens (in the feasts of Whitsuntide, or anie such times, in which their hirclings are accustomed to go forth) should assemble armed, to cast forth the husbandmen after the old maner. Secondlie, that the inhabitants meeting together, should no more assemble under a certeine colour of gaine, which for exercise of the bodie (as it was supposed) was holden after the example of one (I can not tell who) Robert Hood a wild or vplandish man. Thirdlie, that there should be no priuat leagues contracted betwene lubbers. Which lawes did after bring great peace, ease, and quiet to the publike state.

In the verie same yeare 1555, in the eight kalends of August, fell the mariage of Marie quene of England with Philip king of Spaine in the citie of Winchester. Wherefore ambassadors were sent from the quene regent to Philip and Marie, to congratulate their mariage. Besides which, these ambassadors did requite a renewing of the league, and that commissioners should be appointed to meet the next summer in the borders, to end all controuerfies. In the meane time, whilst the quene regent did administer the affaires of South Scotland, John Steward earle of Atholl was sent into the north parts with a chosen companie, to breake the force of John Spudiard or Spudrace. At what time this earle bled such courtesse and counsell in pacifieng, and such celeritie and wisdome in executing of things; that he brought the seditious Spudiard (impatient to haue anie gouernor) to the quene, to whom the said Spudiard did willinglie yeld himselfe, his children, and his kindred.

To which man, the quene (in respect of singular clemencie, and pietie to all men, according to the disposition of hir nature) did wholie remit all his offenses, with this condikion; that he should faithfully remaine prisoner in the castell of Speffens, and in the towne of Perth. But as the for (as the proverbe is amongst vs) cannot liue without his starving holes; so this Spudiard and his companions, imbued with more than forlike conditions, did (receiving their keepers) returne to their owne canes, and afresh trouble all the north Scotland with their railed seditions and spoiles. Which things inforced the quene, that she did go into those parts, to hold iustice of othes: in which she might bryde the evils of wicked men, and purge those prouinces from all the roots of sedition.

Wherevpon, in the moneth of Julie, the quene accompanied with the earles of Huntieie, Argile, Rothes, Cassils, and Sparthall; the bishop of Aberdeen and Ross, D. Doffell, Rabie, and others, went to the towne of Inuernelle, in which citie (the faults known by publike accusation) there was iust punishment taken vpon the offenders. And because there were manie hidden in the higher and mounteine countries, which by their absence fled the punishment, she commanded the heads of the mounteine families, that they should bring their guiltie countreymen and kindred to iudgement, according to the lawe established by James the first; with a great paine

Lefleus lib. 10.  
pag. 524.

1555.  
A parlement.

Fr. Thin.  
Lefleus lib. 10.  
pag. 524.

Lefleus lib. 10.  
pag. 525.  
Buchanan,  
lib. 16.

Lefleus  
pag.

1555. Buch.  
1556. H.B.

Lefleus lib. 10.  
pag. 527.  
Buchanan lib. 16.

us. lib. 10.  
24.S. S. S.  
arlement.Thin.  
cus. lib. 10.  
524.leus. lib. 10.  
525.  
banan.  
16.Lefleus lib. 10.  
pag. 528.555. Buch.  
556. H.B.Lefleus. lib. 10.  
pag. 527.  
uchan. lib. 16.Commis-  
sioners sent.Lefleus lib. 10.  
pag. 527.Parlement.  
Gentlemen  
religed.

poine set upon the chiefe of those families: in the  
other his familie religed, & would not come into iudge-  
ment.

Whereupon it followed, that a date of diverse  
families, that were in sentence, departed a waie,  
discovering to publicke judgement, whether manie and  
those not of the manie, & where the punishment  
for publishing the peace, amongst which one of them  
a hanger being committed to the iudges. Grant  
and other persons before the iudges,  
did provide to bring their dead bodies when they  
could not take their live bodies. The case of Cath-  
erine, because that being married thereto, he did  
not bring his people before the iudges, along first  
committed to prison in Inverness, then at Aber-  
den, and lastlie at Edinburgh, from whence he pur-  
chased his libertie with a great masse of monie.

Spachrie in like sort, head and chiefe of the tribe  
of Strathnaperne & of Glencone, having called to  
iudgement (so that he had often wasted the countie  
of Southerland next adjoining) his contemne the  
precept. Whereupon the queene provided a great ar-  
mie, which under the erle of Southerland make into  
Strathnaperne, where he sought all the places of  
doubt, least anye hole might be left for the theues to  
passe a waie from thence. Whereupon Spachrie,  
when he saw himselfe to be set (as that no place of  
flight was left him) yielded himselfe to Hugh Kene-  
die, who led him to the queene, by whom he was com-  
mitted to prison at Edinburgh a long time, but they  
of Glencone put in pledges, & (being committed to  
safe and strong prisons) were referred to the iudge-  
ment of the queenes pleasure.

After this, the queene leaving Inverness, and  
progressing the province of Ross, she came to El-  
gine, Banff, Aberdeen, and the chiefe places there-  
abouts, diligentlie to inquire of the misdeemeanors of  
those people. At what time she did temper the rigour  
of law with such courtlesse, that she punished the of-  
fenders by fine, and not by death. From whence she  
came to Dundee, and to saint Johns towne, obser-  
ving the same cause and course of her coming.  
When she had thus passed over the summer in vizit-  
ing the mounteine people to their dutie, she sent  
the earle of Huntlie to toine with the bishop of  
Ross and Dkeneie, and to Hugh Kenedie, to whom  
she did substitute a better and more commodious  
forme of dispatch of their affaires by others: who  
should receive the libels and accusations of private  
persons, and diligentlie to inquire of them, in the  
townes of Inverness, Elgine, and other places.  
By whose diligence it came to passe, that all those  
countrie (being reduced to the rule of iustice) were  
made the more quiet.

Here I will not (saith Lefleus) now declare how  
honourable & sumptuous the queene in all her pro-  
gresse was received (without anye charge to her) of  
the pères, bishops, and other nobles and gentlemen  
of Scotland, with the Frenchmen (which were then  
present with her) have opened to other nations as  
well as to their own people (with singular commu-  
dations to the Scots) the gorgeous shew of this  
Scotland, being a most worthy signe of the favour  
they bare to the queene. In the meane time there  
were sent commissioners to the borders, as the bi-  
shop of Dunblane, the lord of Levington, & master  
James Spacill: where doctor Tunstall bishop of  
Durham, & certeine others for England met them  
at Duns, and remained there till the queenes com-  
ming backe forth of the north in September next  
following.

This yere was a parlement holden, in which the  
lards Winton, Dunsin, and Grange, with mas-  
ter Henrie Balnaghe, and others, which were for

fasted in the gouernors time, were restored. At the  
same time the queene, by the counsell of monseur  
Doissell, and Kibie, and certeine of the nobilitie of  
Scotland, requested that a new order might be  
made, whereby euery mans substance should be put  
in an inventarie, and according to the rate thereof  
to paye a pécetie taxation, to be put and kept in the  
treasurie-house till warres began, and that then men  
of inuencible might be waged, therewith to lie upon the  
borders, and more in that case to be charged to come  
from their home houses, and then some great armie  
might be sent forth to invade Scotland.

But the great lords were agreed to this  
ordinance, but the most part of the barons bearing  
thereof, assembled together in Edinburgh, to the  
number of two hundred & foure, and sent the lards  
James, Hamilton, of: Elphinstoun, and  
John of Menteith in life, to the queene and lordes, be-  
séeching them not to set such newe taxation upon  
them, for they could not bear such burdens; but  
would defend the realme, as before time their elders  
had done, not meaning to put their goods to inuenc-  
ible sale, as if the pécetie taxation made their last will  
and testaments: and be past all hope of inuenc-  
ing their temporal goods, as persons not to live longer  
in the world, but to take their farewell, and give  
over all that they had by law of full heretofore not  
to be awarded. Adding further, that their elders  
did not onlie defend themselves, and their goods  
against the English, when they were of farre greater  
power than they now be; but did also manie times  
make further invasion upon them into their owne  
countrie: For which cause, they being not anye  
now so degenerated from their ancestors, that they  
would not when need required, be slow their substance  
and life in defense of their countrie.

And as touching the hired soldiers, it was a  
thing full of danger, to commit the state of Scot-  
land to men without substance, or without hope of  
advancement, and to such as for manie will bare so  
base a thing, being a thing apt to kindle their depe  
conetousnesse, and to minister occasion to them to  
attempt other matters. But to the end all other  
things may the better be looked vnto, let them more  
remember the deerenes of their countrie, than their  
owne estate or condition. For will anye man  
believe, that hired soldiers will more valiantlie  
fight for strangers, than the owners will fight for the  
defense of their owne? That a little hire or wages  
reable to be abated in peace, will greater incense  
the minds of the common people; than goods, chil-  
dren, wiues, and temples, will moue the hearts of  
the nobilitie?

Whereunto may be ioined, that this matter per-  
taining to the highest god of the kingdome of Scot-  
land, and that the same is of farre more importance  
than that it should be communed of at this time, and  
in the tender age of our yong queene. Besides which  
the greater part of men do suspect and feare, that the  
same new order for warre is impossible, and such  
as cannot be performed without some commotion  
of the Scottish nation, especiallie with so great sums  
of monie can hardlie be wrought out by tribute im-  
posed on the same Scots, as may suffice to nourish a  
hired armie to defend the borders. Wherefore it is to  
be feared, least the end of persuasion grow to this  
point, that it do not rather open a gap to let in the  
nimie, than to be a barre to keepe them backe. For if  
the English, after this example, being a farre richer  
nation, shall gather a much greater summe: who  
doubteth, but that they may with lesse trouble to the  
common people, susteine an armie twofold as great as  
that of the Scots, & such as shall not onlie enter the  
borders, but rush euen into the berte bowels of the  
king.

his taxation  
on is not  
granted.  
1556.Thin.  
Buchan. lib. 16.



plies and strength. In this mean while were the Scottish commanders at Caerleill; and the master of Spawellwarden of the west borders, being there with them, with much advantage came home into Scotland. The quene assembled a great armie out of all parts of the realme, the which came forth to Bells in the month of October; where the quene's French men persuaded them to enter by invasion into England. But they meaning to take further advice, passed over toward Spawellburgh, where they incamped, and afterwards approached the castle of Wither, insulted the same with a siege for the space of five or three daies. Captaine Head at that present had charge of that castle, with three or foure hundred footmen, and one hundred horsemen, knowing to care little for the Scottish men's forces.

The earle of Westmerland, being then lieutenant of the north parts, gathered such places together as he might make, and came to Louthie, accompanied with the lord Talbot, sir James Crofts, and others, to succor where most need should appeare. The Scottish armie, perceiving the Englishmen thus in a readinesse to resist their attempts, took advice together, and concluded that it was not for the weale of the realme, at that time to hazard battell forth of the bounds of their owne land, their prince being absent, and as yet in his minority; considering also that the war was not taken in hand for their owne square, but for the pleasure of France. These and other the like reasons, being alleged by the earles of Argyll, Huntly, Argyle, Castils, and others, to the quene and French captains, they were nothing satisfied therewith; but the Scottish lords would attempt no further, but retired backe and scaled their artide.

In removing from Wither, they were pursued by certeine bands of the borderers, and others, which were repelled, and stood in danger to have bene distressed, if captaine Head had not with noble courage stood forth, and in time relieved them that were retreating; whereby they staid and gave a new charge, in which as the Scots were beaten backe againe, and chased over the water to their maine armie that was already passed over. The quene and monseur Dossell, perceiving that they could not get the Scottish lords to make any further exploit at that present, they retired home; but Dossell with his French men were appointed to remaine still in Hainmouth, to countergarrison the Englishmen within Wether.

There were diverse foot bands of Scots waged by the French king, which were appointed to lie in places about the borders, as at Bells, Rockelburgh, and such like for defense of the countrie, and the annoyance of the Englishmen, as occasions might serve. After this, sir Andretto Bar, and diverse other entered England with a power of men about Spawell, being then lieutenant of the north parts of England, and lying on the borders, assembled his forces together, & coming to encounter the Scots on the very borders side nere to Chentot, at the first the Englishmen were put to the worse, but yet at length the Scots were overthrowne and chased: sir Andretto Bar, and many other being taken prisoners.

Sir John Foster bare himselfe verie valiantlie at this encounter, so that his service might not well have bene spared. He was thrust through the mouth into the necke, and also through the thigh; moreover, his horse was slaine under him. The conflict was sharpe, for both the horsemen and footmen came to make proofe of their forces. The warre thus being

began and followed, the Scots kept their quarters large, and chose noble men (as he was appointed) late on the borders with a thousand horsemen, wearing his armoriall device. And on the other side, the English borders were furnished with into hundreds of men of warre, so that there were battell ready and incursions made by the parties, to the great damage and spoile of the houses and villages situate nere to the confines of both the realmes.

In December the quene assembled a parliament at Edinburgh, where (the English favouring the French) she showed forth the letters of Henrie king of France, to be read by the whole assemblee, touching the solemnization of the marriage betwene the young heire of Scots, and the French kings sonne, which I have here set downe.

The substance of the letter of the French king, concerning the marriage of his sonne to the quene of Scots.

By the grace of God, king of the French, to his moste chiefe princes of Scotland, and to the rest of the orders, being our deere friends, greeting. It is most plainlie knowne to all nations, how fast a bond hath alwaies hitherto remained betwene Scotland & France. Neither can it be hidden that these signs of amitie were, being for number manie, for greatness large, and for dutie of friendship mutual ech to other; by which the kings our ancestors have seemed to confirme; and as it were to increase this amitie, to the end it might remaine whole and sound for ever: and so farre the thew thereof hath appeared, that all the benefites of either realme have seemed to be common to ech other. Which bond of friendship we also have (for the time in which we first received the ensignes of our kingdome) labored firmelie to reteine, to the end the same should not anie waie be decayed or broken. The which in like sort we well understand, that you have likewise abundantly performed unto us.

Wherefore (more strongly to knit the same) we will not suffer this opportunitie (which the divine goodnesse hath lated before us, as we verelie suppose) of marriage to be solemnized betwene our son the Dolphin, and your quene our deere and sweet sister and daughter. Which thing (after that it began to be intreated) was so tyged by all parts, as the young quene was upon that condition left with us, when she was caried into France, by the consent of our sister the Dowager, and the gouernour of Scotland, to the great reioysing of all you that yielded thereunto, where now she hath attained such beantie and number of vertues, partly by the liberalitie of nature (which she received from the kinglie blood of her parents) and partly by the instruction of my wife, that I can hardly anie longer suffer (in respect of the age of my sonne) that this marriage (which we have so much desired) should anie longer be deferred. And sith at Christmalle next my son shall come to those yeres, in which he may promise all things that shall be necessarie for the knitting up of the marriage; and sith also we have determined (if it so seme god to the quene his mother, and to the rest of the parlement of Scotland, which we earnestly request at your hands) that the marriage shall publickly at Paris (on the day consecrated to the three kings) with such ceremonies as is requisite, be fully consummate with the speech of my sonne and of your quene.

We do by these letters request you, that by common consent you forthwith send some of your chiefe nobilitie,

1558.  
A parliament.

Lesleus lib. 10.  
pag. 533.

An armie assembled.

The lord is not content thereto.

The castle of Wether besieged by the Scots.

Captaine Head.

The earle of Westmerland gathered an armie to resist the Scots.

Lesleus lib. 10.  
B. 529.

Lesleus lib. 10.  
B. 529.

The Scots broke by their armie.

1557.  
The quene's gent desired to warre.

In assemblee at Caerleill.

The occasion why the quene's gent desired to have war.

The Scottish lord refused to the warre in and Hainmouth is satisfied. Invasions made into England.

The Scots dissatisfied by the earle of Northumberland.  
Sir John Foster.



the footmen to state, and holdie to abide the outcome : & herewith procured the horsemen to give a charge in such convenient time, as if the same had bene protracted, it might have turned verie evil to the English side.

But now as well the horsemen as footmen playing their parts, the Scottish horsemen abiding without the rowle in troope (while their footmen were in skirmish) fled awaie, leaving their footmen to be slaine and spoiled of the Englishmen, and yet those footmen fought it out right manfully : so that if the Scots horsemen had done their parts so well as the footmen, it was like to have gone hard on the English more than it did. But now the Scottish horsemen not entering the fight, their footmen were inclosed by the Englishmen : for those that were in the foreward, and were passed by, returned, and coming behind their enemies, hope to beat them downe, so that few or none of the Scots or Frenchmen (whereof there were some few amongst them) escaped, but were either taken or slaine.

Amongest others, capitaine Callane, and capitaine Benedie, two chiefe leaders of the footmen were taken : diuerse of their horsemen also in the retire were taken, amongst whom William lord Beith, some to the earle Marshall of Scotland was the chiefe. But this victorie was not attended with out losse of diuerse Englishmen : Amongest other one Bell, ensigne-bearer to sir John Sparkeham's band of footmen was slaine. Also master Evington a capitaine of light horsemen was taken prisoner by the lord of Comonsford, at the first charge given by the Scottish horsemen, and led awaie without rescue. With the manfull prowesse of sir Henrie Perrie, and the other English captiues before mentioned, the forward ballancie shewed that day of sir William Hereton, and Thomas Sparkeham, that led his father sir John Sparkeham's band of footmen, also of Kase Ellerkar a capitaine of horsemen, are not to be forgotten, who with diuerse other captiues & souldiers behaved themselves in such wise at that present service, as their dealings therein deserue speciall memorie.

Moreover, at an other time the Scots & Frenchmen entering into England, the Scottish horsemen, to the number of a thousand or thereabouts, passed forth to burne and forate the countrie: but the earle of Northumberland, & his brother sir Henrie Perrie, assembled together a power of horsemen: and sir Henrie Perrie meeting with them at Grendon, set upon the Scots and chased them over the water of Tillwell, unto the foot battell of the Frenchmen: who retiring to the river of Tweb, passed over the same at Chapell Ffourd, where they were assailed both by certeine foot bands of the garrison of Berwick, that were come forth to aid the earle, and also by the horsemen: so as diuerse were drowned in the river before they could get over.

But after they were once got to the further side, they put themselves in order of battell againe, and retired in a squadron verie stronglie, sustaining little or no hurt at all, notwithstanding that the earle of Northumberland (being then come) and his brother sir Henrie Perrie, with the rest of the captiues and gentlemen of the countrie, pursued them over the water for the space of two miles, skirmishing with them still as they marched awaie, but could doe them no harme, because they kept themselves in so good order, & the English footmen were not able to reach them. Whereupon the English horsemen suffering the Frenchmen to depart, left them, and passing into the countrie, burnt long Connam, and diuerse other hamlets and villages, and so returned. Diuerse Scots that day at the overthrow and chase of

their horsemen were taken prisoners, as the lord Greke, and others.

And after this, the Englishmen leane the strong side of Calowills, wherein were certaine Frenchmen that defended it in the time verie stoutlie, so that it cost the lives of diuerse Englishmen, before they could take it. Shortly after, there was a fore skirmish at Holston hill. For whereas the most part of summer it was ordeined, that everie date certeine bands of souldiers should ward on the same hill, to give libertie to the inhabitants of Berwick, to mow and carie in their haie; they continued for a time without any trouble offered by the Scots or French, so that the warders standing in no doubt of the enemies, fled out of their array to shoot, bolle, quait, & exercise such like games of pleasure. Whereof the Scots & Frenchmen being advertised, came one day from Almouth in so secret wise, that they were taken verie nery to the Englishmen, yet they had any warning of their approach.

This approach as it was private, so was it likewise sudden, insomuch that before they could be got into order, the Scots and Frenchmen were almost at their elbows; and falling in skirmish with them, handled them verie roughlie: although sir William Hereton, sir John Sparkeham, master William Dyebole, Gilbert Waghan, and other the captiues of the Englishmen did behave themselves right manfully, bringing their men in order, incouraging them, and doing what appertained unto hardie and skilfull warriors. But yet three times that day the Scots and Frenchmen put them from the high of the hill, till at length sir James Croft coming from Berwick, vied such diligence and politie in the matter, that the Scots and Frenchmen were repelled and constrained to retire, withdrawing backe into Almouth, after they had continued in skirmish from one of the clocke till it was past foure with no small losse on both parts.

After this, the earle of Bothwell, being on the borders as lieutenant, according to the order for the time of his quarterage, entered on a day into Crigland, and sent his forate to burne Fenton towne, keeping himselfe in ambush at Halthwell Swyre. Sir Henrie Perrie advertised that the Scots were thus entred, got together a thousand horse, and making forth to defend the countrie, set upon the earle at the aforesaid place of Halthwell Swyre, but some feare entering into the hearts of the Englishmen, by reason of certeine shot which the Scots shewed with them, fled, and were pursued by the Scots over the water of Till. Where were taken above six score Englishmen, amongst whom capitaine Evington, and capitaine Bar, that had the leading of light horsemen, were two: besides diuerse other men of good account in service, as one Waghan a gentleman and such like.

About this time, whilest the lord Cure commonlie called Cuers, remained capitaine of Berwick, one Kirkandie cousin to sir William Kirkandie lord of Grange, chanced to be taken prisoner into Berwick; and afterwards being ransomed, at his coming home to Almouth, he made report that he had bene twofold vied, during the time that he remained prisoner, at the hands of the said lord Cure. By reason whereof, upon challenge made by Grange to fight a combat with the lord Cure, the matter grew to this issue; that where their degrees were not equall, Kase Cure brother to the lord Cure undertooke (in his brothers behalfe) to breake a staffe with the lord of Grange upon the side of Halthwell hill at a day appointed: where they met, either of them bringing twelue gentlemen with them, to see the trial of this challenge performed.

All.

But

The lord Greke of Scotland taken prisoner. Calowills sworn by the Englishmen.

A fore skirmish upon Holston hill.

The earle of Bothwell.

Halthwell Swyre.

The English men put to flight.

The lord of Grange challenged the lord Cure.

The Scots horsemen slaine.

The lord of Beith taken prisoner.

Master Evington taken.

Sir William Hereton.

The Scots put to flight at Grendon.

The good order of the Frenchmen in their retire.

Long Connam burnt.

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The lord of  
Grange and  
maister Rafe  
Cure ran one  
against ano-  
ther.

Sir John  
Clere flaine  
in the Ile of  
Oykeneie.

The tourne  
of the earle of  
Suffler into  
the west parts  
of Scotland.

Kentire.

James Ma-  
conell.

The earle of  
Suffler burnt  
the Ile of Ar-  
rane.

But when they came to hande their armour, their  
pions blessed, the truth is so, that Grange was ar-  
med in a cote of plate; and a curace aloft upon it:  
where with some fault was found; because maister  
Cure was clad in a single cote of plate; with-  
out any other pieces of armour for defence of his bod-  
ie. But yett he was the great courage of the same  
maister Cure; that he would not refuse the challenge,  
notwithstanding his adversaries advantage of ar-  
mour. Whereupon they ran together and brake both  
their blades; and as it fortuned maister Cure was  
hurt in the flankes. The warre being thus pursued  
betwixt England and Scotland; beside the incom-  
fers and roads which are before mentioned, there  
were two great roads made into Scotland; the one  
by the earle of Westmerland; and the other by the  
earle of Northumberland: the lord Malbot being  
there, & having the leading of certaine gentlemen:  
whereof it was thought good by the English  
men, not onely to annoie the Scots by land, but al-  
so by sea. Whereupon Sir John Clere with certaine  
ships of warre sailed forth alonge the coast; till at  
length he arrived at the Isles of Oykeneie; where  
going on land about an entrenchment, staing longer  
than was requisite, he was incouraged by his adver-  
saries; and flaine with many of his people; which  
were there on land with him. But though the Scots  
had good successe in that part; they sustained great  
damage on the west side of the realme, by a tourne  
which the earle of Suffler then lord deputy of Ireland  
attempted against them. For the better under-  
standing whereof ye shall note; that after the lord Chiv-  
erton high admerall of England had burnt the towne  
of Conquest in Britaine, there were seven ships of  
warre appointed to passe into Ireland, as the Earle  
Melloughbie, the Peter barke, the Sacet, the Ger-  
salcon; and three other that were merchants, and ap-  
pointed that yeare to serve the queene of England  
in hir warres.

There were also beside those seven ships of warre,  
two bittlers appointed to attend upon them. Sir  
Thomas Cotton was ordeined their admerall; and  
one Southwiche of Dover was assigned to be their  
viceadmerall. Upon their arrivall in Ireland,  
the earle of Suffler having also prepared three o-  
ther ships, with sufficient and necessarie provision  
for his tourne, imbarked with so manie sol-  
diers as convenientlie might be bestowed aboard  
in that fleet; containing twelve saile in the whole;  
and departing toward the west of Scotland, land-  
ed in a part of the countrie called Kentire, with as  
manie soldiers and mariners as might be spared  
out of the ships, leaving them furnished with com-  
petent numbers for their safegard; and being got to  
land, he passed forth into the countrie, & burnt two  
houses that belonged to James Maconell chiefe go-  
vernor of those parts, & a great entrie to the Eng-  
lishmen.

He burnt also diverse townes, villages, and ham-  
lets belonging unto the said Maconell, with great  
store of corne and other things which came in their  
waie. The Scots oftentimes skirmished with the  
Englishmen, but durst not adventure to joine with  
them in battell; they kept so good order by the earle  
of Suffler his politike and valiant conduction. There  
were a sort of Scots gotten into a boate meaning  
to have fled, but being apprehended by the English-  
men, they were executed. Finally, after the earle  
had remained there on land, in burning and spoiling  
the countrie for the space of three daies, he retur-  
ned to his ships, and in safetie went aboard againe  
with his men; and making saile to the Ile of Ar-  
rane, entered the haven called Amalasche, and lan-  
ding at that place, burnt the countrie; and after

went to Dundee; where the ships were burnt and har-  
ried that they could not stay there longer.

This done, he meant to have gone into the  
Ilands of the Firth; but the winds grew so ter-  
rible with tempests and foule weather, that they lost  
one of their ships; and some of the rest were so rent  
& spoiled of their tackle and furniture, as they were  
perceived in great hazard of being cast aboard also. Where  
were six and twenty mariners drowned; the which  
perceiving the ship to be in danger of sinking, fled  
into the boate; and so perished: the which that was  
maimed in the ship before said, as maister Francis  
Kandoll, and others which were on board, perceived  
saile weather, the earle of Suffler was compelled  
to returne into Ireland, arriving in Clogherga;  
where he landed with his soldiers; and appointing  
the ship to returne into England, he passed by land  
unto Dublin, spoiling the countie counties by the  
waie; and taking from them a great pretious botie  
of catell; notwithstanding the painfull passage that  
he had to make through the lumbered waies,  
bogs, and woods, without reliefe of all necessarie  
things in that so trouble some a tourne.

This was for those yeares warre in the partes of  
sparie quene of England, betwixt the Englishmen  
and Scots; whereof sith I have found none that  
hath written any thing at all. I have yet set downe  
these notes, as I have learned the same of such  
as had good cause to know the truth thereof, being  
eye-witneses themselves of such enterprises and ex-  
ploits as chanced in the same warres; namely cap-  
taine Head, captaine Wood, captaine Crington,  
capitaine Curleie, and captaine Parham; with o-  
thers, which of their courtesie have willingly im-  
parted unto the report of diverse such things; as I  
thought to be resolved in. Which accordingly (so far as  
my remembrance hath served) I have here delive-  
red, to the end the same may give occasion to others  
that may happlie light upon more full instructi-  
ons to impart to posteritie a more perfect discourse,  
where otherwise the matter might peradventure  
sholde passe in forgetfulness.

And now to returne unto the Scottish ambassa-  
dors, who were sent into France, for the conclusion  
of the marriage betwixt their queene & the Dolphin.  
After that the same marriage was consummat, and  
everie thing ordered and brought to passe according  
to the effect of their commission; in the moneth of  
August they took their leave of the French king,  
the queene; and nobilitie there, to returne home  
towards into Scotland: albeit few of them came  
home, for the bishop of Oykeneie departed this tran-  
sitorie life in Diepe, the fiftenth of September;  
the earle of Rothes deceased there the ninth of No-  
vember; the earle of Cassils lord treasurer departed  
in the same place the fourteenth of November; and  
the lord Fleming deceased in Paris the eightenth  
of December. And so onelie the archbishop of Glas-  
cow, the prior of saint Andrews, and the lord of  
Dun returned into Scotland in October. After  
whose coming, there was a parlement summoned  
by the queene, to be holden in December next.

In August, Archibald Campbell erle of Argyle,  
whose wit was singular in dispatch of the affaires  
as well of peace as of warre, was made high justice  
of Scotland; and in France was advanced to the  
title of a knight of the order of saint Michael. Few  
daies betwixt these things departed this life the  
bishop of Brechin, and Andrew Durie bishop of  
Whithchurch. To the one did succeed the abbat of  
Couper; in place of the other came Alexander Coy-  
don archbishop of Athens by the queenes benefit.  
David Painter or Paniter bishop of Ross, & James  
Steward, whome James the sixt (being illegitimat  
father

Foule was  
ther.

The earle of  
Suffler retur-  
neth into Ire-  
land.

The earle of  
Suffler retur-  
neth into Ire-  
land.

The ambas-  
sadors were  
almost all.  
Lectures lib. 10,  
pag. 538, 539.

They came  
home againe.

Lord of Dun  
A parliament.

Fr. Thin.  
Lectures lib. 10,  
pag. 539.

Candida Casa.

Lectures lib. 1  
pag. 544.

Lectures lib. 1  
pag. 544.

Lectures lib. 1  
pag. 544.

The ambas-  
sadors were  
almost all.  
Lectures lib. 10,  
pag. 538, 539.

Lord of Dun  
A parliament.

Fr. Thin.  
Lectures lib. 10,  
pag. 539.

Candida Casa.

Leffens lib. 10.  
pag. 542.

This thing therefore the quene hit selfe both ear-  
nestlie desire, and doth courteously request all the e-  
states of Scotland, that the same maie be established  
by the voices of the full parlement, and that they will  
command some three or foure of the chiefest nobilitie  
honorable to carie the ensignes of the kingdome to  
him, that at the last by this token of loue, the king  
the best of the court maie well perceiue, with what  
reuerence and with what dutie they saunour the king

But whilst these men doe prepare all things for  
such a touraine, certaine factious persons did beat in-  
to their eares, how heauie a touraine that would be  
vnto them. For it would happen, that whilst they  
were busie in prouiding for small things aboue, they  
should by delate corrupt, or by absence cleane ouer-  
turne matters of greater importance at home. For  
they did know how the subtil wit of Jaines, and  
the great power and strength of the earle of Argile  
would be misling in those new things which were in  
hand amongst these of the religion: for which they  
never left off intereasing and perswading, vntill they  
had

Not so likelier  
as that lies  
drop out of  
your pen.

## The historie of Scotland.

had wholie staied them from that iournie.

During these affaires, Marie quene of England died, and that worthy ladie Elizabeth succeeded in hir place. Immediatlie whereupon, the young quene of Scots bare hir selfe as heire to that kingdome, and caused all hir hangings, bedding, vessels, and other household stufte to be stamped and marked with the title and armes of the kings of England. And although France were then miserablie afflicted in chalenging the dominion and gouernment of Scotland, Naples, and Flanders; yet they would needes heape euill vpon euill, and adde thereto the title of England, as being vnto them a herie, home, and mockerie (as Buchanan tearmeth it). Neither did the wiser sort of the French looke into that matter: for the Guises, who at that time gouerned all things, did consent to this error of the Scottish quene, because they would thereby seeme to haue gotten to themselves a singular honor in adding the title of England to the French name.

The regent hauing now gotten a consent (as before you haue heard) of the matrimoniall crowne to be bestowed vpon the husband of the young quene of Scots, began after a sort to put on a new mind: for by little and little he conuerted that old and accepted courtelie, into commanding arrogancie; and the gentle answers wherewith he was wont to appease all parts, were turned contrarie. Which before the durst not do by reason of the present state, which then was such, as he feared not to promise what he would not haue to be performed, because he had not then obtained the grant of the matrimoniall crowne: but now hauing all things after hir owne mind, the best other conditions, and other speeches. There was also a parlement appointed at Striueling in the first Ides of Aprill.

And because he was heard oftentimes to saie, that he would not suffer the maiestie of the chiefe gouernement to be cast downe from the seat thereof, but wold ressoie it to the former place. By which sayings manie were admonished of some troublesome tempest to follow. Whereupon diuerse came to intreat hir for the protestants, amongst which for the dignitie of his name, to make the matter to be more easilie obtained, there were sent Alexander Cuningame earle of Glenearne, and Hugh Campbell shiriffe of Aine, a worthy knight, before whom the regent could not restraîne himselfe, but burst forth into these wordes.

These men (saith she) sith they haue preached not verie sincerelie, shall be banished, though you and your ministers resist against it. And when they replied, beseeching hir that she would remember what she had often promised: she answered, that the performance of promise is to be chalenged of princes, so farre as it seemeth commodious for them to performe it. Wherevnto they replied, that they therefore renounced all dutie and obedience vnto hir, and did further forwarne hir of the great mischiefs that would flow out of this founteine: with which answer she being broken more than she looked for, said in the end, that she would both thinke on it and them.)

In assemble  
of the cleargie.  
Fr. Thin.

Common prai-  
ers to be had  
in the vulgar  
tong.

In Iulie and August, there was a conuention of all the prelates and cleargie holden at Edinburgh, in the which certeine men & women of Edinburgh were accused of heresie, and abtured at the towne crosse with faggots on their backs: [whereupon (as saith Lellius lib. 10. pa. 538.) were great tumults raised at Edinburgh, for the appealing whereof, the lord Sefton was made gouernor there.] In this assemble it was required, that the common praiers might be read in the Scottish tong in churches, with certeine other articles of reformation, whereof the

answer was deferred till March, in which moneth a prouinciall counsell was appointed to be holden at Edinburgh. The second of March, the said prouinciall counsell of all the prelates and clergie of Scotland began, wherein diuerse articles were propounded by the temporallie: as to haue the praiers and administration of the sacraments in the Scottish language, the election of bishops and all beneficed men to passe by the voices of the temporall lords & people of their diocesses and parishes, with diuerse other re-  
10 formations: all the which the bishops refused to grant, where through there arose shortly after great trouble in Scotland.

The quene regent caused summons to be given to John Innes, John Wullocke, John Dowglas, and Paule Mestiane, to appeare at Striueling the tenth day of Aprill: and for lacke of appearance they were denounced rebels, and put to the horne. Whereupon the said John Innes being in Perth, perswaded the matter of Wullocke, the lords of Tulibardin, Wm. Wetherrow, and diuerse other being there assembled, with the burgeses of the towne of saint Johns towne and Dundee, to pull downe the images and altars in all churches, and to suppelte the houses of friers, & other religious places. Who after a sermon made by him to that effect, the same tenth of Aprill they began in saint Johns towne, and cast downe the abbey of the Charterhouse, the Blakie and Carmelite friers, called the Tullulum [and so  
30 cleane, that (as saith Buchanan) within two daies there was left no signe thereof almost to be seene] and reformed all other churches thereabouts, breaking downe the images and altars in Jffe, Angus, Sperris, and other parts there next adjoining.

The quene regent being aduertised thereof, sent for the duke of Chatelerauld, and diuerse other of the nobilitie, as the earles of Atholl, Argile, Sparthall, and others, who came with hir to Perth, otherwise called saint Johns towne, hauing with them two thousand Frenchmen [to whom also repaired (as  
40 saith Lellius lib. 10. pag. 548) the archbishop of saint Andrew and Glasgow, the bishops of Dunkeld, and Dunblane, James prior of saint Andrews, the abbat of Coloper and Dunfermeling, with manie other chiefe of the cleargie] who entered the towne vpon appointment of the lord Ruthen capteine thereof, and so recetuing it, gaue it in keeping to capteine James Stewart, and capteine Collane, with their bands of men of warre. In the meane time the erle of Argile, and the prior of saint Andrews, left the quene in Perth, and went to saint Andrews, joining themselves with the other, and made reformation of the churches, casting downe altars, images, houses of friers, and abbeyes in that towne, and in Coloper, and other places thereabout: and assembling a great companie of countrie men, came to London, Balmagare, & Coloper, to make resistance against the Frenchmen that were in Falkeland with the quene [came thither from Perth, after that  
60 she had left in Perth six hundred men under the charge of James Stewart cardinal, & James Col-lane.] But when they should haue met on Coloper moore in battell, the duke of Chatelerauld, the earle Sparthall, and others laboured betwixt them, so that the battell was staied, & the quene with the Frenchmen returned vnto Edinburgh.

The erle of Argile, the prior of saint Andrews, and their adherers, came to saint Johns towne and besieged it, till it was to them surrendered. The erle of Huntly was sent to them from the quene to treat with them of some accord, but he profited not. At the same time a certeine number of persons of the towne of Dundee & Perth, came to the abbey of Scoone, and spoiling the church, burnt it with the  
most

A prouinciall  
counsell.

Requests  
made by the  
laitie.

The fr  
Striue  
distrou

The qe  
departi  
Edenb

The fr  
les one  
throu

Fr. Thir

Fr. Thi  
Lellius  
pag. 55

Images and  
frieries  
pulled downe.

Fr. Thin.

Two  
parishes

The quene  
regent came  
to Perth.

Fr. Thin.

Letty

S. Andrews

Fr. Thi  
Lellius  
pag. 55  
Buch  
lib. 16.

Cowper.

Fr. Thin.

Two armies  
were parished.

Saint Johns  
towne be-  
sieged.

Some abbey  
burnt.

most part of the house, the earle of Argile, and the prioz of saint Andrezus being with them in companie. After this they went to Striueling, and to Liffquo, where they caused the houses of the blacke friers and graie friers to be throtone drowne. From thence they passed to Edeburgh, where the quene hearing of their coming, departed with the frenchmen unto Dunbar, the duke of Chatelerault, and the erle of Huntlie being with hir in companie.

The earle of Argile and his companie, called the lords of the congregation, were receiued into Edeburgh by the bailiffes of the towne, where the places of the blacke and graie friers were suddenlie ouerthrotone, & the Church a field, and Trinitie college, and saint Giles church were reformed, and the images and altars pulled drowne. The lords remaining thus in Edeburgh [apprehended Robert Richardson (as saith Lesleus) that was gouernour of the publicke treasure, toke the keys by force from him, entered the abbey] the coining house, toke the coining tools, seized vpon the quenes moueables, which they found in the palace, and kept the same. \* Whilist these things were thus done at Edeburgh, Marwell lord Harries gouernour of the west marches, which at that time was detained prisoner in Edeburgh castell, did priuillie get out of the same by a rope hanged to the wall, and hauing speedie horses, departed to his owne companie, hostlie after joining himselfe to the lords of the religion.]

Monsieur Doissell and the frenchmen came from Dunbar to the links of Leith, accompanied with the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Huntlie, Bothwell, Spourton, and others. And the lords of the congregation came forth of the towne of Edeburgh of purpose to haue giuen battell to the frenchmen, albeit they were not sufficient partie to resist them. But the erle of Huntlie trauelled betwixt them, by whose meanes there met twelue on euerie side, who agreed vpon certaine articles, and so the quene and frenchmen entered into Leith, and forthwith began to fortifie it.

sons, or hinder them from quiet gathering and inhering their rents, tithes, and profits, untill the fourth Ides of Januarie.

7 Seuenthlie, that they should not from henceforth violate or deface churches, religious houses, or anie other holie places.

8 Eighthlie, that euerie man might at Edeburgh professe and vse what religion he would, which they commonlie called the libertie of conscience.

9 Ninthlie, that the quene regent should faithfully prouide, that the preachers of the reformed religion should not be molested or hurt, either by hir, or by anie of the catholike gouernours. Both parties being thus satisfied with these conditions, the french entered Leith.]

Shortlie after this, the duke of Chatelerault, partly through persuation of the earle of Argile his sisters sonne, and the Westland lords, and partly because he understood that his son the earle of Arrane was fled forth of France to Geneva for the religion, he toke part with the lords from that time forth against the aduise of the bishop of saint Andrezus, and diuerse other his friends. This yere in June, Henrie the king of France, at the triumph of the marriages betwixt the king of Spaine and his daughter, and duke of Sanoie and his sister, was wounded in iusts at the tourneillis in Paris by the count Montgomerie, and died of the hurts the tenth of Iulie next ensuing, being the eleuenth day after he was wounded. Then Francis his sonne, that had married the quene of Scotland, was crowned king at saint Denis, and annointed at Reimes in September following.

\* In the moneth of September, Croke a noble man of France was sent to the regent, to comfort hir in the kings name, declaring vnto hir that an armie was preparing to come into Scotland, vnder the leading of the marquesse of Albufear (as saith Buchanan) and that in the meane time with all speed some troopes of men should hostlie be there with monie, and other defenses of warre. And to the end that nothing should want to further hir, the king would hostlie send certaine noble men into Scotland, which should counsell hir in these troublesome affaires. Besides which, he brought letters out of France from the king and the quene, to the prioz of saint Andrezus, in which they rather sought to incline his mind by courtellie to obedience, before that they would inforce him thereto by warre. Which letters being by Lesleus turned out of french into Latine, are by me thus deliuered in English, with the answer of the prioz to the same.

### Francis king of France to Iames prior of the monasterie of saint Andrewes.

After that I understood by certaine letters, & by the common report of all (my cosine) that Scotland did flame in euerie part with tumults and seditions, it is strange to see how greatlie I was astonished thereat. But when I heard that you (to whome my deare father, my deere wife, and my selfe, haue giuen so manie large benefitts) should be forgetfull of them all liberallie bestowed, and become the author, head, and nourisher of this fire of contention and bialles, I could not be perswaded that you would so farre digresse from that office and dutie of pietie, which you haue alwaies made shew to beare vnto the quene.

But if the thing were so, as the common fame dooth report of you, I did verelie thinke that the promises and flattering words of others had inticed you to this deceit, onelie to take the fault vpon you; for whose

Duke Chatelerault taketh part with the reformers of the churches.

King Henrie was hurt and died.

Francis the Dolphin succeeded his father.

Fr. Thn. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 554.

Lesleus lib. 11. pag. 554.

### The articles of agreement betweene the regent and the lords of the reformed religion.

1 First, that all the souldiers of the religion, and such as did belong to them, should depart from Edeburgh, and leaue the same to the gouernement of the quene: with this prouiso, that the citizens should either remaine, or depart at their pleasure.

2 Item, that those of the religion should restore vnto the magistrats wholie and trolie all such sums of monie, or other pretious things, which they had either priuatie taken, or by open force spoiled from the magistrats.

3 Thirdlie, that the quenes palace, which they of the religion did possesse, with all the furniture and ornaments thereof, should be deliuered by againe to such as should be appointed therefore.

4 Fourthlie, that they of the religion should not depart, before they had committed the lord Ruthwen and Pettarroto (whome they promised to put in pledges for their credit and good dealing) to the keeping of such as were on the quenes part.

5 Fifthlie, that all men should acknowledge the gouernement of the king and the quene to be lawfull, which before they had gaine said by the pretense of religion: and that they should faithfully obey the regent, and the old lawes of the kingdome, except such decrees as pertained not to religion.

6 Sixtly, that they should not by anie meanes trouble the catholike priests and ecclesiasticall per-

The friers in Striueling drowne.

The quene departed from Edeburgh.

The friers houses ouerthrotone.

Fr. Thn.

Fr. Thn. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 551.

Two armies pitched.

Fr. Thn. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 553. Buchanan, lib. 16.



whose cause (when they had discharged themselves thereof) the offense would seeme to be either none, or verie small, after that you had taken it vpon you. Which my opinion of you, if it be true, it shall be as sofull to me, as that which should be most sofull: for by this meanes I wish that some part of my displeasure (into which I would haue you thinke that you are woorthlie fallen) were quenched, in that you haue (as I heare) but onelie deceiued the good hope which we conceiued of your pietie towards God, and your faithful seruice towards me.

Wherefore, sith nothing is more deere or acceptable vnto me, than that (controuersies appeased) all things without anie tumult maie be knit together by the law of god order: and sith the same (as it seemeth to me) maie best be done by your trauell, I doe admonish you by these letters, and (for the good will I beare you) doe earnestlie request you, that you will returne to your owne profit and fidelitie, from which you haue most shamefullie fallen, to the end that I maie by the same more plainlie vnderstand that you carie an other mind than that which I can gather out of your folish doings, the which shall then fallie appere to me, if at length you so bend all your force, that all things disordered in those parts, maie by your diligence be called backe to the commonwealths ancient, sound, and holie forme of obedience, which you know is due to God and me.

Otherwise I would haue you be perswaded that I will shortly subdue you, and all those which shall cleane or minister helpe vnto you, in taking iust punishment vpon you, which I will bitterlie execute. The charge of declaration thereof, and the further large expelling of my mind, I haue committed to this bearer, whome I would haue you credit as much as my selfe. I praye God (cousine) to keepe you in health, Paris the sixteenth kalends of August.

Subscription, Francis

A little beneath that: De Laubespine.

With which letters also the quene of Scots directed other letters in this forme, as here followeth.

Marie queene of Scots, and Dowager of France, to James the prior of the monastrie of *Saint Andrewes*.

I can not see why Lesleus should call hie Dowager, sith by hie letter it appeareth hie husband was yet liuing, in that she talketh of hirs and hie husbands displeasure.



Can not (cousine) but greatlie wonder, that you which are not onelie nearest to vs by blood, but are also (as you know) greatlie benefited by vs with manerly beralities, should be either of that malice or boldnes, that you would with one fault ouerthrow the maiestie of God, and violate the authoritie of me and the king my husband. For it is a thing woorthie of great admiration, to consider how it might happen that you who being present, did open to me the names of the duke of Chatelerault, and of manie others, which seemed to you to diminish my authoritie, should now being absent (as a leader and head of all other seditious persons) hurt my dignitie, and that in matters of greatest weight, in which the honor of God is lessened, and my authoritie clearelie taken awaie: all which I should more easilie haue beleued of anie other my subjects, than of you.

Trulie most grieuouslie (as I ought) I beare this, that you haue falsified that faith to me, which had a speciall hope of your fidelitie: though as yet I can scarce be perswaded to thinke you to be so farre from truth and reason, that you would be caried awaie in

to such blind errors. All which I desire to fall out to be as true, as true maie be, requesting also of God so to giue to you his light, that returning into the right waie, you maie shew your selfe a god man, and obedient to our lawes, by doing contrarie things to that which you haue already performed. Wherefore, by these letters I admonish, and with intreatie as earnestlie as I can, desire you to recompense your former euill with following good deeds, and that the anger (which I and the king my husband haue bitterlie conceiued against you) maie by that meanes be pacified. Otherwise trulie I would haue you vnderstand, we will execute such punishment vpon you, that you shall for euer be mindfull thereof. The which doubtlesse if you compell vs by your daides to performe, it shall be to you a most greuous thing. I praye God keepe you from all danger. Paris the 9 kalends of August.

Subscription: Your good cousine Marie.

James Steward the prior of saint Andrewes (whome prosperous successes had before advanced) did in reading these letters of the king and quene so firie in anger and hatred, that he could not forbear but must needs returne answer, expressing the same (after confirmed by his daides) though now somewhat smothered with good words. The effect of which letters were in this sort: That he was grieved in his mind as much as he might, because he was so farre fallen into the mislike and displeasure of those princes, whome he reuerenced with great dutie, that they should bitterlie obiekt vnto him in their letters that he was a seditious person, noted of ingratitude, fraught with malice, and defiled with heresie.

Touching which notes of these wickednes, sith they were imputed to him by the nobilitie of Scotland (meaning such as stood against the reformed religion) he with faire speeches requested the princes, that they would not attribute more to the malice of his enemies in accusing him, than to his opprightnes in purging himselfe: and that they should not thinke anie thing to be spoken by his enemies, but that which favoured of malice, enuie, and hatred, especiallie sith they did not onelie go about to diminish his fame abroad amongst the princes, but also at home did openlie laie wait for his life and liuing.

But he would so labor, that all men should well perceiue his good mind (towards the princes) fullie laied abroad without anie veile of dissimulation, whereby his aduersaries should be ashamed to haue laied such open reproch against him, and the king & quene should mislike that they had so easilie credited his enemies. Wherefore he desired that hereafter they should rather beleue anie thing of him, than that he would be noted for an vnthankfull man, as they had obiekted vnto him. From the detestable spot wherof (being of all the verie worst, sith nature abhorreth the same) he would keepe himselfe, and rather die by anie kind of torment, than to suffer the least spot of such a vice to dwell in his name, especiallie in the affaires of that king and quene, wherof he had found the first most courteous, and the second most bountifull.

And therefore, as he had with all dutie hitherto prosecuted their fauour, so he (would during his life) contend, that his trauell, diligence, and faith, should neuer want in performing or defending their affaires, so that they would not burthen him with that which might be a detriment to the cause of God and religion: for if either of them were in hand, neither the fraudulent counsels of his strining aduersaries, neither the bitter words of the sharpe threats of the king or quene, should make him leaue off, or represse the

their worthie force in taking upon him the defense of those things.

Wherefore he would not haue the king or quene to thinke that their authoritie is touched, when he labored to pull awaie the deuises of the papists. From which onelie thing (as he supposed) the honor of God, the glorie of the king and quene, and the helpe and health of his countrie to be contained therein he will not be withstanding by the force of anie man, nor be in quiet for all the threats of the king and quene, until he haue wholie cut awaie the branches of superstition, and betterlie pulled vp the roots thereof.

Crokes hadscarle performed his ambassage for which became (as before you haue heard) in deliuering these letters: but forthwith alanded at Leith a Frenchman, with foure troops of soldiers, with a great masse of monie, & other furniture needfull for the warres: whome after a few daies the regent sent backe againe into France, to require of the king, that foure other companies of soldiers might be sent over, which might with those already holding Scotland, supplie the number of twentie companies: to whome also it were expedient to ioin a hundred horsemen, which number he affirmed would suffice to pacifie all the tumults in Scotland, so that foure ships well appointed might alwaies lie in the haven of Leith, to watch the port: All which if the Scots were provided by the benefit of the king, and that the coming of his brother the marquisse of Albuere were hastened, he promised then to bring all things to an end.

Besides which, he did also signifie vnto the king, that the Scots of the reformed religion, for the increase of their faction, had secretlie growen in league with some of the nobilitie of France, who did ballie send letters and messengers to the Scots, to encourage them not to leaue off from their attempts; promising also vnto them that they would hinder by all the meanes they could, that no great armie should be made out of France against them: and moreover, in that the Scots had sent ambassadors to Germanie, and into Denmarke, for religious cause, to require aid from thence, but their chiefeest and principall hope did rest (as saith Lelcus) in England.

1559.

Leith besieged

The Scottish men are banquished.

The quene came to Edinburgh.

New men sent into Scotland.

During these things, the duke of Chateleraut and the lords of the congregation sent to the quene (whereof we will speake more hereafter) beseeching hir to leaue off from making of foits within the realme. But she would not grant so to do: wherefore they assembled their whole forces in Edinburgh, and besieged the towne of Leith in October: the quene and Frenchmen, with the bishops of saint Andrews, Glasgow, Dunfreis, the lord of Seton, and diuerse other Scottishmen being within it. But the Frenchmen of warre issued forth of Leith, and met nere to the abbey of Holie rood house, with the Scottish lords and their companie, where manie Scottishmen were slaine, & the rest chased into Edinburgh: the Frenchmen also following them vnto the gates of Edinburgh, had entred, if those within the castell had not shot off the arillerie at them, to stae the slaughter and pursue.

In the time of this siege, the young lord of Leithington, secretarie to the quene, being with hir in Leith, left the towne, & secretlie departing, got him to the lords, and holpe greatlie afterwards to obtaine aid out of England. After this, the quene and Frenchmen came to Edinburgh, which was peaceably rendered to them, where they remained all that winter. About the same time, Nicholas Belue the bishop of Amiens, monsieur de la Brosse, & two doctors of diuinitie, came to Scotland in September, and la Brosse was made lieutenant of the French armie, monsieur Partigues colonell of the footmen.

And with them came a great companie of French souldiers vnto the quene regent, so that then the French power was thirtie fixe hundred good men of warre, besides two bands of Scottish souldiers, vnder the leading of capteine Anthoine Benedie, and James Stewart of Cardonald.

The Frenchmen being thus entered France, twelve of the chiefeest of the nobilitie were assembled at Edinburgh, of whome there was a day required of hearing to be giuen to la Brosse, and to the bishop, affirming that they were sent thither as ambassadors. To whome it was answered, that they did not seeke peace (as they did dissemble) but threaten war: for otherwise to what end were it to bring armed soldiers to dispute thereof? For the Scots were not so ignorant of the state of things, that they would commit them selues to that deciding of matters, in which they might be compelled to accept conditions auerorable to the mind of the aduersarie. But if amongest weapons it pleased them to make peace, they would also prouide, that they would not rather seeme to be vantage therevnto by compulsion, than quietly led by reason. For if they did trulie from their heart require that in ded which they seeme in words they would discharge those strange souldiers, and that (as they haue often done in other places) vnto armed, as to a thing that by words and reason is to be desired, and not by swords the strength to be compassed. And thus much for the ambassadors.

Now you haue heard before of the battell of Leith, the besieging and the regaining of Edinburgh, touching which, because it is omitted before in the recting of the things done in those places, I thinke it not amisse (though it come a little out of course) to set it downe (as Buchanan hath placed the same) next after the speeches vsed to those ambassadors. Thus therefore he writeth touching the defense of Leith. These noble men (meaning those at Edinburgh) did write to the quene much after this maner, That they did greatlie maruell, that the regent prouoked with no iniuries, did so sone depart from the former covenants; and expelling the ancient inhabitants of Leith, and placing there a colonie of strangers, he would in that place build a castle to the destruction of the lawes and liberties of the realme, and to the danger of the liues of them all. Wherefore they did earnestlie intreat hir, that she would desist from this thing rashlie attempted (against the faith of hir promise, the publike commoditie, and the lawes and liberties of the kingdome) least she inforce them by necessitie to praie in aid of the whole people.

Besides which also, they which were assembled at Edinburgh, did write to the same effect, about a moneth after that they had dispatched the other letters, adding these petitions to the same last letters; That ouerthrowing the new fortresses, she would command all the strangers and hired people to depart out of the towne, to the end that it might be free for all men (according to iustice) there to traffike and vse their mutuall trade of buying & selling one with an other. The which if she refused to do, they would take it for a sure token, that she ment to bring this kingdome into seruitude; against which euill they would prouide all whatsoeuer remedie that they could. Within three daies after, the quene sent Robert Forman chiefe herald to answer the matter, with instructions and commandements deliuered to him in these words.

First of all, you shall shew vnto them, that nothing could happen vnto vs more contrarie to our opinion, than that there should be anie other hauing authoritie here, besides my daughter and hir husband my sonne in law, vpon whome all our authoritie doth depend; that the former acts of the nobilitie,

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 16.

Buchan. lib. 16.

"tie, and this present request, or rather commande-  
 "ment doth well declare, that they acknowledge no  
 "other superiouritie; and that their demands (or rather  
 "threatnings) with that shew of words sooner they be  
 "cloked, are sufficientlie enough known unto vs, as  
 "no new things. Againe, you shall require of the duke  
 "of Chastellerault, that he call to mind what he hath  
 "promised to vs by his words, and to the king by his  
 "letters. Which was, that he would not onelie hear-  
 "ken to the kings commandement; but also worke,  
 "that his sonne the earle of Arrane should not at all  
 "ioine with those tumults of the countrie, and whether  
 "the things which he now doth, are the performance  
 "of his promises.

"To their letters also you shall answer; that we  
 "haue openlie shewed our inuention to bring things to  
 "quiet; that we will grant to anie thing, which maie  
 "not resist the pietie due to God, and doth not fight  
 "with their duetie towards their king and quene, and  
 "that I did neuer so much as once thinke of the ouer-  
 "throw of their lawes and libertie; and much lesse, so  
 "much as dreame of conquering the kingdome by  
 "violence. For to whome, or for whome should I seeke  
 "the kingdome, when my daughter doth already  
 "posseesse it? Touching the defense and fortifying of  
 "Leith, you shall aske them this; whether that we at  
 "anie time haue attempted anie thing that waie, be-  
 "fore that they with manie assemblies, and at length  
 "with conspiracie among themselves, did openlie  
 "shew that they would shake off the lawfull gouerne-  
 "ment, and before that they at their pleasure troubled  
 "the whole publike state (unknowne to vs, who  
 "held the place and authoritie of the chiefeest gouernor)  
 "strengthened their factions with strong cities, and  
 "made league and covenants with our ancient en-  
 "emies?

"And to omit other things, what cause can they (in  
 "the end) bring forth, whie it was lawfull for them to  
 "reteinne an armie at Edinburgh, to inuade the go-  
 "uernors of those affaires? And that it is not lawfull  
 "for vs at Leith for our owne defense and safetie, to  
 "haue anie other garrad about vs? Truelie they seeke  
 "this therein, that we should labor to shun their furie  
 "(as hitherto we haue done) by continuall and dailie  
 "change of places. Is there anie thing in their let-  
 "ters that mentioned their dutie to the right magi-  
 "strate? Doth there lie open anie waie for the resto-  
 "ring of concord? Do they shew anie token that  
 "they would haue these seditions pacified, and that  
 "they would all things should be reduced to their for-  
 "mer state?

"Let them cloke this with that colour they will of  
 "publike commoditie; yet it is manifest that they  
 "thinke and seeke nothing lesse. For if they had one-  
 "lie staied vpon a concord, we haue often shewed  
 "them a waie thereunto. Neither are they ignorant  
 "that these French had (by the commandement of  
 "their king) bene long before dispatched out of Scot-  
 "land, vntill their doings had bene the cause of  
 "their state. Wherefore, if they will yet now offer  
 "anie honest conditions which may induce vs to hope;  
 "and that (the maiestie of the gouernement alwaies  
 "sauced sound) maie declare that they will modestlie  
 "and obedientlie obeye their superiours; we will re-  
 "fuse no means to restore a concord & quiet amongst  
 "them and vs, nor omit anie thing that maie tend to  
 "the publike commoditie.

"Neither are we alone so affected towards them,  
 "but also their king and quene; who hath sent vnto  
 "them a worthy knight of the order of the scallop  
 "shell, and one of the chiefe of the ecclesiasticall order,  
 "with letters and commandements touching the  
 "same: whome they did so contemne, as that they  
 "would not boughcase them answer, no not so much

as hearing. Wherefore, you shall demand, and  
 command the duke, the nobilitie, and all others of  
 that condition sooner, that they depart in sunder;  
 or otherwise, that they shall not be kept together,  
 vntill it be by strength of armes. To all this the  
 next day, which was the thre and twentieth of Oc-  
 tober, the nobilitie answered after this order.

"We easilie vnderstand by your letters and com-  
 mandements sent by the herald, how obstinatlie  
 you be enuill minded against pietie towards God,  
 the publike commoditie of the realme, and the com-  
 mon libertie of vs all: all which things we must  
 defend, as of right we ought. Wherefore, from  
 henceforth we do suspend and forbid your gouerne-  
 ment, in the name of the king and quene, or by  
 what other name; or title you do usurpe the publike  
 administration of the kingdome; as persons cer-  
 teinlie knowing, that those things which are now  
 done by you, do with the mind of those princes fight  
 against the publike safetie of this realme.

"And as you do not esteeme vs lawfull subjects of  
 those princes & of this kingdome, to make a publike  
 senate or counsell: so we do not acknowledge you  
 for a regent to execute supreme authoritie, speciallie  
 with the gouernement (if you haue anie such commit-  
 ted vnto you by the princes) is for most iust & weigh-  
 tie causes forbidden you: and that in the name of  
 the same princes, whose counsellors we are borne to  
 be, chiefe in matters which pertaine to the safetie  
 of all the people. And although we haue determi-  
 ned not to see anie danger, in deliuering of that  
 towne, in which you haue placed strange and hired  
 souldiers against vs: yet for the reuerence which we  
 beare vnto you, as vnto our quene mother; we  
 earnestlie with all faithfull intreatie beseech you,  
 that you depart from thence; vntill the cause of  
 publike commoditie doth inforce vs to recover that  
 towne by weapons

"Besides which, we further request, that you will  
 leade them out of the towne with you, within foure  
 and twentieth houres; if there be anie which chal-  
 lenge vnto themselves the names of ambassadors,  
 either to decide controversies, or to gouerne the af-  
 faires. For it is but equitie that we prouide for the  
 safetie, and willinglie spare the blood of all those  
 hired souldiers, as well for the ancient amitie which  
 hath bene betwene the French and the Scots, as  
 for the mariage of our quene with their king:  
 which friendship we would rather should be increa-  
 sed than diminished. The same day also, the said  
 herald declared at his returne to the regent, that the  
 day before it was perswaded in an assembled coun-  
 cell of the nobles and the other commons, that all the  
 deeds and sayings of the regent did onelie tend to  
 verie tyrannie.

"Herevpon, there was a decre made to take the  
 gouernement from hir: so that the whole com-  
 panie subscribed, as to a most iust matter: and  
 that there they did forbid anie ambassage, giuen or  
 sent to hir by hir sonne in law and hir daughter:  
 further, commanding hir to execute no gouerne-  
 ment, vntill the generall assemblee of a parlement  
 to be appointed by them in such place as they should  
 thinke conuenient. The five and twentieth date, the  
 lords of the religion sent an herald to Leith, to will  
 all the Scots to depart the towne within foure and  
 twentieth houres, and to separat themselves from the  
 subverters of publike libertie. Thus much Buchan-  
 nan of this done about the state of Leith, before the  
 nobilitie besieged the same (as is before set downe.)  
 And so againe to the order of the historie.]

"The lords of Scotland, perceiving the French  
 men increased, so that they by their owne forces onlie  
 were not able to resist them, sent William Spetel-  
 lan

They had  
 their request  
 granted then  
 1560. Bud  
 1559. Leli  
 Bledges sen  
 into England

And Hamil-  
 ton taketh  
 part with the  
 crown. Bledges  
 1560.

The towne  
 Glasgow is  
 taken. Bledges  
 1560.

1560. Le

Certaine  
 Frenchme  
 slain.

1560. Le

The towne  
 Burnt. It  
 is fortified

The lords so  
 for aid vnto  
 the quene of  
 England.

lan to Elizabeth the queene of England for assistance, to expell the Frenchmen. Whiche the queene of England granted, not onlie for to serue the Scottish mens turne, but speciallie for the sweete of hit owne realme and state, which as the nobles thought to stand in danger of trouble, in case the Frenchmen shoulde suffer to remaine in Scotland: considering the euill dealing of the French king and his counsell in some pointes alreadye shewed. The queene of England therefore sent the duke of Northfolke to Berwick, whither came to him the earle of Argyle, the prior of saint Andrews, Harries the maister of Maxwell, Robert Carnegie, and the young lord of Livingston secretarie: & made agreement to haue aid of England, to the effect aforesaid.

They had their request granted them. 1560. Buch. 1559. Lelle.

Pledges sent into England

And for sure keeping hereof, the Scottish lords deliuered pledges into England, there to remaine during the life of the king of France, and one yere after his deceasse. The pledges were these: Dault Hamilton, sonne to the duke of Chateleraut; another called Colme Campbell, cousin to the earle of Argyle; Robert Douglas, brother to the prior of saint Andrews; and the lord of Acheslin, who a sonne of the lord Ruthwen. About the same time, James Hamilton earle of Arrane, eldest sonne to the duke of Chateleraut, and capteine of the Scottish companies of men of armes and atcheris in France, being fled for religion secretlie to Geneva, from thence came by the conuoy of maister Randall Englishman into England: which at his coming into Scotland he performed, and joined himselfe with the earle of Argyle, and other lords in the cause aforesaid.

Lord Hamilton was taken with the earle of Argyle.

The towne of Glasgowe is taken.

The duke of Chateleraut, the earles of Argyle, Arrane, and others, came to the towne of Glasgowe, and caused the images & altars to be taken downe, seizing the bishops living into their hands, and toke the castell of Glasgowe pertaining to the bishop, and put certeine gentlemen into it to keepe it. Whereof the Frenchmen being advertised, marched forward to Glasgowe, to the number of fife thousand men: the bishop of Glasgowe, the lords Sempill, Setton, Ross, and diuerse others with them, toke the castell againe, and staing one night of the towne, returned on the next morning to Kirkintulloch, and from thence to Linthgo and Cumbergh.

Certaine Frenchmen slain.

After their returne from Glasgowe, a certeine number of Frenchmen went to Striueling, and passing by the bridge ouer the water of Firth, came into Fife, in purpose to haue gone vnto saint Andrews, and to haue fortified the towne. But they being in Kingcome, there assembled together in fife the earles of Arrane, and Rosses, the prior of saint Andrews, the lord Ruthwen, the maister of Lindsey, and diuerse other, having with them no great number: but yet they daile skirmished with the Frenchmen, and would not suffer them to come from the sea side; where diuerse Frenchmen were slain, and one of their captiues, with thirtie of his souldiours, and few Scottishmen, in manner none: except that the earle of Southerland, who chanced to be with them at the pricking, was sore hurt and maimed in the arme with the dredge of a calceuer shot.

1560. Lelle.

As the Frenchmen were in their progresse, at the mouth of the water of Leuin in fife, there arrived in their sight a nauie of ships: which at the first hearing they toke to be French ships, but shortly after perceiuing them to be the English nauie, they returned with great diligence to Bunt Flad, where they passed the ferrie of Kingcome in botes and craiers to Leith, and instantly began to fortifie that towne, casting great trenches about it, and making great blockhouses for their defense, as preventing such perils as othertwise might haue befallen them, and

The towne of Bunt Flad is fortified.

Lordes sent vnto the duke of England.

bring remedies in due time, by warlike policie of present denie, to prouide against afterclaps. The English ship came to the rode of Leith, where they call anchor, the fourth daye of August.

An English nauie.

Lelleus lib. 10. pag. 563. 1560. Fr. Thin.

In the same time, whilst those of the religion had almost destroyed all monasteries, certeine barons of speking, hartlie for haired to the catholike religion (as the Romish cleergie tearmeth it) and hartlie blinded with desire of preie (as in all assemblies of battell there will be some) overthrew the monasterie of the Carmelite friers at Aberdeen. Who going about also to haue spoiled the monasteries of the Trinitie, and of the friers of the Holy Spirit, were hindered thereof by the lord Lelle, and the baron of Buchanane at the commandement of the earle of Huntlye. notwithstanding which, they could not be so sufficientlie repelled, but that they went to old Aberdeen (for so they call that place in that towne, which is beautified with the bishops palace, the cathedral, and the vniuersitie) and would haue assaulted the magnificent and statelie church thereof. But to keepe them from the same, the bishop, & John Lelle (the official of that place, the one by counsell, the other by preaching) and both by the aid of the earle of Huntlye did their inuoy, at what time the Lelles put them besides their purpose.

This Lelle is now called bishop of Ross and compiled an historie of Scotland in Latine, printed at Rome.

The queene regent hearing of the arrival of the English, sent vnto the viceadmirall of that fleet, named maister Winter, requiring to know of him, for what cause he was come into those waters. This gentleman addressing himselfe to accomplish the commandement imposed and laid vpon him, came face to face to the said vice-admirall, and with countenance, wherein appeared tokens of inward courage, put forth his demand as he was intoned. The viceadmirall answered, that he had bene abroad on the seas seeking after pirates, and in case any of them came thither, he was arrived there in the forth to wait on them: where as the principall cause in deed was to impeach, that no Frenchman should land there, in case any came forth of France, and also to keepe them that late in Irish from visitels, and that no Frenchman should passe by sea forth of Leith.

Lelleus lib. 10. pag. 564. Fr. Thin.

Whereupon the queene regent did send vnto the king of Frances orator in that realme, to request the queene of England, that he would call his ships home againe, and that he would not send aiding souldiers to the lords of the religion (whome Lelleus neuer tearmeth by any other name than sectaries and seditious persons) whereby the peace might be broken with the French, and so occasion of warre giuen. Whereunto his maiestie answered (with no lesse care of his kingdome than became the maiestie of so good a mother to haue of his children) that he had no such mind as to make warre. But because that the certeinie vnderstood, that great troops of Frenchmen did daile land and increase in Scotland, for what cause he knew not: he could do no lesse than place souldiers in diuerse forts and hauens, which might defend the English from the malice or hurt of such strangers, if they should attempt any thing. Neither would he suffer that his people should set foot in Scotland, vntill that they were prouoked thereto by iniuries offered them.

About the same time, the queene regent, hearing that the duke of Northfolke was come to Newcastle as generall licutenant of the north, sent an herald with a letter to him, in which letter it was signified that the herald had credit to declare further matter than was contained in the same letter. But when he was demanded what he had to say, he denied to haue any credit at all. Wherefore William Flower, then Chesser herald, and now Portreie king of armes, was

A Scots herald sent to the duke of Northfolke.

An English  
herald sent to  
the quene of  
Scots.

## The historie of Scotland.

was sent unto the quene, who comming to Holie rood house nere to Edinburgh, was receiued by sundrie heralds, & so was had to one of their houses, and there kept for that night. The next day after he had dined, he was brought to the court, and at his entering within the gates, there were a number of harquebussiers readie with their pices that discharged and shot off the same.

At his comming to the presence of the quene, he with dutifull obessance deliuered his letters, and after the same had bene read, he was demanded what credit he had to utter. Whereupon he declared, that the duke of Norfolk, being the quenes maiesties lieutenant in the north parts of England, marvelled greatlie that she would send an herald with letters, and write therein how she had giuen credit to him; and yet when he was demanded to utter his credit, he should confesse that he had none. The quene herewith called for the herald, to vnderstand whether he had credit or not: who denied to haue anie at all. Wherewith the quene seemed to be somewhat abashed, but neuertheless she brake forth and said, that she marvelled greatlie that the quene of England should send hir ships into hir riuer, without giuing hir knowledge aforesaid.

Chester answered thereto, that there it was certeinlie knoene, that the French king had prepared to send a pover of men of warre into Scotland, without aduertising hir thereof; she could not but thinke that dealing vertie strange, and therefore had in verie deed sent certein of hir ships, with vittels for provision to be laid within hir townes and castles on the frontiers. Which ships by tempest being dispersed, might haplie be broken into the riuer there, albeit he had not spoke with anie of them since there comming forth. But yet (as he had heard by others) they had bene verie vncourteouslie used: for comming in after that maner for succor, the canon had bene bent against them. Wherewith the count Partiques standing by, began to speake verie stout words unto Chester, alleging that where it was perceived well inough, that the quene of England ment to make war against his maiester the French king, he trusted she should gaine as little thereby, as his sister had done in breaking with hir father Henrie the late French king. Chester hereunto answered, that he thought to haue found but one regent in Scotland, to whome he should need to make answer: whereupon Partiques was commanded to silence.

All this while the quene had talked with Chester in the Scottish tong. And because he did not so well vnderstand hir, he began to speake in the French language: whereat the quene seemed greatlie to reioyce, & so began againe to discourse with him of hir griefs; and he on the other part made hir answer as fell best to purpose. And at length, when he was demanded what further credit he had; he declared, that where she had requested a safe conduct for monsieur le Brossie to passe through England into France, if she would see him safely conueied to Berwik, he durst assure hir of a sufficient safe conduct for his safe passage through the quene his mistresse realme: but at length, there was another gentleman commended to him, in lieu for la Brossie, that was his cousin. And now when Chester shuld take his leaue, he declared that he had not bene courteouslie dealt with: for since his comming thither, he could not be suffered to passe anie where abroad out of his chamber, but at meale times. And therefore if anie of hir messengers should come into the quene his mistresse dominions, he would procure (if he might) that they should tast of the like intertainment. But the quene seemed not to vnderstand that he had hir

in anie wise so harshlie dealt with, shewing that she was not well contented therewith; and so Chester took his leaue, and returned backe into England, without anie reward for his paines taken in that iourne, at the hands of the Scottish quene: how so euer she liked of his message.

In the meane time, there was an armie prepared in England, of seven or eight thousand men, who were sent into Scotland: the lord Greie of England being appointed generall, who came to the linkes, beside the towne of Leith, on saturday the first of April. Before they pitched downe their field on the said linkes, monsieur Partiques, coronell of the French armie, issued forth of Leith with nine hundred harquebussiers of Frenchmen, to a little knoll called the Balkehill, where a fore, continuall, and hot skirmish was begun betwixt the Englishmen and Frenchmen, with bagbuts, calievers, and pistolets, which skirmish continued true to six houres; in the which there were manie slaine on both parties, and diuerse hurt. At length Partiques was forced with his companie to retire backe to the towne of Leith, and the Englishmen pitched downe their campe, and planted their ordnance beside the said hill.

The lord Greie being in Spilkelburgh, sent to the quene regent, that late as then in the castell at Edinburgh, desiring an abstinence of warre for foure and twentieth hours, that in the meane time he might send some of his counsell to declare to hir the cause of his comming with that armie, and to commune of such things as might stanch the shedding of blond. The quene granted herewith, and sent an herald to Leith, to cause the said assurance to be taken: but per he came to the towne, the skirmish aforesaid was begun with forwardnesse inough of both sides.

In this meane time, the lord Greie sent sir George Howard, and sir James Cross to the castell of Edinburgh, to speake with the quene to that effect: who had long conference with hir upon the blockade of the castell, where they declared, that the occasion of the comming of the armie, was for the cause aboue mentioned, desiring the quene to procure the Frenchmen to depart the realme of Scotland: and they promised in that case to returne againe into their owne realme, and neither to disquiet Frenchmen nor Scots. Whereupon the quene took time to be aduised till the next day, that she might consult with the principall personages within the towne of Leith, requiring that it might be lawfull for hir to send to them to that effect, which was granted.

The next day she sent one Drummond a trumpet, or herald (as saith Lelous) with a letter to monsieur de la Brossie, to the effect aforesaid, directing him to passe to the English campe, and to get a guide with him to go to the towne of Leith, as was agreed: and there was one appointed to go with him. But immediatly after his departing from the English campe, he was suddenlie called backe againe, and his letters taken from him, was commanded to repaire to the castell of Edinburgh to the quene, and to declare to hir that they would not haue anie talke, but would be reuenged on the Frenchmen, for the slaughter of their men the night before. Thus the parole ceasing, the siege was enforced with right sharpe pursute, and strong defending on either part.

The Englishmen cast trenches upon the south, east side of the towne, and raised a little mount which they called mount Bellam after the capitains name, and placed their ordnance aloft thereon: but because it was so farre from the towne, they did not so much scatch thereto as they intended. The lord Greie, lieutenant of the English armie, lodged (during this siege)

1560.  
An English  
armie.  
Lelous lib. 10.  
pag. 565.

They were  
backed with  
500 pikers  
which kept  
aloofe.

The lord  
Greie sent  
unto the  
quene.

The ca  
black  
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Lelous  
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The French  
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thont  
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Don  
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The English  
are desirous  
to reuenge the  
injuries done  
unto them.

The  
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So  
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A trench cast  
to little pur  
pose.

Partiques a  
forward cap  
taine, but an  
vnture pro  
phet.

siege) within the towne of Lesslirke, in the deanes house, and the most part of their demerances and other hoysmen laie in the same towne. The towmen with their capitaine lodged in haies, tents, and pavilions, upon the south and southeast side of the towne of Leith, and diuerse Scottish lords incamped with them in the fields, as the earles of Argyle, Arrane, Morton, and Glenearne; the lords Both, Ogilvie, the prior of saint Andriew, the maister of Sparwell, and others. The duke of Chateleraunt, and diuerse

with shot from that mount. The Frenchmen, during the time of the siege, manie times issued forth towards the lands, and sometimes towards the trenches, so that sundrie foze skirmishes chanced betwixt the Englishmen and them, with the slaughter of diuerse, both of the one part and the other. Amongest other of them within, there were slaine two Scottish men of name, to wit, capteine Macenie, and young Henrie Drummond: and of them without, there was slaine a Scottish gentleman, called the lard of Cleish.

The English armie was throughlie furnished with vittells forth of all parts of the realme, and that upon reasonable prices: but the French within the towne could get none, more than they had provided before the comming of the English armie, which when it began to faile them, they were constrained to eat their owne horses, whose flesh seemed to them in that necessitie more delicious, than before that time anie manner of venison. Those within Inkeith also were in great necessitie of vittells: but yet neither they within the one place, nor they within the other, would render their strength, looking still for aid forth of France. \*Whilste these things were done in Scotland, the French king, to shew how he fauoured the pope, and how farre he maligned the reformed lords of Scotland, sent his ambassadors John Babone a Burdese knight, and that eloquent man Anthoine Muret of France to pope Pius the fourth of that name, to yeld all the dominions of France & Scotland at the popes commandement.

In the meane time, the quene regent, perceluting hir sicknesse so to increase, that she looked for present death, sent for the duke of Chateleraunt, and all the lords of Scotland that were in the towne of Edinburgh, and in the campe: who came vnto hir altogether into the castell of Edinburgh, where she made vnto them a graue and pithe exhortation, persuaading them to vnitie and concord with their ancient friends of France; and now more stedfast to them than at anie time before, by reason of the marriage of the quene their god soueraigne, with the king of France. And herewith she brake out into certeine wordes, to dissuade them from the amitie contracted with the Englishmen, declaring that the Englishmen aided them not for anie other respect, than for their owne turne and commoditie. Moreover, for hir owne part she said, that she fauoured the weale of the realme of Scotland, as much as France; considering she had the honoz to be quene and regent thereof, and hir daughter heritable quene of the same.

Furthermore she said, that if she had attempted anie thing that seemed or appeared to the noble men contrarie thereto; the same came to passe rather for lacke of wisdome and iudgement, than for want of anie god will: and if it pleased God to prolong hir daies, she would be glad to amend that had bene done amisse: and if he called hir to his mercie, she praised them most hartlie to acknowledge their dutie vnto the quene their soueraigne, and to mainteine their ancient amitie with the king and realme of France, & to make some good accord with the French that were within the towne of Leith, who would gladly accept the same, to the end that as well they as the Englishmen should depart this realme. For as the feared greatlie (as she said) least if the French men departed, the Englishmen would still remaine, and subdue the land to their obedience: and therefore she besought all god Scottishmen to haue respect to the libertie and weale of their countrie.

After she had talked thus a good while with manie teares, she desired the lords to forgive hir in anie thing wherein she had offended anie of them, during the time of hir being in Scotland, which they gladly

The towne of Leith unpromised of vittells.

Fr. Thin. Lesslir lib. 10. pag. 568.

The quene sent for the lords.

The quene's exhortation vnto the nobles.

A mistrustfull mind.

560.  
English  
ie.  
rus lib. 10.  
565.

ep were  
ad with  
pikes  
ch kept  
ie.

ie lord  
rie sent  
o the  
inc.

The castell of  
Blackenelle  
towne.

She more  
hereof in  
England.

Lesslir lib. 10.  
The quene  
laboured for  
an agreement.

en are sent  
people with  
quene  
ther.

he French-  
n to depart  
realme.

Saint An-  
thonies steeple  
beaten downe.

Mount  
Summerfet.

They are bea-  
ten backe.

Mount Fal-  
con.

he English  
delirious  
revenge the  
aries done  
to them.

rench call  
ittle pure  
s.

In this meane while, the Englishmen, lodging on the southside of the towne beside mount Bellam, battered with their great artillerie at the parish church of Leith, and at saint Anthonies steeple, in which the Frenchmen had laid certeine peces of artillerie, and at length beat it downe: but perceiuing they could not do anie great hurt to the walles on that side, they cast new trenches upon the south and southwell side of the towne, and raised a mount there, naming it mount Summerfet, & placed there, on certeine peces in batterie, and so beat the wals, that a great part thereof was ouerthrowne, and a breach made. Whereupon the Englishmen & Scots on a morning came with their ladders, and presenting themselves to the assault, found the breach nothing reasonable; so that although they egerlie pressed forward to enter the towne, yet they were fiercelie beaten backe with great slaughter and bloodshed on both parts, but namelie of the assailants.

The Englishmen, perceiuing that they were too rash in assaulting the towne, being not assaultable, deuised other shifts to obtaine their purpose, raising an other mount of earth on the west side of the watter of Leith, and named it mount Falcon. Aloft on this mount, when it was brought vp vnto a great height, they planted their great artillerie, which continually beat into the towne, soe annoyng them within, but speciallie beating the houses and places by the shore side, so that none might go vp nor downe the towne on that part, without danger to be slaine

The queene  
taken hir  
leane.

The earle of  
Huntleie and  
Atholl are at  
variance.

The matter  
is pacified.

Fr. Thin.  
Lescus lib. 10.  
pag. 571.

The castell of  
Kilfer taken.

The castell is  
besieged.

The castell  
was restozed  
again.

Ambassadors  
sent.  
Monsieur  
Donluc bis-  
hop of Wa-  
lence.

An ambassage  
sent by the  
queene of  
England.

The Scottish  
queene mother  
departed.  
Fr. Thin.

learned to doo: and on the other part, the forgaue them  
with all hir hart (as it appereth) all offenses which  
they had committed against hir: and thus diuerse of  
them weeping, she toke euerie of them by the hand,  
and so they taking leaue of hir, departed, and retur-  
ned into Edinburgh, and to their campe. Whilist the  
siege thus late before the towne of Leith, diuerse  
great troubles rose in sundrie parts of the realme,  
and speciallie betwixt the earle of Huntleie, and the  
earle of Atholl, so that there was taking of priso-  
ners, and overthrowing of houses on either part, and  
great preparation made; and armies put in a readi-  
nesse to invade either others countreies.

But this businesse was pacified by the trauell and  
good mediation of maister Alexander Gordon, then  
postulat of Galloway, maister John Lesle official  
of Aberdeen, and William Lesle the young lard of  
Buchquhan, who agreed them for all matters in con-  
trouersie, & caused them to go to either others house.  
[ During which siege of Leith also, the earle Both-  
well, and Sarlatouise, then capteine of the souldiers,  
and gouernor of the castell of Dunbar, did at Dun-  
bar with manie light excursions intercept manie of  
the English and Scots going to Leith, whome they  
ransomed for a great summe. ]

At the same time, one maister Donald Fraser,  
archdeacon of Kossie, toke the bishops castell of the  
canonic of Kossie, and kept the same against mai-  
ster Henrie Sinclair, then bishop there, and the chie-  
fest men of anthozitie in that diocese, as Pachenzie,  
Bainagoun, Foulis, and the thirrie Tramerrie, who  
assembled about the same, and besieged the castell,  
where great force was used, both by them without to  
win it, and of them within to defend it. The bishop be-  
ing then resident in Cromerrie castell, hearing that  
the house wold not be gotten without great slaugh-  
ter, thought it against his conscience, his profit, and  
honor, to win it in that manner: and therefore sen-  
ding for maister John Lesle, official of Aberdeen,  
and maister Alexander Dunbar, subchantor of Spur-  
rie, by their labour and diligent treating in the mat-  
ter, the bishop by reasonable appointment recovered  
his castell of them that held it against him.

The French king, understanding in what distresse  
his men remained that were besieged within Leith,  
and perceiving himselfe not able to send an armie to  
succour them within the time that their necessitie re-  
quired, thought god to trie if the matter might be  
taken up: and to that effect sent two ambassadors, the  
earle of Wandon, and monsieur Donluc bishop of  
Valence, who declared to the queenes maiestie of  
England, the cause of their coming; which was, to  
desire hir to retire hir armie forth of Scotland, vpon  
some such reasonable conditions as might be agreed  
vpon. And herewith they declared that they were  
sent to the queene, and not vnto the subiects of Scot-  
land: for it was not met that the king should send  
to his owne subiects (as they were by the marriage  
of their queene) to require peace, or to condition with  
them for agreement.

The queenes maiestie of England therefore sent  
sir William Cecil knight, hir principall secretarie,  
and doctor Wotton deane of Canturburie and of  
Worke, one of the priuie counsell: with the French  
ambassadors into Scotland. Whilist they were yet  
vpon their iourne, the queene regent (whome they  
thought to haue found aliue, and to haue used hir  
helpe as an instrument to haue furthered the treatie  
to some good end) consumed partlie through melan-  
cholie, thought, and grievous displeasure, and partlie  
with long and incurable sicknesse, departed this life  
in the castell of Edinburgh the tenth of Iune, in the  
yeere of our Lord 1560. \* Hir bodie was first con-  
ueied into France, to the monasterie of Feschampe,

which is in Normandie; from whence it was caried  
to the abbey of St. Peter at Rhemes in Champaig-  
ne (whereof hir sister was then abbess) in which it  
was after most honorable buried. She was a wise  
and verie prudent princeesse, and in hir time had lear-  
ned good experience of the nature and inclination of  
the nobilitie and people of Scotland.

During the time that she was regent, she kept  
god iustice; and was well obeyed in all parts of the  
realme in Dhenie, and the westerne Isles. And if  
she had to hir owne experience iointed the counsell of  
the nobles and wise men of the realme of Scotland,  
without following the aduise of strangers, there had  
bene neuer question nor debate betwixt hir and the  
nobilitie, as some deemed. But because that others,  
and namelie, monsieur Dossell, and Ruber, were ad-  
ioined to hir by the estates of Scotland, who daily  
pressed hir to deuise new alterations of lawes, im-  
positions, taxationes, and such things as were not in  
use in Scotland: therefore the estates and people of  
the land did grudge, although not for anie mistaking  
they had of hir, who suerlie deceased, to the great  
griefe and lamentation of the whole number of the  
estates and people of the realme.

The death of that noble princeesse made the French  
men within Leith, and also the ambassadors more dis-  
couraged than otherwise they would haue bene.  
But neuerthelesse these foure ambassadors of Eng-  
land and France coming to Edinburgh, entered  
in conference among themselves, vpon articles pro-  
poned as well for reliefe of the Scottishmen, as for  
the weale and suertie of the queene of England and  
hir subiects. Wherevpon certeine lords of Scotland  
were admitted to talke with them also: and after  
long treatie, a peace was concluded the tenth of Ju-  
lie, in the yeere of God 1560, with certeine articles  
touching as well Scots and French, as English-  
men. The effect whereof here insueth.

### Articles of the peace.

**I**tem, it was agreed, that all the French-  
men should depart forth of the realme of  
Scotland by sea into France, & to that  
effect should imbarke and make saile  
within the space of twentie daies next following:  
and because the Frenchmen had no ships, the Eng-  
lishmen should lend them ships, and certeine of the  
Frenchmen remaine as pledges in England, till the  
same ships were returned.

2 Item, that they should render the towne of  
Leith, and the Frenchmen to haue their munition,  
bag, and baggage, to conueie auaie with them at  
their pleasure, and that the wals of the towne should  
be hye towne downe and demolished.

3 Item, they should cause monsieur Charlebois  
capteine of Dunbar, to demolish and raze the fort  
which they had built before the castell there.

4 Item, that the Englishmen should raise their  
siege and depart forth of Scotland: after the depar-  
ture from thence of the Frenchmen, and razing of  
the wals of Leith and Dunbar.

5 Item, that there should be made an act of obli-  
uion, in which the queene of Scotland, with consent  
of the French king hir husband, should forget and  
burie in obliuion all attempts made by the lords of  
Scotland against their authoritie, from the tenth  
day of March 1558, to the first day of August in the  
yeere of Grace 1560. And for confirming thereof, a  
parlement should be holden in Edinburgh, in the  
moneth of August next ensuing, in which parlement  
the same should be ratified and allowed by the aduise  
of the estates of the realme of Scotland.

6 Also it was agreed, that there should be a con-  
mission

Lescus lib. 10.  
pag. 569.

1560.  
The priuie  
of the queene  
Downer.

To put auaie  
the armes and  
colum of  
England.

Possession to  
be kept with  
souldiers.

The French  
men depart out  
of Scotland.

Parlement

A confession  
of aith publi-  
shed.

Learned me  
called.

A disputatio

Fr. Thin.

Lescus lib. 1  
pag. 574.

The ambassa-  
dors came to  
Edinburgh.

They haue  
conference.  
Peace is con-  
cluded.

1559. Buch.

Articles of  
the peace.

French sould-  
iers depart  
the realme.

Leith they  
should render  
it.

The fort be-  
fore Dunbar  
to be razed.

The English-  
men should  
depart auaie.

An act of ob-  
liuion to be  
made.

Fr. Thin.

Buch lib. 1;

A parlement  
to be kept.

1

“ That the iournie was dangerous, especiall  
 “ cause the quene of England did not greatlie  
 “ it; then that she should come to men by nature  
 “ barous & seditious, which would easilie obe

In this councell also it was decreed, to ouerthrow  
all the monasteries of monks, for which cause  
uerse were sent out into all places of the realme  
to execute the same. By occasion whereof, the queen  
being in France, and desirous to haue peace  
landing in Scotland; would not for this purpose  
meddle with religion, but dissembled the same:  
though Wurens abbat of Ferline, and John S  
clere latelle appointed bishop of Wyndesore, did vel  
mentlie perswade and laboꝝ hit to the contrarie  
Hm. ij.

Fr.Thin.

1560.

Abbridged  
out of the  
printed booke  
thereof.

In this yeare also on the ninth of March, was the election of superintendents at Edinburgh, which was published to serue for the election of all other ministers in this forme following (John Knox being the minister thereof.) first was made a sermon, in which these parts were intreated; principallie the necessitie of ministers and superintendents. Secondly the crimes & vices that might vnable them of the ministerie. Thirdlie the vertues required in them. Fourthlie & lastlie, whether such as by publike consent of the church were called to such office, might refuse the same.

The sermon finished, it was declared by the same minister John Knox (the maker of that speech or sermon) that the lords of the secret counsell had giuen charge and power to the churches of Louthian, to chuse maister John Spotswood superintendent, & that sufficient warning was made by publike edict to the churches of Edinburgh, Louthgue, Strickling, Treuent, Haddington, & Dunbar, as also to earles, lords, barons, gentlemen and others, which haue or might claime to haue voice in the election to be present that daie at the same houre. And therefore inquisition was made, who were present, and who were absent.

After this was called the said maister John Spotswood, who answering to his name, the minister Knox demanded, if anie man knew anie crimes or offenses of the said Spotswood, that might disable him to be called to that office. Which thing thise demanded, there was after question moued to the whole multitude; if there were anie other whome they would put in election with the said Spotswood. When the people were asked whether (if they admitted the said Spotswood for their superintendent) they would honor and obeye him as Chisties minister in euerie thing pertaining to his charge.

Whereunto the people answered that they would, which thus granted, there were further questions and matters touching the articles of the apostles creed, and concerning the state of religion propounded to the superintendent, intended to be created. Whereunto, when he had answered affirmatiuelie, the people were againe demanded for his allowance; which they easilie granted with the consent of the nobilitie. These things thus performed, and a certeine praier (to obtaine the spirit of God to be powred into this new elect vessel) finished, the rest of the ministers (if there be anie) and elders of the church present, in signe of their full consent, shall take the elected by the hand.

And so the chiefe minister giuing an especiall benediction (the forme whereof is there set downe, with the exhortation which they must also vse to the elected) this election is whole finished (without anie imposition of hands on his head) and he sufficientlie created a superintendent minister; of whose election of elders, deacons, excommunications, and other ecclesiasticall regiment, I meane not to speake anie more (as matter impertinent to my discourse, though not to the nature of an ecclesiasticall historie) sith I haue onelie here in hand the politick and temporall gouernement, and not the discourse of religion and essentiall forme thereof.

Before this, in the beginning of the winter this yeare, the lords sent the earle of Argyll and Glencaigne, and the young lard of Levington secretarie, ambassadors into England; to giue thanks to the queens maiestie of England, for the aid which they had receiued of hir, to expell the Frenchmen. The earle of Murraye passed through England into France. He departed from Edinburgh the eighth tenth of March, and in Aprill came to Vitrie, as hereafter shall appeare; where he found the queene,

meaning to submit himselfe. But the day before he came, maister John Lesle official of Aberdeen was come thither, who was sent from the earle of Huntley, and other the lords spirituall and temporall of the north parts; he took ship in the roade of Aberdeen, and landing at Bule in Holand, passed through the lowe countries in post till he came to Paris, and from thence vnto Vitrie aforesaid [the eighteenth kalends of March] where he found the queene, whom he most dutifullie saluted.

After which (being most courteously receiued of hir) he opened vnto hir the effect of his ambassage, which consisted speciallie vpon these parts; to admonish the queene that she should not suffer hir selfe to be blinded or deceined with the flattering words of James the prioz of saint Andrews (hir bastard brother) for his onelie dytt was, that he (hauing no French aid with him into Scotland) might obtaine of the queene the whole gouernement of the kingdom, vnder the colour whereof he might more easilie teare & cleane ouerthrow the catholike religion; which he did assault by all means possible.

Wherefore Lesle did with all the firmeest aduise and counsell which he might, urge the queene not to yeld to his cloyed words. For the obtaining of which demand from the queene, he did flit ad to his persuasions, that James did rather aspire to the kingdom, than that he fired his mind and eye vpon the ouerthrow of religion. Wherefore, if she had anie care of hir owne and the realmes affaires; the most proude that this James should remaine in France, vntill she were arriued in Scotland, & had pacified all the tumults there.

But if she would not do so, that yet at least she should take order, that the with hir naue should land in the north parts of Scotland, & first go to Aberdeen; for by that meane she might prouide, that the seuerall lords of the religion might some be pacified, and the rest which were yet wauering, might more steele and willinglie be brought againe to the catholike religion. For there was an other order to be vsed in Scotland, than that which the French obserued, whilest they gouerned there; at which time vndoubtedly the Scots were hopelesse euer to haue inioied the presence of the queene.

But now, sith that the Scots doe vnderstand, that their queene (contrarie to their hope) will retorne vnto them, hir presence will (like the rising sun) so cause the clouds of all tumults to vanish out of the minds of all hir subiects, that they will easilie incline to the mind of the queene, whatsoever she shall thinke, attempt, set downe, or decre, in restoring of religion. For the Scots are of that mind towards their princes, as they will in all things obeye their vpright gouernors; and are accustomed with no lesse widd to resist tyrants, if they vlarpe vpon them in exaction of authoritie.

Wherefore Lesleus did earnestlie perswade the queene in the name of the earle of Huntley, and the other nobilitie, that she should not giue hir selfe (as vanquished) into the hands of the enemies, and especiallie of James Stewart hir brother, from whome (as from a founteine) all their seditions haue had beginning. For James Cullen (kinsman to the earle of Huntley, an expert seruitor in the warres by sea and land) was sent forth with Lesle (as capitaine of that iourne) to bring hir safe to Aberdeen. For all the nobles of the north prouinces will some be readie with twentie thousand men to gard hir to Edinburgh, and to defend hir against all the counsels, deceipts, and forces of all men.

Which message being thus ended from the mouth of Lesle, the queene commanded him not to depart from hir, vntill she returned into Scotland; and further

Euerie nation  
is to haue his  
peculiar go-  
uernement in  
religion, as  
is best liking  
to the godlie  
disposers of  
the religi-  
on of that  
countrie, sith  
vniuers monstri  
multitudo capi-  
tur.

Ambassadors  
sent into  
England.

1561.

Fr.Thin.

This is he  
which before  
is called the  
earle of Mur-  
raye that went  
into France  
but not right-  
lie, for he was  
not earle un-  
till long after  
this time.

The nob  
assemble  
Edinbu

Ships  
in the na-  
uas.

A safe co  
required

Certain  
ships tak

Spence  
Dalell,

The qua  
was coi  
into Ca

Shir tat  
hrtouri  
to Scot

The qua  
arrived  
Lith.

further gave in charge, that letters should be written to the pères and nobilitie of Scotland, to let them understand of his comming into Scotland, & to be a witness of his good will unto them. The next day after came to the quene at Wistrie, in Champagne, James Steward (which is toucht a little before) the prior of S. Andrews. Who after he had in reverence done his dutie, bound himselfe with all delicie, trauell, and diligence, most religiouslie vnto hir; faithfullie further promising, that he would prouide that the Scots should willingly obseie hir, without anie foren powers to be brought by hir into Scotland.

For it was thought that he went into France for that purpose, to dissuade the quene that she should not bring any power of the French with hir. But in the end, offering his mind more fullie, and putting awaie all suspicion of deceit, he did with more familiaritie request the quene to honor him with the erldome of Murreie. Whereunto the quene did courteouslie answer, that she would satisfie his request when she came into Scotland. Wherefore, when this James perceived that the quene was somewhat well bent towards him, and that she credited his words, he attended on hir vnto Jancuille, and there remaining with hir a certeine space, did after go into Scotland (as is before said) to prepare the minds of the people, that they might receive the quene comming into the realme, with good consent and dutifull honor; who passing through England, came into Scotland in the kalends of Maie.]

The nobles  
assembled at  
Edenburgh.

The duke of Chatelaerault, the earles of Huntleie, Atholl, Marthall, and all other the noble men of the realme, aduertised of the quens comming, assembled at Edenburgh with all possible diligence. In the meane time, whilst the quene was preparing to take hir iourne, and to come into Scotland, the quene of England let forth some of hir great ships to the seas, to watch & guard the coasts of hir realme. Whereof they being aduertised in France, sent the abbat of saint Colmes Inch to the quene of England, to desire of hir a safe conduct, in case by wind or tempest she chanced to land in England. But before he was returned to Calis therewith, as he was appointed; the quene and hir retinue were satisfie landed in Scotland; nevertheless, the English ships took some of the Scottish lordes, as the earle of Glenton his ship, and others, which were brought into England, and staid for a time; but were after released, and sent home into Scotland.

Ships wait  
in the narrow  
seas.

A safe conduct  
required.

Certaine  
ships taken.

Monsieur  
Dozell,

The quene also, by the aduise of the King of France, sent monsieur Dozell into England, to passe through the same into Scotland before hir coming, there to haue received the forts of Donbat and Inkeith, of monsieur Charlebois, and to haue kept the same till hir comming. But he was staid, and passed no further than to London: for it was thought that his going into Scotland would turne to no great benefit of that realme: because that he & monsieur Ambre were the principall authors of all the troubles in Scotland, betwixt the quene regent, and the nobilitie there. She was attended on from Paris vnto Calis with manie noble men; namelie hir six vnckles, the dukes of Goffe, and Daumall, the cardinall of Lorraine and Guise, the grand prior, and the marquesse Dalbeuf, also the duke de Nemours, and other of hir friends and kinsmen.

The quene  
was conducted  
into Calis.

She taketh  
hir iourne into  
Scotland.

The quene  
arrived at  
Leith.

Where were two gallees prepared; and certeine other ships to go with hir into Scotland; and there went with hir three of hir said vnckles, the duke Daumall, the grand prior, and the marquesse Dalbeuf; also monsieur Dammille the constables sonne, and diuerse other. She arrived at Leith the twentieth day of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1561, where she

was honorablie receiued by the earle of Argyle, the lord Erskin, the prior of saint Andrews, and of the burgesse of Edenburgh, and conueied to the abbeie of Holie rood house. For (as faith Buchanan) when some had spread abroad hir landing in Scotland, the nobilitie and others assembled out of all parts of the realme, as it were to a common spectacle.

Fr.Thin.

Buchanan,  
lib. 17.

This did they, partlie to congratulat hir returne, & partlie to shew the dutie which they alwaies bare vnto hir (when she was absent) either to haue thanks therefore, or to preuent the dangers of their enemies; whereof not a few by these beginnings of hir reigne did gesse what would follow; although in those so variable motions of the minds of the people, euerie one was verie desirous to see their quene offered vnto them (vnloked for) after so manie haps of both fortunes as had fallen vnto hir. For when she was but six daies old, she lost hir father among the cruell tempests of battell, and was by great diligence brought up by hir mother (being a cholen and weak person) but yet left as a preie to others, by reason of ciuill seditions in Scotland, and of outward warres with other nations, being further last abroad to all the dangers of frowning fortune, before she could know what euill did meane.

For leauing hir owne countrie, she was nourished as a banished person, and hardlie preserved in life from the weapons of hir enemies, & violence of the seas. After which, fortune began to flatter hir, in that she honored hir with a womanlike marriage, which in truth was to this quene rather a shadow of ioye, than anie comfort at all. For shortly after the same, all things were turned to sorrow, by the death of hir new yong husband, and of hir old and greued mother; by losse of hir new kingdome, and by the doubtfull possession of hir old inheritable realme. But as for these things she was both pitied and praised; so was she also for gifts of nature as much loued and famed; in that, beneficiall nature (or rather good God) had indued hir with a beautifull face, a well composed bodie, an excellent wit, a mild nature, and good behauior; which she had artificiallie furthered by courtlie education and affable demeanour. Whereby at the first sight, she won vnto hir the hearts of most people; and confirmed the loue of hir faithful subiects.]

Coslie iewels

Being thus come out of France, she brought into Scotland manie rich and coslie iewels of gold, & suchlike, as excellent and faire as were to be found within Europe, with rich furniture of household, as hangings, carpets, counterpoints, and all other necessaries for the furnishing of hir princelie houses. The chiefest part of the hangings and other furniture of household, was shipped at Rome, and arrived at Leith in the moneth of October next following. After the quene of Scots had remained the space of foure or fine daies at Holie rood house, the duke of Chatelaerault, the earle of Argyle, and diuerse other of the nobilitie being present; there was an act made by the lords of the counsell (in which none of the cleargie (as faith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 80) were present) with consent of the quene, that to remove all causes of trouble in time to come for the matter of religion, it was ordeined, that no alteration of the estate of religion publickly standing within the realme, at hir arrival in the same, should be made; & that nothing should be attempted, either publickly or privatly to the contrarie, vpon great paine, which was put forth and published through all parts of the realme with great diligence.

Hir household  
stuffe.

An act made  
concerning  
religion.

Fr.Thin.

After this, there were election teinposall lords, and one bishop chosen to be of the quenes secret counsell, by counsell.

pp m. 113.

Secretarie.  
Comptroller.  
Lords of the  
privie counsell.

Fr.Thin.  
Buchanan.  
lib.16.

by whose aduise the should rule and gouerne things, six of them to remaine continuallie with hir in come of officers, as the secretarie, comptroller, and others. The lords of the privie counsell were these, the duke of Chatelaunt, the earle of Huntley chancelor, the earle of Argyle, the earle of Atholl, the earle Sparshall, the earle of Glencarne, the earle of Moriston, the earle of Montrose, the earle of Erroll, master Henrie Sinclair bishop of Ross, and the lord Erskine, with the prioz of S. Andrew. \* But among these reioysings of the quenes interteinment into hir kingdome, there happened a light fault, but such as did deepele enter into the minds of both the factions, of the catholikes (forsooth) and of the reformed religion.

For where it was agreed by the quene and the nobilitie, that no alteration should be had of religion in the publike state, yet was masse permitted to hir and to hir familie priuillie to be used. For the preparation therof whilest the vestments and other things were caried through the hall into the chappell, one of the companie snatched awaie the war candells and brake them: by occasion thereof (if some of the household had not come betwene to helpe in that action, and ended the same) all the other furniture had bene throwne downe. Which matter was taken of people diuerslie, some blaming it as a most satwrie part; others interpreting it, that it was onelie done to trie the patience of the priest; and some iudged and said that the priest was worthe to be punished with that paine which the scripture appointeth to idolaters.

Which matter in the verie beginning was appeased by James the quenes bassard brother, not yet created, but in expectation earle of Morrie. For which cause he would not offend the quene, as I suppose, though afterward he not onelie offended hir, but deposed hir, and set up hir sonne; as moze plainlie shall hereafter appeare. At the quieting of this matter (saith Buchanan) George Gordon was greatly grieved, being a man bent to all occasions of troubles, who thinking now to win fauor to him thereby, did say to the quenes vnckles that were present, that he would reduce the countrie beyond Calidon into the old religion. The which being indeed suspected of manie, and feared by such as had heard manie other things of his wit; they caried the same to the quenes brother, by meanes whereof this little sparke in the beginning was the occasion of all the long ciuill dissention in Scotland, as I am led to iudge by manie reasons.

But now although the gouernment (as before is touched) was appointed to twelue before named, or at lest to six, which by turnes should be assistant to the quene: yet the whole deed of ruling did in effect depend vpon hir bassard brother James, by reason of the fauor that the quene especiallie did beare vnto him. Wherefore this James, vsing the quenes authoritie at his pleasure, did bestow manie liberall gifts vpon his fellos. Which the nobles so much disliked, that in the end manie of them began egerlie to beare his authoritie, as hereafter shall be moze touched.]

Damall went  
with the two  
gallies into  
France.  
The rest went  
through Eng-  
land into  
France.

A preparation  
of triumphs.

The duke Damall, after he had remained with the quene a certeinetime, took his leaue of hir, and with the gallies returned into France. The grand prioz and monseur Danuille taried somewhat longer, and passed through England into France. The marquesse Daubeneuf taried in Scotland all the next winter, till the spring of the yere, and then returned into France through England. The towne of Edinburgh prepared great and collicie triumphs for the quenes entering, which she made into that towne in the moneth of September. After this,

the passed vnto Striueling, and from thence to Perth, and then to Dundee, and also to saint Andrews, into which townes she was receiued with great honor and triumph. From saint Andrews she returned vnto Edinburgh, where she remained all the next winter. In December there was a great assemblie of all the principall lords, spirituall and temporall of the realme; where it was demanded of the prelats, to grant the third part of the fruits of their benefices to the quene, towards the bearing of hir charges for the maintenance of hir traine, and to susteine the ministers, till some order were taken to mainteine hir household, and a gard to tend on hir, by the aduise of the estates.

The prelats agreed for the quenes pleasure to support hir with the fourth part of the fruits of their benefices, for one yeres space onelie, to helpe to beare hir charges, and to susteine hir gard; and in the meane time order might be taken by the aduise of the whole estates for the same. But notwithstanding the refusal of the prelats to paie the third part, the lords of the privie counsell made an act, and set forth letters, that all the prelats and beneficed men should be charged to paie pærelie to the quenes comptroller and his collector, the whole thirds of all fruits of their benefices; and that it should be lawfull to the comptroller and his deputies, to take the third of what part of euerie benefice where he best pleased, and to deale therewith at his pleasure: also to haue to do with the rents of brotherhods of common churches, and such like. This order hath bene obserued euer since, not without great grudge of the prelats, and other beneficed men of the realme, and their friends, as well those that professed the reformed religion, as others.

\* Whilest these things were in doing, William Apettellan the yonger was sent ambassadoz into England, to salute the quene of that realme (as the maner is) & to declare the good mind that the quene of Scots bare vnto hir, & the desire that his mistresse had to haue peace and vnitie preserved betwene them. Besides all which, and manie other demands touching Scotland (which I suppress for manie reasons, because (as Salomon saith) *Cor regis in fructuabile*, & the mysteries of princes gouernment are not to be laid open to common eyes and eares) this ambassadoz deliuered letters to the quene of England from the nobilitie of Scotland. In which there was a courteous remembrance of hir former fauor and of their good will. Requesting further that the quene of England would shew a publike and priuat liking and friendship to their quene, to the end that the quene of Scots prouoked by hir benefices, might not onelie remaine stedfast in the amitie already begun; but might also (if it were possible) be daile moze and moze fast bound vnto hir; and they for their parts, would not omit any occasion with all good will and diligence to continue this amitie.

To which ambassadoz the quene of England made no lesse honorable than wise answer: the effect whereof, because it concerneth matter of great importance, & is long and largelie already set downe by Buchanan, in hir maiesties singular commendation to the whole world in the Latine tong, I thinke it not necessarie here to repeat: and therefore I do purposelie omit the same, least I might seeme by flatterie to intrude my pen into the eloquent speech of hir maiestie; and not being able to deliuer it with such grace as both she spake it, and Buchanan peneth it, I might dishonor hir; & ouerthrow my selfe, like vnto Iason. For as he, taking vpon him to rule the chariot of the sunne, was by his insufficiency therefore consumed with the heat and glorie thereof; so should I in presuming with buskill to pen the tale

The quene  
visited the  
townes.

An assemblie  
of the lords.

The third  
part of the  
spirituall living  
demanded.

In act for the  
clearie.

Fr.Thin.  
Buchanan lib.17.

Buchan. li. 1

156  
James  
ward  
ma  
earle of  
rele.  
Fr.Thin.

Fr.Thin.  
Buchanan  
lib.17.

The que  
Englan  
rous to  
with the  
quene o  
Scotlan

The ma  
time to  
appeare

to be  
to Buchanan.

to be  
to Buchanan.

to be  
to Buchanan.

to be  
to Buchanan.

tale of such a worthy prince, confirme my credit, in misordering of defacing the maiestie, grantie, wife, dome, and life of his singular wit and eloquence. For which cause, leaving the same, we do in this sort bring backe our pen to the continuance of the historie of Scotland.

Buchan. li. 17.

The quene of Scots had a brother called John, a man desirous of authoritie, but yet not so severe in mind as was James the other brother. This John easlie persuading himselfe to obeie the quene in all things, was the more dære unto hir, and most fit for hir, desirous (as saith Buchanan, but how trulie I know not) to confound all things. With this John (in absence of the other brother James) he did consult to hier a companie of souldiers to be about hir, the cause whereof was this. In the night there was a tumult of stir, as though the earle of Arran would, in the absence of the nobilitie, secretly set upon the quene, and by strength have labored to carie hir to his castell, which was fourtene miles from thence. All which seemeth likely to be but a tale, either for the quenes mind that was estranged from him, or for the immoderat love which he bare unto hir: both which were sufficientlie known to the common people. Which tumult being spread abroad, these souldiers after they had all night scowred the fields, riding up and downe hither & thither, they shewed themselves the next day before the court gates, to the offense of some, and the iell of others.]

1562.

James Stewart made earle of Mar, base brother to the quene, was made earle of Marre, [in place (as saith Buchanan) of the earle dome of Mar, which belonged to John Arskine] by the quens speciall gift, and was married the same day unto Agnes Keith, daughter to the erle Marhall, with great feasts and triumphs, lasting three daies. \* In which marriage he did so much exceed, that he greatly offended the minds of his friends, and ministered matter to his enemies to speake evill of him; and that the more vehementlie, because he had before time in all his life behaved himselfe far more temperatlie than he did at this time.]

Fr. Thin, Buchanan lib. 17.

The quene of England desirous to have a meeting betwixt hir and the quene of Scots hir cosine, sent diverse messengers with letters, desiring hir most instantlie to come to Porke, where she would meet hir, to talke with hir of diverse matters, that might make to the confirmation of the amitie and friendship which nature had knit betwixt them, by consanguinitie and affinity of blood. And after consultation had with hir counsell, the quene of Scots agreed thereto: and so they were appointed to meet at Porke in the moneth of Julie next following. But when things were prepared and put in a readinesse for the journey, the quene of England sent word to the quene of Scots, that she could not keepe the appointment made for their meeting; desiring hir to have hir excused for that time. Which message was accepted, and so the journey staid.

The meeting time was disappointed.

Fr. Thin, Buchanan, li. 17.

\* Much about this time, or rather somewhat before, as in truth I suppose it was, James Hamilton being duke of Chatelard, and father to the earle of Arran, first wrote to the quene, then after went he with hir to saint Andrews, and with manie praises requested hir that she would upon sufficient pledges deliver him the earle Bothwell, and Calven Hamilton, but he could not obtaine any thing therein at hir hands. At what time also the quene went to Dunbarton (which Hamilton held since the time that he was gouernor) to demand the deliverie of the same into hir hands, which was accordingly delivered unto hir. \* Shortly after, the quene of Scots

tooke hir journey towards the north parts of Scotland, and set from Striveling in the moneth of August.

About this time it chanced that the lord Ogilvie, and John Gordon of Finnter, sonne to the earle of Huntley, met on the callete of Edinburgh & fought, where (after manie blowes and stripes given and taken) the lord Ogilvie and his companie were hurt. Wherefore John Gordon was taken, & put in ward at the tolbooth of Edinburgh, out of which he escaped, after he had remained prisoner therein about twentie daies, and toke his waie northward: whereupon followed great trouble & hostile war to the house of Huntley. The quene accompanied with the earles of Argyle, Purreie, and Morton, the lord Erskine, and others, passed forwards in hir journey towards the north part, and caused John Gordon of Finnter to be summoned to appeere and answer the law at Aberdeen, for breaking prison, and hurting the lord Ogilvie. The quene coming to the towne of Aberdeen, was honorablie received with diverse orations, and Latine enterludes, before the grammar schoole and college.

\* These things thus done at Aberdeen, as the quene determined to go further, she was intreated by John Leslie a noble man, and follower of the Gordons, to boughase his house in hir waie, being 12 miles from the towne: to which she granted, & went unto the same. This place, because it was no common place of resort, was thought verie convenient for the execution of the earle of Purreie, whose death was conspired (as after shall appeere.) Whereupon Leslie, who was not ignorant of this secret counsell, besought the quene that she would not laie such a note of infamie upon him and his familie, that he should seeme to have betrayed the chiefe brother of the quene, no evill man, and one that was not his enemy, whereby he might come unto his death at his house. Whereupon it then ceased, and the next night was also quietly passed over at Rothmie, a towne of the Abernethians, because the next day the quene was determined to go to Strabogie.]

Whereupon the earle of Huntley, having before heard that his sonne was thus summoned, assembled the principall earles, lords, barons, and gentlemen of the north, who came with him to Aberdeen, to helpe his son at the last day appointed for his appearance, which was in September. The earle came unto the quene himselfe, and at length it was agreed, that his sonne the said John Gordon should returne to prison againe in Striveling castell, there to remaine during the quenes pleasure. But he following the counsel of some young heads that were with him, neither fulfilled the quenes pleasure, nor his fathers appointment, but attempted to revenge his extreme handling (as he took it) upon the earle of Purreie, whom he put most in blame for the rigour he used against him, but his enterprize took not effect. \* When the quene advertised of his disobedience, went not to Strabogie, notwithstanding there was great preparation made for hir in that place, for the receiving of hir and his traine: but she went unto Balthamie, the earle of Athols place, and from thence to Bilslo, to Tarnelate, and so came to Inverness, and there lodged.

In this meane while, the earle of Huntley, purposing to attend on the quene at Inverness, caused provision to be made in the castell for his lodging. The quene suspecting his dealing, least this should be done upon some policie, commanded the keepers of the castell to render the same to one of his heralds, but it was not delivered till the next day, and therefore the captaine of that castell called Alexander Gordon, for refusing to deliver it, was hanged upon the towne

The quene made hir journey into the north parts of Scotland. Lord Ogilvie and John Gordon fight together.

John Gordon breaketh prison.

John Gordon is summoned by the quene.

Gordon is accompanied with a great companie.

Fr. Thin, Buchanan lib. 17.

Gordon is commanded to Striveling castell. He disobeyed.

The quene suspected the earle of Huntley.

Alexander Gordon was hanged.

fortune by force. The lord Gordon, & his brother John Gordon of Finntater, came that night within a little space distant from the towne of Inuernesse, which caused great feare in the towne, so that there was a diligent watch all that night. The earle of Huntley being come to Kinlosse, and hearing that the castell of Inuernesse was commanded to be given up into the hands of an herald, sent with all diligence to the keepers, that they should deliver it, & returned himselfe to Strabogie.

The quene remained in Inuernesse the space of foure or five daies, where the principall capteine of the claves of the countrie came to hir, and with a great companie [of the ancient Scots (as hath Buchanan) thereof the chiefe were the Fraissers and Purreies, balliant families in those parts] conveyed hir to Spine, where she was informed that the earle of Huntley had gathered an armie to come against hir, and made their assemble at Spaie. Whereupon, they toke with them all the artillerie out of Spine, and caried the same in carts, and all other kind of munition, and passed forward to Bamf that night. The earle of Huntley all this while came not forth of Strabogie. The quene as she passed forward, rode to the place of Finntater, and there in hir owne presence, caused the keepers thereof to be charged to deliver it, which they refused to do. From Bamf the quene rode to the lard of Weichtis place, called Weicht, and the next day there was great preparation for hir entrie into the new towne of Aberdeen. She lodged one night in the bishops palace, and the next day she was honorable received, and lodged in the provosts house of the towne, where she remained all the time of hir abode in Aberdeen.

After this, the lord John prior of Colbingham, with diuerse gentlemen, was sent against the earle of Huntley to Strabogie, but he was escaped before they approached. The ladie Huntley received them verie courteously, and gaue them good intertainment, and so they returned. There was charge given to Louthian, Jffe, Angus, Stratherne, the Pernis, and to the shire of Aberdeen, to come to Aberdeen quarterly, & to remaine there sixtine daies; and so they did, during the time of hir abiding there. The earle of Huntley sent his wife in message to the quene and counsell, but she was not admitted to come within a mile of them, but commanded to returne. After this, he sent a messenger, offering to enter in ward, till his cause might be tried by the whole nobilitie: but this was refused. In the meane time all the principall of the Gordons that were landed men, were charged to enter into ward. About the same time James Hepburne earle of Bothwell, who (upon displeasure conceived against hir) about a quarrell betwixt him and the earle of Arrane, had bene committed to prison in Castledunkeill before past, escaped out of Dauides tower in Edinburgh at a window.

The earle of Huntley, understanding by his friends at the court how things passed, determined to flee to the mountains; but after (trusting to the promises of his friends) he determined to abide battell in a place of some strength. Whereupon in October he came with his armie to Cornethie in Spar. By reason thereof the earle of Purreie, who at the first had leasse a hundred horsemen with him, began with James Douglas earle of Morton, and John friske Lindseie, to lead an armie against his entrie, and gathered a greater number of eight hundred people of the regions adjoining. Wherefore he first placed souldiers about the water passages, to keepe all those places, that Huntley should not escape, and with the rest went forward on a foot pace to meet his enimie: whose commanding Huntley did as

side, with three hundred men, keeping their places, although not a few of that companie were fled from the Gordons the night before.

When the earle of Purreie was come to the side of a hill, from whence he might see all the marshes about him, he incamped there in a slender order of battell. At length the armies met, at that time manie on the earle of Purreie his side did flee awaie, having before given a signe to the enimie. But the earle Purreie, which saw there was no succour in fleeing, stood to it valiantlie, called his men together, set upon the enimie, caused them (which before followed his men fleeing awaie) now to flee as fast backe as they came forward. Which change of fortune when the traitors that before fled did perceive, they came afresh and pursued the Huntleys, and (to cleare them from the first fault) committed all the slaughter that was done that daie.

There was killed of the part of Huntley a hundred and thientie, and a hundred taken: but on the other side not one. Amongst such as were taken, was the earle Huntley himselfe, and his two sons, John and Adam. But the father being old and short breasted by reason of his grossenes, was slain betwixt the hands of such as toke him, and the rest were late in the night brought to Aberdeen. The quene seemed forie for the earles death. Yet in November John Gordon was beheaded in Aberdeen, and shortly after the quene returned southwards, leaving foure commissioners in Aberdeen, the treasurer, maister James Spargill, maister John Spens of Canobie, and the lard of Bettarrot, to compound for the effects of them that were in the field with the earle of Huntley. Great summes of monie were taken and leuied of them for that trespass. The earle Bothwell was commanded the first halends of December by all heralds to yield himselfe againe to prison, but because he would not, he was declared a publicke enimie.

The lord George Gordon, eldest sonne to the earle of Huntley, was taken by the duke of Chateaurant his father in law, at Camernoull, and brought to Edinburgh, where he was put in the castell, and after by a iurie convicted, forsalted, and condemned to die, and sent to Dunbar castell, there to remaine in ward, where he continued till the yeere of God, 1565. At this time was a monie milde set upon such as did eat flesh in the time of Lent. The setting forth thereof was not so much for religion, as for publicke commoditie, by the iudgement of Buchanan. The archbishop of Dunelm, because (after an edict made therefore at the quenes coming into Scotland) he did not abstaine from hearing and saying mass, was committed prisoner to the castell of Edinburgh, and the rest that were found in such actions, were confined with promise of a greater punishment to be held upon them, if they were found offending againe in that sort.

The quene held a parliament in Edinburgh, where the earle of Huntleys dead bodie was brought present before the estates in the towne, and forsalted. The earle of Northland, George Gordon was forsalted also, and diuerse other of their friends. And in this parliament the act of oblivion was ratified and approved, and diuerse other new laws made. This yeere in August, the quene went on a progresse into Argill, this yeere deceased the duke of Lennox, lord of the college of Justices, and maister John Strathgordon, damello of Clackmann, and the provost of Dundee, in place of the first maister John Leide, official of Aberdeen, was appointed; and in the provosts place maister James Baulfoure succeeded; whereafter an ambassador from the king of Spineden, to treat of a marriage to be contracted with the

Fr. Thin.

She came to Aberdeen.

The earle of Huntley is sent for.

The ladie Huntley is sent unto the quene.

The Gordons are imprisoned.

The earle Bothwell escaped out of prison.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, lib. 17.

The birth of the earle of Arrane

The quene progresses

The earle Lennox into Scotland.

A progres

Lord James of Scotland

1561 A parliament

Lord James is lord of

The quene is married

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, lib. 17.

The lord Gordon is taken prisoner. 1562. Buch.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, lib. 17.

1562. A parliament

The act of oblivion ratified.

The quene goes on a progresse into Argill.

New officers.

1564. Ambassadors from Sweden

The earle of Arrane had fr. Rom. married

Cont. to the marriage

The earle of Arrane

Lord

quene, but his message was not regarded. The second of Julie, Henrie Sinclair bishop of Koffe shipped at Leith to passe into France, to procure some helpe of his disease. He was cut of the stone in Paris, and died the second of Januarie next after. There succeeded to that bishopricke of Koffe, maister John Belle, parson of Duen, being then one of the senators of the session and college of iustice.

In the moneth of August, the quene passed into Atholl in progresse, and from thence to Badenoch, to Inverness, and to the canonrie of Koffe, and returned through Murrie to Gartleie, Aberdeen; Dunnoter, and so to Edinburgh, where she remained the next winter. In the moneth of October, the earle of Lennor came into Scotland, and for his cause there was a parlement holden in December, in which he was restored to all his lands, honours, and dignities, within that realme. In December also, the bishop of Dunblane deceased, and after him succeeded maister William Chesholme his brothers son. In Januarie, the quene took her iourneie through Fife, and in manie gentlemens places was banqueted. In which time, Henrie Stewart, lord Darnele, a godlie man of personage, and sonne to the earle of Lennor, came into Scotland, where he came to the quenes presence in the Wileames, the ninth day of Februarie. The quene so well liked him, that she assembled all the temporall lords together at Strueling, in the moneth of Aprill, and there obtained of them their consents, that she might marrie the said lord Darnele. After this, he was made earle of Koffe.

In the meane time, the quene of England sent sir Nicholas Throckmorton into Scotland, to understand the proceedings in the quenes marriage with the lord Darnele, and for other affaires, who came to the assemblee at Strueling to that effect. The quene of Scots sent maister John Haie abbat of Balmerinock into England to the quene, to mitigate his displeasure towards the lord Darnele, and to obtaine his consent to the marriage; who answered, that she ment to send an ambassadoe of his owne into Scotland for that and other causes, and (according to his promise) the sent one. Shortly after, certeine captains & men of warre in saint Andrews, Dundee, and saint Johns towne, received monie about the same time of the earle of Murrie, to take part with him, for the which they were after punished. After the assemblee at Strueling, the quene seemed not to like of the earle of Murrie so well as she had done before: whereupon he departed the court, and repaired to saint Andrews, where (through the counsell of certeine persons) he sought waies to stop the marriage.

The quene nevertheless sent the bishop of Dunblane to Rome for a dispensation to marrie with the lord Darnele, being his cosine in the second degree of consanguinitie, which he obtained, & sent it home shortly after. The quene was then principallie counselled by the earles of Atholl, and Lennor, the lord Ruthven, and their friends. In the meane time, the earle of Murrie perswaded the duke of Chateaufort, the earle of Argile, and sundrie other, to meet at Strueling, where they made a bond to stop the marriage, alledging the same to be made for maintenance of the religion. The quene advertised thereof, & released the lord Gordon forth of prison, wherein he had bene kept within the castell of Dunbar, and restoring him to his fathers lands, created him earle of Huntly. She also sent for the earle of Bothwell to returne home, who was banished, and was then in France, and the earle of Southerland to returne out of Flanders.

In the moneth of Julie, the lord Darnele, earle

of Koffe was made duke of Albanie. And on saturdaye at even, the eight and twentieth daie of the same moneth, before the marriage, he was proclaimed king by the quenes commandement at the market crosse of Edinburgh. And on the nine and twentieth daie of the same moneth, he was married to the quene in the chappell of holie rood house, at five of the clocke in the morning. Shortly after, the duke of Chateaufort, the earles of Argile, Murrie, and their companions, were summoned to appeare before the quene, and his counsell within six daies; & because they refused to do so, they were put to the horne.

The king and quene thereupon assemble their power, and by a herald demand the delivrie of the castell of Hamilton. But (he returning without the effect of his message) they addresse themselves to warre. At that time the lords of the congregation were at some variance amongst themselves, as severed into diverse opinions: for the Hamiltons that were of greatest power in those places, did affirme, that they should have no firme conditions of peace, except the king and quene were made awaie: for so long as they were in health, they could hope for nothing but new warres, new deceipts, and dissembled peace; a thing farre more dangerous than open war. For though manie times the injuries of privat persons maie be laied downe by traucell and perswasion, and maie be recompensed againe with great commodities: yet there is no waie to appeale the displeasure of kings, but by taking them awaie.

Upon which bad speech, the earles of Murrie and of Glencarne (which well understood that the Hamiltons did not seeke the publike commoditie, but their owne privat riches as persons that were next to the crowne after the quens death) did abhor the slaughter and gouernement of the Hamiltons, whom of late they had felt to be both cruell and contentious: and did therefore giue more mild and sound counsell, saieing that this dissention being ciuill, was not yet come to be bloude: in which hitherto they had onlie contended with words & not with swords, being not yet so far, but that (if it were possible) the same might be ended with honest conditions.

To the perswasion whereof, he said that there were manie in the camps of the two princes, which graciously desired to heare of peace, & would not faile to further their endeour therein, nor to defend themselves & their cause with needfull weapons: all which did perchance forget that the king and quene (by reason of their youth) had not yet faulted so greatly, as that it turned to the bitter overthrow of the common-wealth; & if they haue faults (as who hath not) they were such as were rather to their owne privat reproch than otherwile, and therefore they ought not to be punished with flat death: but rather to be cured with easie remedies. For he did remember it to haue alwaies bene obserued heretofore, that in the life of kings, we should alwaies couer their secret vices, we should mildly interpret their doubtfull faults, and we should with patience beare their knowne evils: so that they did not by them bring other destruction to the common-wealth.

When this opinion was pleasing to most of the hearers, the other Hamiltons (except James, which was head of that familie) determined to rest in quiet; but he accompanied with sir Iohn Woddes remained with the lords, who being now so weakened of their power, that they could neither wage battell, nor safely passe to their owne; did giue place to the king, and went that night to Hamilton. The quene assembled an armie, and went to Glasgow to pursue them (at that time, as saith Buchanan) the earle of Lennor was made warden of the east marches, and the duke and earles with other of their companies

The bishop of Koffe went into France.

The quenes progresse.

The earle of Lennor came into Scotland.

Progresse.

Lord Darnele came into Scotland.

1562. Parliament.

Lord Darnele was made earle of Koffe.

The quene of England's outlanded that marriage.

Ambassage sent into Scotland.

The earle of Murrie a suitor unto the quene.

Dispensation had from Rome for marriage.

Consultation to stop the marriage.

Gordon created earle of Huntly. Bothwell is sent for.

Lord Darnele.

Gordon headed.

in anan. 18.

Lord Dornis is prisoner. 3. Buch. 562.

him. an. lib. 17.

562. 1562.

act of obs. m. 1562.

quene on pro. le.

in officers.

1564. ambassadoe in Sweden

Certain lords refuse to appeare before the quene.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 17.

wicked counsellers alwaies soweth to the guerd.

An armie gathered against them.  
The lordes went unto Dunfreis.

Certaine townes are punished.

A great armie

The lordes fled into England.

Their conuoyers got their pardon.

The quene returned againe into Edinburgh.  
The quene sent into France for aid.

The lordes sent to the quene of England.

The quene of England sent to the quene of Scots.

nie came to Edinburgh, where the castell shot off at them, and therefore they departed towards Dunfreis, and were receiued by the lord Heris.

The quene hearing thereof, by aduise of hir council assembled south of all the parts of the whole realme an armie, appointing the same to be at Beggart, in the beginning of October, to pursue the rebels. In the meane time, the hearing that the townes of saint Andzeus, Dundee, and saint Johns towne, had helped the lordes to raise men of warre for their support, passed thither hirselfe, and toke inquisition thereof, giuing order in those townes, that no such thing should afterwards be put in practice. But there were none that suffered death for that matter; but diuerse were committed to prison in the north parts of the realme, as the prouost and bailleis of saint Andzeus: also certeine of the towne of Dundee, and saint Johns towne, and other were banished; and diuerse barons, as Lundie, Lango, and Balward, were sent to Aberden, and to other parts, where they remained the winter following.

About this time, the quene toke the castell of Tantallon from the earle of Morton, because he was suspected to fauor the rebels. The keeping thereof was giuen to the earle of Atholl. The quene returning to Edinburgh in September, prepared all things necessarie for the armie, and departing from Edinburgh, came to Beggart, where all the noble men with their retinues were assembled the eight of October. From thence they passed forward to Dunfreis. In the meane time, the duke of Chateaufort, the earles of Murreie, Glencarne, Rothes, the lord Mchilte, the abbat of Kilwinning, the lords of Grange, Cunningham, Herdie, Pettarroto, maister James Dalburtoun tutor of Petcur, and others, hearing of the quens comming with an armie, fled into England, and came to Caerleill, where they were receiued, the earle of Bedford at that time being lord lieutenant of the north.

The lord Heris then maister of Marwell conueied them to the water of Sulweie, and afterward returned to Dunfreis to the quene, where (of hir clemencie) he got pardon of his offense; and the lords of Lochinwar and Dunlanrig likewise. After the armie had taried certeine daies, putting direction for obseruing of god order in the countrie, the quene returned to Edinburgh, where she remained all the next winter. The quene sent the maister David Chalmer chancelor of Rolse into France to the king, with letters for his assistance against hir rebels. And shortly after, the French king sent a gentleman called monsieur Maluouier into Scotland, with verie frendlie letters unto the quene, promising his helpe & assistance against the rebels; which message was most thankfullie receiued, and the said Maluouier honorable at his departure rewarded.

The duke of Chateaufort, and the other lordes with him departed from Caerleill to Newcastle upon Tyne, and from thence sent the earle of Murreie, and the abbat of Kilwinning to the quene of England, making suite to hir grace for aid to be restored to their countrie againe. The quens maiestie promised them, that she would send a gentleman to the quene hir sister, and moue hir to helpe hir, as she did; and so they returned to Newcastle, where the duke of Chateaufort, perceiving no other helpe appearing, sent the abbat of Kilwinning into Scotland to the quene with letters, submitting himselfe to hir graces will, and so he obtained pardon for him and his friends, with licence to passe into France, where to remaine the space of six yeares, and shortly after he passed through England, and so came into France, according to his appointment.

The king passed the most part of that winter in the countries of Fife, Stratherne, Striuelingshire, & Houthian, spending his time in hauking. The quene remained at Edinburgh with the nobilitie, and because she was conceived with child, trauelled little abroad. About this time was a new order taken for placing the king and quens name in all their writings and patents. For where, until this time, the kings name was set before the quens; now quite contrarie, the name of the quene was written before the kings: besides which, afterward the quene hir selfe would onelie set hir name to the writings in place of hers and his; and David the secretaire was appointed in his place to haue a stamp of the kings name, to vse when need required.

In the meane time a parlement was called, to be holden in the moneth of March next ensuing, and summons decreed against the earle of Murreie, and the other lordes that remained in England, and also against the earle of Argile, lieng then in his countrie of Argile to haue them forthcalled. The French king sent monsieur Kambeneulet into Scotland, as ambassadoe from him to the quene, with commission, to make the king hir husband knight of the order of S. Michael. Which with great solemnitie and reuerence was accomplished in the chappell of Holie rood house the tenth of Februarie, being sunday: after the which, the said Kambeneulet returned into France, being higly rewardeb.

From that time that the parlement was proclaimed, and the summons also published, the earle of Murreies friends being in Scotland, neuer ceased to seeke all the waies and means they could deuise to state the same: in so much that the earle of Morton, the lord Ruthwen, and the lord Lindseie, secretly persuaded the king to state the parlement, and also to consent to the restoring of the erle of Murreie and his complices, making to him faithfull promise, that if he would follow their counsell, he should be made a crowned king of Scotland absolute, and the quene to haue lesse to doe with the gouernement afterward, where through he agreed to the m.

And so after the parlement was assembled, the lordes of the articles being chosen the seventh day of March, they perceiuing the forsature like to proceed, and iudgement thereof to be guen, the eleuenth of March next following, the king with the assistance of the said earle of Morton, the lords Ruthwen, and Lindseie, entered into the quens priue chamber about eight of the clocke in the night, being saturday, and the ninth of March, where being arrived in warlike manner, the lord Ruthwen declared unto the quene, that they would not suffer hir any longer to haue the gouernement of the realme, to abuse the same by the counsell of strangers, as she had done; and therefore pulled violentlie out of hir chamber David Richeo an Italian, that was one of hir secretaries, crying pitifully, *In iustitia, In iustitia*: and in hir utter chamber they suddenlie slew him with great crueltie. The king himselfe was also present, and his dagger was likewise found sticking in the dead bodie.

The quene was shut vp within hir chamber, and certeine appointed to attend hir, and to keepe all the doores and gates about the palace. The earles of Huntlie and Bothwell escaped by a backe window south in their chamber, where the king and his complices were right sozie. The erle of Atholl and others being with him, departed in the night season by a ferrie ouer the Forth, called the quenes ferrie, and went to S. Johns towne. On the morrow being sunday (the quene being secretlie kept) deliberation was made, that all the lordes that had bene in parlement

The king went a hauking.

Fr. Thin.  
Bucha. lib. 17.

A parlement.  
The lordes that were exiled are summoned.

The king renewed the order of saint Michael.

1566.

They persuaded with the king.

The king some persons sed.

The king is entered into the quens priue chamber.

David Richeo is slain.

The earle of Huntlie is fled and the residue also.

The king went a hauking.

They their plantation.

The king had cold with it.

The king was si perius.

Huntli Both.

Proclamation.

Harde crane obtained.

The merris accepted.

David done.

The quene commed.

The earle  
of Dunbar  
came into  
Scotland.

They made  
their prote-  
station.

The queene  
had conference  
with the king.

The king  
was some  
persuaded.

Huntlie and  
Bothwell.

Proclama-  
tion made.

Pardon is  
craved and  
obtained.

The murthe-  
rs are ex-  
cepted.

Marie par-  
doned.

The queene  
commeth to  
Edenburgh.

most ship departed out of the towne of Edenburgh:  
and after some time, the earle of Huntlie and  
Bothwell, with other of their adherents that  
came forth from Edenburgh, the day before,  
came to the abbey of Dunbar, where they were  
the cloche in the afternoon, where they were  
fullie receiued by the king and his counsaile.  
They spake also with the queene, who had great comfort  
of their coming.

The morrow following being Monday, the earle  
of Huntlie and the other that were summoned, pas-  
sed to the towne of Edenburgh. And when they pro-  
tected these, that they were ready to answer in  
parlement, and none appeared to arrest them. After  
this, it was concluded to keep the queene in great  
ward. But by hir politike demeanour, their purpose in  
that behalfe was broken: for by secret conference  
with the king, she persuaded him to thinke, that he  
had joined himselfe with those that thought his de-  
struction, if it happened with hir otherwife than well,  
as was no lesse to be doubted, by reason of the high  
displeasure that she had taken being quene with  
child: through the which persuasion, and other bud-  
ding of things, he departed secretly with hir in the  
night season, accompanied onlie with two men, and  
first came unto Seilton, and after ward from thence  
to Dunbar.

Whither the earles of Huntlie and Bothwell  
hastilie repaired, by whose counsell and others then  
with hir, she caused proclamation to be made in di-  
uerse parts of the realme, charging all manner of  
men in feats of warre, to come unto hir to Dun-  
bar, & to passe from thence unto Edenburgh within  
fifte daies after. She also sent letters to the same ef-  
fect unto diuerse noble men of the realme, who pre-  
pared themselves with great diligence to meet hir.  
The earle of Huntlie and the rest of the lords being  
with him, hearing the preparation that was made  
against them, and perceiving themselves not able  
to resist, thought good quere of them to seeke some  
particular meane to obtaine remission at the queens  
hands. Which they obtained all of them, except the  
earle of Morton, the lords Ruthwen, Linlithgow, and  
such other as were with them at the murder of Da-  
vid Rithew. And hereupon they despatching of pardon,  
fled into England, where the lord Ruthwen died at  
Pewcastle thortlie after, as in place ye shall heare.

The earle of Lennox, being partaker with them,  
came to Dunbar, and got pardon: the earle of Glen-  
carne and the lord of Cunningham had come whi-  
ther also, and were pardoned. Likewise the earle of  
Maries purchased his pardon at the same time. The  
earles of Argyle and Huntlie, and the lord Both-  
well, sent to the queene for their pardon,  
and obtained it, being commanded neuerthelesse to  
passe into Argyle, and to remaine there during hir  
graces pleasure, which commandement they obeyed.  
The eighteenth of March, the queene went accom-  
panied came to Haddington towards night: and on  
the nineteenth day, the bishop of saint Andrews, and  
the Huntliks met hir at Spuskilburgh, and so like-  
wise did the lords Levingston, Fleming, Home,  
Bothwell, and manie other noble men, and con-  
ueied hir unto Edenburgh.

She lodged in the bishop of Dunkeildes lodging,  
and taried there a certeine space, having with hir the  
erles of Huntlie, Atholl, Bothwell, Crauford, Mar-  
shall, Spenserland, Cadmus, the bishops of saint An-  
drews and Moray, the lords Levingston, Fleming,  
and diuerse other noble men, by whose counsell order  
was taken for redressing of the state of the realme,  
whereby the same was thortlie brought to great  
quietnesse. After this, the queene perceiving hirselfe  
to be at more the time of hir deliuerance, went to

the castell of Edenburgh, where she remained till the  
daye deliuerance of hir birth. In the moneth of Maie,  
Thomas Seat Shiriffe, deputie of March, & a priest  
called sir George Hair, seruant to the lord Ruthwen,  
were apprehended for being helpers in the slaughter  
of David, and were hanged and quartered. Their  
heads were set aloft, the one on the tower in the ab-  
bay, and the other on the nether tow.

In the moneth of April this yere, the bishop of  
Brechin president of the session, deceased, and in his  
roune succeeded to that bishoprike, a friend and coun-  
siller to the earle of Argyle, called Campbell. In the  
end of April, the queene, willing to haue the earles  
of Argyle and Huntlie joined with the rest of the  
counsell, sent for them to come to the castell of E-  
denburgh, where all griefs and controuersies that  
rested betwixt them on the one side, and the earles of  
Huntlie, Atholl, & Bothwell on the other side, were  
referred to the queene, who agreed them, and they all  
remained with hir the residue of the summer. The  
queene hearing that the earle of Morton, the lord  
Ruthwen, and the other their assistants were recei-  
ued in England, and remained at Newcastle, she  
sent maister James Axborton chantor of Huntlie,  
with letters to the queene of England, and also to  
the king of France, and other hir friends there, de-  
claring by the tenor of the same letters the abuse  
and presumptuous attempts of certeine hir subiects  
against hir, desiring them not to receiue them with  
in their realmes or dominions.

Thortlie after, the queene of England sent a gen-  
tleman called Henrie Killigrew into Scotland,  
with letters and message to the queene, promising  
to cause them to depart forth of hir realme of  
England: and withall sent unto them warning to  
depart betwixt that present time, and midsummer  
then next ensuing. But in the meane time the lord  
Ruthwen departed this life at Newcastle, with  
great repentance of his former life: giving God  
thanks, for that he had lent him time to call to him  
for mercie and forgiveness, whereof he did assure  
himselfe. And from thenceforth the earle of Morton,  
and the maister of Ruthwen, remained secretly  
neare to Antwoke, and other places of the borders, till  
they obtained pardon, and were restored. About this  
time there came from the king of France a wise a-  
ged gentleman, named monsieur la Croche, as his  
ambassador, and remained in Scotland all the win-  
ter following.

In the moneth of June, the queene perceiving the  
time of hir deliuerance to approach, wrote unto all  
the principall noble men of hir realme, to come and re-  
maine within the towne of Edenburgh, during the  
time of hir deliuerance, where they assembled: and  
the king hir husband, with the earles of Argyle, Hun-  
tlie, Atholl, and Spar, remained with hir in the ca-  
stell; and the earle of Huntlie, Bothwell, and the  
remnant of the lords lodged in the towne. And upon  
the nineteenth day of the same moneth of June, be-  
twixt 10 and 11 of the clocke before none, hir grace  
was deliuered of a goodlie man-child, to the great  
comfort of hir highnesse, and all hir subiects, whereof  
the nobilitie did greatlie reioice. And incontinentlie  
all the artillerie in the castell was shot off, and all  
the lords and people came together in the church of  
saint Giles, to giue thanks to almighty God for his  
great and beneficiall goodnes shewed to them, in gi-  
uing to them a prince, and withall made their hum-  
ble prayers unto his diuine maiestie, to indue him  
with the feare of God, with vertue and knowledge  
to gouerne the realme and subiects thereof, when so-  
euer the same should fall into his hands.

The same night at seven, there were great fires  
for ioy made in the towne of Edenburgh, and in all  
the

Execution  
came upon the  
murderers.

The queene  
agreed all the  
lords.

The queene  
made late to  
the queene of  
England.

The queene of  
England hir  
answer.

The lord  
Ruthwen  
repented.

An ambassage  
from the king  
of France.

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the countie about, and likewise through all the whole realme, as by advertisement was certified therof. The quene remained still in the castle of Edinburgh all the moneth of Iulie following, till she had recovered hir health and strength. In the beginning of August she passed by the water of Forth to Allowaie, where she remained certeine daies; the earles of Arrerrie and Mar being of companie with hir, and there the king hir husband came to visit hir. The same time monsieur Malouin came into Scotland from the king of France, bringing letters to the quene, who was conveyed by the bishop of Ross to Allowaie, where he was instantly received, courted, and intertained, and highly rewarded. The quene of England sent maister Henrie Willoughby to the quene with the like message, reioicing for hir safe and happy deliverance, who likewise was received in most thankfull manner, and well rewarded.

The princes  
godfathers &  
godmothers.

Fr.Thin.  
I.Stow pa.113  
in quart.

Here is to be noted, that shortly after she was brought to bed, she sent one of hir gentlemen called monsieur Clarinot, with letters to the king of France, and to the duke of Savoy, desiring them to send ambassadors, which in their name (as godfathers) might receive hir son at the baptisme. Whereover, she sent James Melvill to the quene of England with the like message, desiring hir maiestie to be godmother, who by hir ambassadors Francis earle of Bedford, sent a present to the quene of Scots, (as I.Stow hath noted) a fount of gold curiously wrought & enamelled, weighing 333 ounces, amounting in value to 1043 pounds 19 shillings of English monie. These princes were glad hereof, and promised to send ambassadors to that effect, as afterward they did. In the later end of August, the quene accompanied with the king hir husband, the earles of Huntlye, Arrerrie, Bothwell, and diverse other, went into Peggat land; there to passe the time in hunting, where they remained certeine daies, and returning to Edinburgh, caused the prince to be conveyed unto Strueling castell, where he was committed in keeping to the lord Erskin, after earle of Mar, and his ladie. And from thence the quene went on progresse into Glen Arkenzie.

Fr.Thin.  
Buchan.li. 17.

\* The king as a solitarie person goeth to Strueling, after which the quene determineth to go to Jedburgh to assemble a parlement. About the beginning of October, Bothwell prepareth a tourne into Lidisdale, where he was hurt with a calaver by a base theefe. Whereupon with uncerteine life he was carried to the castell of Hermitage, to which the quene (hearing of his mishap) came, attended with a small traine from Bothwell, and from thence having scene Bothwell, did in short time after returne to Bothwell, whither she caused Bothwell to be brought: after whose coming thither, the quene fell so grievouslie sicke, that she was in danger of hir life, at what time the king came thither unto hir.

1567.

In Januarie the king came to Glasgowe, where he fell sicke, and removing from thence went to Edinburgh, and the quene accompanied him. She lodged at Holie rood house, but he was lodged at a house within the towne, nere to the Kirke a hield; within the which, on the tenth of the moneth of Februarie in the night he was shamefullie murdered; together with one William Barre. He was cast into an orchard, and here with the house was blowne by with gunpowder. [Some give report of his death, but touch not the manner thereof, onelie saying that he was shamefullie murdered in a morning (a beaute by wakefast) by his owne (but unnatural and rebellious) people, whose innocent blood getteth out for vengeance at the hands of God, who in iustice will (when he seeth due time) give them their portion with malefactors agreeable to their merits.

The king  
murdered.  
1566.Stow.

The earle of Bothwell was then at the first beheld, and was supposed to be the principall offender in this most heinous and detestable murder. But the matter was so handled, that he was not onelie acquitted by an allgates jury callit, but also shortly after married the quene, upon a pretence of the suspicion that men had already conceived, that she should be also priuie to the murder, which was nothing diminished. But as I have not to deale in that matter, so yet it is manifest, that some of the Scottish nobilitie, fore repining and maligning at such the private advancement of Bothwell, who as divers men persuaded himselfe, was the principall author of the murder, got them to armes with the nobles, before the quene & Bothwell were advertised of their meaning, they being then at Bothwell castle, eight miles distant from Edinburgh.

The earle of  
Bothwell  
murdered  
the king.

The lords  
got them to  
armes.

\* Thus leading the lords abislo at Edinburgh, we will say somewhat out of Buchanan, of things done by Bothwell & the quene, before that she was taken by these noble men of the congregation, having at that time taken armes against hir. After the death of hir husband, whome she had caused to be buried at Scone from which place he secretarie, Raine (as was thought) by the means of the king of Scots (the quene I say) after that, and also after the clearing of Bothwell from the murder of hir husband, was forcible taken (as she was on hir tourne) by the earle Bothwell, and carried to his castle, where she remained not long, but yet honorable intertained, which fact of his bred great dislike in the peoples minds, and brought him in danger of his life; had not the quene (of hir clemencie) pardoned him the same.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. li. 17.

This done, there was a consultation had for a marriage to be solemnized betwene hir and the earle Bothwell, which (after a dispute had betwene this earle and his then wife Katharine Gordon, granted by the judges spirituall & temporall; and after the solemnization asked betwene the said earle James Hepburne, and the quene Marie Stewart) was with great solemnitie of the nobilitie (by their hands in writing consenting thereto) consummat at Edinburgh. Against which onelie the bishop of Dornick was found to resist; and at which monsieur de Crocke the French ambassador then in Scotland would not be present; being a thing which did greatly occasion the Edinburghers to dislike of the quene.

Which marriage breeding some enill opinion of the said quene of Scots, not onelie in hir owne realme, but in the mouths of foreine nations, the wiselie consulteth with hir friends, how she might establish hir power, and provide to saue herselfe and hir kingdome from tumults and interrections. Whereupon, first she determineth to send an ambassador into France, to reconcile the minds of the king, and of the Guises, offended with this marriage. Which office of ambassage was laid upon William bishop of Dunblane, with this charge (as saith Buchanan) almost word for word.

First, you shall excuse to the king, and to our vncles, that our marriage (to be consummate) came to their eares, before that we had opened our counsell touching that matter by anye messengers. This excuse (as I haue to a foundation) doth leane to the true exposition of his whole life, and chieflie to the offices and duties of the duke or capitaine of the Dukes to his owne, even unto that day in which it seemed good to us to take him to husband. For the opening of the discourse whereof you shall take occasion to treat from the beginning of the last times of his adolescence (youth, or years of discretion, as we terme it) in this sort.

That when he first began to manage his owne affaires

“*fatres* (being from the death of his father one of the chiefe of the nobilitie) he did wholie dedicate himselfe to the dutie and seruice of the princes and kings of Scotland, as one boyme of a famous familie for his ancient nobilitie, & of great revenues in this kingdome which he possessed by right of inheritance. At that time also he did especiallie and altogether consecrate himselfe to our mother, whilst she had the gouernement of the realme.

“*In which dutie towards hir, he did so constantlie perseuere, that although the greater part of the nobilitie, and almost all the towne were fallen from hir obedience* (vnder the colour of religion) yet hee would neuer decline from hir authoritie, as a person that could not be twome by anie promises or benedits, or feared with anie threats, or losse of his liuings, to neglect his dutie in anie part vnto hir: but that he would rather suffer his principall house, which was the head of his patrimonie, with his plentifull and pretious store of furniture thereof to be taken from him, and all his other lands to be left for spoile to the enimie, than violate his faith to our mother. Besides which, being destitute of helpe both of vs and our people (when the English host was brought by our domestickall enimies into the bowels of our kingdome, which directed their weapons to none other marke, than that our now husband at that time earle Bothwell, should by force be enforced to flee) he fled into France, forsaking all his patrimonie, where he honored me with all dutie and seruice (that he might) untill my returne into Scotland.

“*Neither are those exploits to be omitted, which were done by him in the warres against the English before my returne into mine owne countrie, where he shewed such parts of warlike valure and graue wisdom, that he was iudged* (being then very young) meet to haue the gouernment of ancient persons, to be made chiefe captaine of the armie of the countrie, & also to be chosen or substitute deputie and chancelor: as in truth he was. In which office he did not deceiue the hope and expectation which men conceiued of him. For (by his affaires valiantlie actiued) he left a singular praise and fame of him, as well amongst his owne people, as amongst the enimies.

“*After our returne into Scotland, he employed all his indenor to the enlarging of our authoritie, and spared not to put himselfe in danger, in subduing those rebels which dwell about the borders of England. The dispatch wherof being shortly performed, and they brought to great quiet, he was appointed to do the like in all the other parts of the kingdome. But as enuie doth alwaies accompanie vertue, so the Scots repining thereat, and desirous of innovation, did labor to diminish our fauour towards him* (for his great labors imployed in our behalfe) in misconstruing his good deeds.

“*By which in the end they wrought so much with me, that we committed him to prison; partly to satisfie the minds of such as were emulous against him, and could not brooke the increase of his following honor and greatnesse; and partly to appease such seditious as were likelie then to breake forth to the destruction of the whole kingdome. But he* (escaping out of prison) got him into France, to giue place to the power of his enimies, where he remained almost two yeeres next following. At what time the authors of the former sedition, forgetting my clemencie towards them, and their dutie towards vs, did raise warre, and toke weapons against their queene.

“*From thence was he called backe into Scotland, & being restored to his former honors & possessions, he was againe made generall of all the armie: by whose helpe our authoritie began afresh so to flourish,*

“*that all the rebels* (suddenly forsaking their countrie) were enforced to flee into England, untill part of them vpon humble submission were receiued againe into our fauour. But his reason for this was handled by the rest that were rebellious (and especially such, whose ancestors I had with beneuolent motives) our kinde is not ignorant, and therefore we will touch that no more.

“*Neither is it to be ouerpassed in silence, with what diligence he deliuered me from the hands of such as detained me prisoner, and with what speed* (and singuler prouidence of his) I did both escape from prison, and recovered my former authoritie: after that I had dispersed the factions of the conspirators and seditious persons. In which reulie I am enforced to confesse, that his dutie and diligence at that time shewed towards me, was so acceptable vnto me, that I could neuer after forget it. These things although they be great of themselves, yet he hath hitherto increased them with such diligence and carefulnesse, that we cannot desire greater dutie, or with more assured trust in anie man, than we haue found in him; untill these last times which followed the deceasse of our husband.

“*But from that time, as his thoughts did seeme to tend higher, so his actions did after a sort seeme to be more insolent. And although the matter went so far, that we were to take all things in the best part: yet these things did then most grievously offend me; but especiallie his arrogancie, in that he thought that there were not other sufficient abilities in vs, to recompense his desertings, whilst we gaue out selfe to him in marriage. Touching which, at the first he vsed secret reasons and counsels: but in the end, when he saw them not to succeed after his mind, at length, shewing an open contempt of my authoritie, he fled to the benefit of violence, and used force* (to the end his attempt might not want due effect) to bring me vnder his gouernement.

“*Wherefore all this course of his life maie be an example, to shew how craftilie they can contriue their drifts* (in attempting great things) untill they haue obtained their purpose. For I did suppose, that all this his continuall dutie and carefulnesse in spee die obedieng of my commandements, had not issued from anie other fountaine, than of a vehement desire to shew his obedience and good will towards me: neither did I hope that a little more fauourable countenance (which we are accustomed to vse to the more worthy persons, to the end to win their minds to be more obedient to vs in dutie) should so haue raised his stomach (more than anie others) that he would promise to himselfe anie larger good will to proceed from me towards him, than he had before.

“*But he taking aduantage of all haps, & drawing all things* (that chanced) to the furtherance of his purpose, and keeping all his counsels secret from me, did still shew his accustomed dutie, nourished my old fauour to him, & secretlie attempted a new thing by the helpe of the nobilitie. Which he brought to passe with such speedie diligence, that (unknownen to me) he obtained of the peeres of the realme (in the assembly of the parlement here) a writing with all their hands set therevnto, for the more credit of the same. In which writing was contained, that they did not onlie assent vnto the marriage; but that they also further promised to spend their life and goods (offered to all dangers) in the executing thereof, and that they would be vtter enimies to all such as should labor to hinder it. For the more easie obtaining of whose consents in this sort, he had perswaded the said nobilitie, that the same was not done against my mind and consent. At length, when he had purchased this writing from them, he began by little and little (with ear-

nest intreaties & flatteries) to obtaine our consent. But when at the first our answers did not content his desire, he began to laie before me almost all those things, which are accustomed to happen in the attempt of such matters.

First, the outward tokens of our good fauour towards him, the reasons by which our friends or his enemies might hinder the same, & manie other things which being objected or unwillinglie happening, might frustrate his hope, or change the minds of such as had before subscribed. At length (fortune fauouring him therein) he determined to pursue the matter, & in one instance to hazard his hope and life about the same. Wherefore, when he had determined with himselfe, with all importunitie to attempt the successe of his determination, he foure daies after hauing conuenient time and place therfore in the high wate, set upon me with a strong band, as I was comming from seeing of my deere sonne, and with great speed caried me to Dunbar.

Which euill death how greuouslie we toke (especially done by him, from whome all our subjects neuer looked to haue such things to proceed) euerie bodie maie easilie consider. For there I did vpbraid him, with that fauour I haue alwaies vied him, what honorable opinion I haue had of him, and of his conditions in my speech vied to others, and of his vnthankfulness to me therefore; with all other things that might deliuer me out of his hands. These matters I laied against him with bitter words. But his answers therunto were more mild, and tempered with gentler speeches, in this, that he would still vse all honor and dutie towards vs, and labor by all means to haue our good will, whom he would not offend.

As touching this, that he had against our will caried vs into one of our own castles, he humbly craued pardon therfore (in that he was enforced therunto) although in the same he had forgotten that reuerence and dutie, which euerie subiect owght vnto vs. Whereunto he added, that he did the same for our safetie and defense. At which time also he began to repeat vnto me the whole course of his life, lamenting his fortune, to haue them (whome he neuer hurt) so greuouslie offended with him, that their malice had not ouerpasse anie occasions vniustlie to hurt him withall.

But especially in this, that their great enuie had burdened him with the murder of the king, and that his power was vnequall to resist the secret conspiracies of his enemies, whome he could not know; because they did in theys and speeches dissemble their friendship: & not knowing them, there was no wate for him to foresee and auoid their deceipts. Whose extreme hatred was now growen to such height, that he could not liue in safetie in anie place, or at anie time, except he might be assured of the quenes vniuersall fauour towards him. Which certaintie of his fauor could not be shewed but by this one meane, to persuaade hir selfe to receiue him into the marriage bed. At that time he did most holilie sweare, that he gaped not after anie extraordinarie gouernement, or that he would leape to the highest step of supreme rule thereby; but onlie to reape this fruit thereof, that he might serue and obiect hir as long as he liued, in such sort as he did before. Whereunto he added the delights of such speeches as that matter required.

But in the end, when he saw that we could not be moued therunto, either with praies or promises, he shewed vnto vs what he had done with the whole nobilitie, and the chiefe of the parlement, and what they againe had promised vnder their hands. Which being suddenlie and vn hoped for laied against vs, whether it did with iust cause greatlie astonish vs, we

leane to the consideration of the king, the quene, our vnckles, and the rest of our friends. Wherefore, when I perceiued my selfe a prisoner vnder the power of an other man, farre from the helpe of all those whose counsell I did and should haue vsed; yea and that I saw them before my face, in whose former faith and wisdom I did repose my selfe; whose strength did defend our authoritie, and without which our power was but small or none: when (I say) I had seene all these to haue bowed themselves to serue his desire, and that I was alone left a prey for him, I did with my selfe in my mind consider manie things, but could bring none of them to effect.

Besides which, he gaue to vs but short time to take anie aduise, but incontinentlie and importunatie did fill vnto me. At length, when I saw no wate to escape by flight, nor anie person of all our kingdome which had anie care of our libertie (for we well perceiued by their hands giuen, and by their deepe silence at that time, that they were all drawn to take his part) I was compelled (after that I a litle pacified mine anger & displeasure against him) to refer my selfe to the discusse and consideration of his demands, & to laie before my selfe his dutie in times past, and the hope which we had of the following continuance of the same towards vs.

And further, how greuouslie our people would suffer a strange king, and heauilie receiue one vnacquainted, and not inuied with their lawes and customs, that they would not suffer me long to liue vnmarried, and that the people (being by nature factious) could not be kept in obedience, except our authoritie were supported and practised by a man which could equall them in bearing labor, and were able to brydle the insolencie of rebels in the administration of the common wealthe: the weight of which charge, our power (being weakened and almost brought to nothing by continuall tumults and rebellions, since our comming into Scotland) was not able anie longer to susteine. For by reason of these seditions, we were enforced to appoint foure or more deputies in diuerse parts of our realmes, which afterwarde also did (vnder the colour of the authoritie which they were permitted to vse vnder vs) enforce our owne subjects to take armes against vs.

For all which causes, when we well perceiued that if we labored to preserve the dignitie of kingly maiestie, that they would enforce me to marriage, that our people could not abide a forren prince, and that amongest our owne subjects, there was not anie which for the nobilitie of his familie, for his wisdom and valure, or for other vertues of bodie and mind, might be preferred before or equalled vnto him, I commanded my selfe to ioine with the whole consent of the parlement, and assemblie of the nobilitie before mentioned. After that my former constant determination was thus somewhat mollified by these and other reasons, he did toyne from me partlie by force, and partlie by intreatie, a promise to him of marriage.

Which done, we could not yet by anie meanes and persuaasion obtaine of him (feearing an alteration in our mind) that the time wherein this marriage should be performed, might be deferred so long, as that we might participat the same with the king and quene of France, and such other friends as we had remaining in those parts. For he beginning with a bold attempt (after that he had once thereby attained the first step of his desire) did neuer after that cease to ioine importunat praies to his persuaasions and arguments of reason, vntill he did without violence enforce vs to set end to the wraike begun, and that at such time, and after such order, as seemed most conuenient vnto him for the execution of his determination.

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" nation. In which matter I cannot differ, but  
" that I was otherwise intreated by him, than either  
" I would, or had deserved.

" For he was more careful to satiffie them, by  
" whose consent (the first at the beginning) he thought  
" himselfe to have obtained his purpose (though he did  
" both deceive them and me) than to gratiffie me, or  
" to woe how meet it were for me, being brought up  
" in the precepts and rites of our religion; from which,  
" neither he nor any man living, whilst I did live,  
" could draw me awaye (alike) by any action. In which  
" thing trulie, though we do acknowledge our error,  
" yet we willinglie desire, that the king and quene  
" his mother, our uncle, or any friend of ours, do not  
" erposulat with him, nor any waie laie the fault  
" to his charge.

" For sith things be now so ended, as that they  
" cannot be againe undone, we take all things in the  
" best part: & as he is in deed, so he is to be accounted  
" our husband, whome from henceforwards we have  
" determined both to love & reverence. Wherefore all  
" they which profess themselves to be our friends,  
" must also shew the like to him which is joined unto  
" us with an indissoluble knot. And although he hath  
" in many things behaved himselfe lesse diligentlie, &  
" almost over-rashlie, which we willinglie impute to  
" his immoderat affection towards us; yet we desire  
" the king, the quene, our uncle, and the rest of our  
" friends, no lesse to love and favour him, than if all  
" things had till this day bene done after their advice  
" and determination; in the behalfe of which our hus-  
" band, we promise that he shall in all things (which  
" shalbe required of him hereafter) alwaies grati-  
" fie them in that he maye.

These remedies being found to defend the quene  
" create amongst foreign princes, other remedies were  
" to be sought for defense of hir owne person against  
" hir owne subjects. Wherefore (after that the earle of  
" Murray was appointed to remaine as banished be-  
" yond the seas in France, whither he took his jour-  
" nie through England) the quene (delivered of such a  
" feare as he was to hir, & therefore better able to rule;  
" or at least to make better shift, with such other as  
" were conured, to use Buchanans word, against hir)  
" used that diligence she might to gather forces, espe-  
" ciallie in the West and east Lothian.]

The quene  
" gathereth for-  
" ces.

And thinking that the enterprise of the lords had  
" bene broken and disappointed, they marched from  
" Dunbar on saturday the fourth of June, first to  
" Bathington, & there resting till the even, set forward  
" to Gladsmoze, and taking there deliberation in the  
" matter; they lodged that night at Seton, and in  
" the morning marched in order of battell towards  
" Carbarrie hill, and there chose forth a plot of ground  
" of great advantage, appointing to fight on foot, be-  
" cause the power of the lords in number of horse-  
" men, was stronger than the quene and of greater  
" experience. There were with the quene and Both-  
" well, the lords Seton, Wether, and Bothwell; al-  
" so the lords of Walsington, Bas, Dymison, Wile-  
" derburne, Blackater, and Langton. They had with  
" them also two hundred harquebussiers wages, and  
" of great artillerie some few peeces: Their whole  
" number was estimated to be about 2000: but the  
" more part of them were commons & countieners.

The number  
" of the quens  
" power.

The power of  
" the lords.

The earles of Morton, Atholl, War, Glencarne,  
" the lords of Burne, Lindesie, Ruthven, Semple,  
" Sanguhar, the lords of Dymington, Culbar-  
" den, Orange, and young Seton, were assembled  
" together at Edinburgh with a power like in num-  
" ber to the quene; but for the more part consisting  
" of gentlemen, although not furnished with any num-  
" ber of harquebussiers, except a few of the townsmen  
" of Edinburgh; that willinglie joined with them in

that quarrell. Upon the fifteenth of June, they came  
" forth of the towne, and approached their adversaries.  
" But there was monsieur la Croque, the French  
" kings ambassadour, who take great paine, in tra-  
" velling betwixt the parties to reduce them to some a-  
" greement. \* Whose by his interpreter laid before them  
" how carefulle he had studied for the commoditie &  
" tranquillitie of the publike state of Scotland before  
" this; and that now also he carried the same mind with  
" him. Wherefore he did vehementlie desire (if it  
" were possible) that the matter might be so taken up,  
" for the commoditie of both parties; that it might be  
" ended without force or bloodshed. For the compas-  
" sing whereof, he would imploie all his travell, sith  
" the quene also did not refuse to heare the counsell &  
" persuation of peace. For the more certaintie whereof,  
" he did at that time promise them pardon and forget-  
" fulnesse of all things passed before time; & did  
" with great holinesse there pledge him selfe, that no  
" hurt should fall unto any man there, for taking  
" weapon against the highest gouernour.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 8.

After that the interpreter had delivered these  
" things, the earle of Morton answered, that he did  
" not take arms against the quene; but against him  
" that had killed the king. Whome if the quene would  
" deliver to punishment, or separat him from hir, the  
" should well understand, that they & the rest of his fol-  
" lows held nothing more deere unto them, than to con-  
" tinue in their dutifull obedience: without which gran-  
" ted to them, there could be no agreement made; be-  
" cause they came not thither to crave pardon for any  
" offense which they had committed (whereunto the  
" earle of Glencarne added) but rather to give pardon  
" to such as had offended.]

Wherefore the ambassadour Croque returned backe  
" to Edinburgh, and the quens part began to de-  
" crease, diuerse speaking awaye from hir, so that af-  
" ter it began to grow towards the evening, Both-  
" well fled to the castell of Dunbar. But the quene  
" desirous to talke with William Maccabie the lord of  
" Orange, went to him, accompanied onelie with one  
" capteine, and after some talke with him, she passed  
" to the lords, who took hir with them to Edinburgh,  
" [ she being in a short garment, bare, & loose, com-  
" ming a little beneath hir knees (as saith Buchanan)  
" of which lords she requested that they would suffer  
" hir to depart, & not to keepe hir in that sort.] The Ma-  
" miltons were on the waie coming to assist the  
" quene, with seven or eight hundred horsemen; but  
" before they could reach to the place, the quene was  
" in the hands of the lords, and so they returned.

The quene  
" cometh to  
" the lords.

Fr. Thin.

The lord of Cragmiller [then provost of Eden-  
" burgh] and sir James Balfour also the capteine of  
" the castell, were joined in this confederacie with the  
" lords, as shortly after it appeared. The quene after  
" this was conueied ouer the Forth, and brought to  
" Rochlewin, where she was appointed to remaine in  
" ward vnder the safe keeping of William Douglas  
" lord of that place. The earle Bothwell, escaping to  
" Dunbar, found means to flee into Denmark, where  
" he was staid and committed to prison, where-  
" in at length he died. Diuerse persons afterwards  
" were apprehended as parties to the murder of the  
" king, and thereupon condemned, were executed,  
" confessing the said earle to be the principall executor  
" of the same murder. \* Leaving the quene therefore  
" in this miserable plight, we will not yet forget (for  
" the honor she once had) to set downe certaine verses  
" made by Alexander Seton a Scot, in the commen-  
" dation of hir ancestors, and of hir; who in the first  
" peeces of hir gouernement vied hir selfe to the good  
" liking of all hir subjects. In which verses Seton  
" doth further meane, that Lesle should hereafter set  
" forth hir gouernement, as he hath done that of the

Fr. Thin.

The quene  
" is sent to  
" Rochlewin.

Fr. Thin.

An. 6.

other

Lesleus be-  
fore the pre-  
face of his  
eight booke.

other thing before him. The verses be as followeth.

*Claris atavis, genio antiquo de sanguine regum,  
Nymphæ Caledoniæ gloria rara soli,  
Maoriam hic laudes, totos quos insula ab orbe  
Divisit; totis cernis ab orbe legi.  
Hoc illis peperere decem, non gloria regni,  
Non genus, aut dimes gæla, fasque virum;  
Sed pietatis bonus, fides constantia; morum  
Integritas, belli gloria, pacis amor;  
Quæ tua maiores superet quam visida virtus:  
Quæ tamen meritis laus fuit aqua tuis?  
Prænum hoc Lesleo superest, tua fortia facta  
Scribere, consilij multa peracta suis.  
Et mihi sunt verbis saltem tua facta canenda:  
A proavis ne sim degener ipse meus.]*

James the  
sixt.

The nineteenth of Julie, Charles James the young prince of Scotland, after a sermon made by John Knox, was crowned king of the Scots in Sterling church, where were read certaine letters of commission and procuracion, with the quæns priue seal at them for the establishing of the same coronation. The first, for his resignation of the crowne and government of the young prince his sonne. The second, to authorize the earle of Murray to be regent during the kings minority. The third, to give authority and power to seven other joining with the said earle of Murray, in case he should refuse to exercise the same alone; that is to say, the duke of Chateleaurault; the earls of Lennox, Argyle, Atholl, Forth, Glencarne, and Mar. The tenors of which letters of commission and procuracion doe here insue, as we find them imprinted at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprieve printer to the king of Scots, the first of April 1568, among the acts of parliament begun and holden at Edinburgh, the fiftenth of December, in the yeare 1567, by James earle of Murray lord Abernethie, &c: regent unto the said king.

The tenor of the commission, where-  
by Marie the queene of Scots resigneth  
the crowne to hir sonne, appointeth  
his guardians, and maketh the earle of  
Murray regent.

**M**arie be the grace of God queene of Scots, to all and sundrie our iudges and ministers of law, liegis and subiects, quhome it effectis to quhais knalege thir our letteris fall come, greeting. For asmeikle as by lang trefsome and tedious travell taken by us in the gouvernement of this our realme and liegis that of, we are sa berit and werit, that our bodie, spirit, and sensis are altogether become inhabill langer to travell in that royaume: and therefore we have dimittit and renuncit the office of gouvernement of this our realme and liegis that of, in favouris of our anelie maist deir sonne, native prince of this our realme. And because of his tender youth and inhabillite to be the said gouvernement in his atwin person, during his minority, we have constitute our derrest brother James earle of Murray, lord Abernethie, &c: regent to our said sonne, realme and liegis forsaids.

And in respect that our said derrest brother is actually furth of our realme, and cannot instantlie be present to accept the said office of regentrie upon him, and be and exercise the same during our said derrest sons minority; we quhill his returning within our realme, or in cais of his decess have maid, constitute, name, appointit, & ordainit; and by this our letteris make, constitute, name, appointis, and ordains our traist consingis and counsaillours,

James duke of Chateleaurault, earle of Arrane, lord Hamilton, Mather earle of Lennox, lord Dornie, &c: Archibald earle of Argyle, lord Campbell and Loche, &c: John earle of Atholl, James earle of Forth, Alexander earle of Glencarne, and John earle of Mar, regentis to our said derrest son, realme and liegis; & in cais our said brother James earle of Murray cum within our realme, and refusis to accept the said office of regentrie upon his singular person, we make, constitute, name, appoint, and ordaine, our traist consingis and counsaillours forsaids, and our said brother regentis of our said deir sonne, realme, and liegis.

Quand, grantand, and committand to thame, or onie five of thame coniunctlie full power for our said sonne, and in his name to ressaue resignatiounis of landis, make dispositiounis of wairdis, nonentres, relevis, mariageis, beneficis, elchets, officis, and otheris casualiteis and privilegis, quhat sumever concerning the said office, signatiounis thair upon to make, subscribe, and cause be past through the seillis. And to be and exercise the said office of regentrie in all thingis, privilegis, and communitatis, siclike as scelle and with als greit libertie as onie regent or gouvernor to us or our predecessours hit the samin in ony times bigan. Promittand to hold firme and stabill in the word and faith of a prince, to quhat sumever thingis our saidis traist consingis dois in the premissis.

Charging beifore you all and sundrie our iudges and ministers of law, liegis and subiects forsaids, to answer and obeie to our saidis traist consingis, regentis forsaids in all and sundrie thingis concerning the said office of regentrie, during our said derrest sons minority, and ay and quhill be be of the age of seiventene yeiris complet. As ye and like ane of you will declair to our saidis subiectis to our said maist deir son, your native prince, and under all paine, charge, and offense that ye and like ane of you make committe and incit against his maiestie in that part. Subscriuit with our hand, and given under our priue seill, at Lochleuin, the fource and twentieth day of Julij, and of our reigne the five and twentieth yeir.

The commission, authorising certeine  
noble men in the queens name, to re-  
nounce the kingdome to hir sonne,  
and authorising others to receiue  
the same in hir sons name.



**M**arie be the grace of God queene of Scots, to all and sundrie our iudges, and ministers of law, liegis, and subiects; quhome it effectis to quhais knalege thir our letteris fall cum, greeting. For asmeikle as sen our arrivall, and returning within our realme, we willing the continuall comoditie, welth, profit, and quietnes that of, liegis, and subiects of the samin, have emplotit our bodie, spirit, baill sensis, and foris, to gouverne the samin in sic sort, that our roiall and honnorable estate might stand and continue with us, and our posteritie, and our luffing and kind liegis might insale the quietnes of true subiectis. In travelling quhairin, not anelie is our bodie, spirit, and sensis sa berit, broken, and inquietit, that langer we are not of habillite be onie weane to indure sa greit and intollerabill painis and travellis, quhair with we are altogether werit, but als greit commotionis and troubles be onie occasions in the meantime be entrait bein, to our greit greit.

And being it has bene the pleasur of the eternal  
God,

God, of his kindlie lufe, merite, and gudnes to grant unto vs, of our awin persoun, -ane sone, quha in cais be the hand of God we be hopeit, will, and richt, and of equitie man, and aught to succede to us and to the gouernement of our realme. And knawing that all creaturis ar subiect to that inuincibill decret of the eternall, aims to render and gif by this life temporell (the hour and tyme quhair of is maist vncertaine) and in cais be decretis we be taken fra this life, during the tyme of his yingnitie, it maie be dowitit greiffie, that resistance, and troublis maie be maid to our said son, now natie prince of this our realme, in his tender yeres (being now deilitute of us) to succede to that royaume and kingdome, quhill maist iustlie of all lawis, aperteneis to him. Dubill inconuenience be Godis helpe and gud providence we mene to prevent, in such maner, that it fall not lie in the power of onie byrnatourall, subiects to resist Godis ordinaunce in that behalfe. And vnderstanding that na thing, eirdlie is maist toious, and happe to us, nor to se our said decret sone, in our awin life tyme peciabilie placit in that royaume, and honorabill estate quhairto, he iustly aucht and man succede to: we of the motherlie affectioun we heir toward our said onlie sone, haue renuncit, and dimittit, and be thir our letteris frelie, of our awin motiue will renuncis, & dimittis the gouernement, guiding and governing of this our realme of Scotland, liegis, and subiects thair of, and all introumission and dispositioun of onie casualiteis, properties, benefices, and offices, and all thingis aperteneing, or heir tofoir is knawin, or heirefter fall happen to apertene thairto, in fauouris of our said decret sone. To that effect, that he maie be plantit, placit, & possedit thairin, vse & exerce all thingis belangand thairto, as natie king, and prince of the samis, & siclike as we or onie our predecessours, kingis of Scottis, hes done in onie times bypast.

Attour, that this our dimissoun maie tak the maist solempne effect, and that nane pretend ignorance thair of, we haue giuin, grantit, and committit, and be thir our letteris, gentis, grantis, & committis our commissioun full, fre, and plane power, generall, & speciall command, to our traist counsillis, Patrike lord M. indesaie of the Biris, and William lord Ruthuen, and to ilk ane of thame coniunctie and seuerallie, to compeir befoze sa monie of the nobilitie, clergy, burgellis, and uther pepill of our realme, as fall happen to be assembleit to that effect in our burgh of Striuling, or anie uther place, or placis quhair it fall be thocht maist conuenient, at onie date or dais, and thair publiclie in thair presence, for us, in our name, and vpon our behalf dimit, and renunce the gouernement, guiding, & reuling of this our realme, liegis, and subiects thair of, all introumission with the propertie, casualtie, or utheris thingis aperteneing to us thairby, and all richt, and tittle that we had, hes, or maie haue be onie maner of way thairto, in fauouris of our said son, to that effect, that he maie be inaugurat, placit, and rotomit thairin, and the crowne rofall deliuerit to him, and be obeyit in all thingis concerning the samin, as we, or our predecessours hes bene in times bypast.

And in likewise be thir presents gentis, grantis, and committis our full, fre, and plane power, to our richt traist counsillis, James earle of Spoutoun, lord of Dalkeith, John earle of Atholl, &c: John earle of Mar, &c: Alexander earle of Glencarne, William earle of Pentecith, John maister of Graham, Alexander lord Home, Adam bishop of Dunelm, the processis of Dundee, Spontrots, or onie of thame, to ressaue the said renuntiatioun, and dimissoun in fauouris of our said son, and thair efter the retaining thair of, to plant, place, and inaugu-

raithin in the kingdome, and to do all ceremonies; requirit to put the crowne rofall vpon his head; in signe and tabin of the quhableing of him thairin, and in his name to make, and gif to the said nobilitie, clergy, burgellis, and utheris our kingis, his paince, and kingle githersublie, & lauchfull as effectis and to ressaue thair uthis, for due and lauchfull homage to be maid be thame to him, in all times cyming, as becumis subiects to thair natie king and prince: And generallie all and sundrie uther thingis to do, exerce, and vse, that for sure performance and accomplishment heirof maie, or can be done, firme and stable halband, and for to hold all and quhatsumuer thingis in our name, in the premissis leidis to be done, in the word and faithfull promeis of our prince. And ordanis thir our letteris gif neid be to be publiit at all places neidfull. Subscriuit with our hand, and giuin vnder our preite seill, at Lode, leuith the foure and twentieth dais of Julis, and of our reigne the five and twentieth yere, 1567.

The commission, in which the earle of Murreie is alone appointed to be regent of the yong king, and of his kingdome.



Be the grace of God, queene of Scots, to all & sundrie our iudgis, and ministeris of our lawis, liegis, and subiects, quhome it efteris, to quhais knalege thir our letteris fall cum, greting. Forsamelke as efter lang, grett, and intollerable painis, & labouris takin be us sen our arrinall within our realme, for gouernement thair of, and keeping of the liegis of the same in quietnes, we haue not anelie bene verit in our spirit, bodie, and sensis thairby, bot als at length as altogether sa verit thair of, that our habilltie, and strenght of bodie is not habill langer to indure the samin: thairfoze, and because na thing eirdlie can be maist confortabill and happe to us in this eird, nor in our life tyme, than to se our deir son, the natie prince of this our realme, placit in the kingdome thair of, and the crowne rofall set on his heid, we of our awin fre will, an speciall motiue, haue dimittit, and renuncit the gouernement, guiding, and governing of this our realme of Scotland, liegis, and subiects thair of, in fauouris of our said son, to that effect: that in all times heirefter, he maie peclablie, and quietlie enioie the samin, without troublis, an be obeyit as natie king, and prince of the samin be the liegis thair of.

And vnderstanding that (be resoun of his tender youth) he is not of habilltie in his awin persoun to administrate in his kingle royaume and gouernement, as equitie requiris, quhill that heirefter he cum to the yeres of discretioun; and als knawing the prioritie of blude standand betwixt us, our said sone, and our decret brother James erle of Spoutoun, lord Abrenethis, &c: and bandand experience of the naturall affectioun, and tenderlie lufe he hes in all times borne, and presentlie beires towardis us, the honour & estate of our said sone, of quhais lufe and fauour towardis him we can not bot assure our selfe: to quhome na greter honour, for, nor felicitie in eird can cum; nor to se our said sone inaugurat in his kingdome, seirit, reuerencit, and obeyit be his liegis thair of. In respect quhair of, and of the certanetie, and notoritie, of the honestie, habilltie, qualification, and sufficiencie of our said decret brother, to haue the cure and regiment of our said sone, realme, and liegis for saidis, during our said sonis yingnitie: we haue maid, namit, appointit, com-

mitit.

state, and ordain, and be our our letters patent, ap-  
point, make, constitute, and ordain, and be our our  
rest brother James earle of Murray, regent, and  
said dearest sonne, realme, and liegis forsaikes, con-  
fessing his unworthie and les age; and as he shall be  
be of the age of thirtene yeres compleit. And that  
our said brother be callit, during the said space fre-  
quent to our said sonne, his realme, and liegis.

So that our said sonne after the completing of the  
yeres said forsaikes, in his awin person may take upon  
him the said government, and use, and exerce all  
and thair priviledgis, honours, and thair immu-  
nities that appertenis to the office of ane king, als  
weill in governing his realme and pepill, according  
to the lawis, as in repressing the violence of sic as  
wold invade, or invade resist him or thair, or his  
authoritie resist, with power to our said dearest bro-  
ther James earle of Murray, in name, authoritie, and  
behallie of our said maist deir sonne, to ressaue resigna-  
tions of what summever landis halboin of him, or of  
offices, castles, towris, fortalices, milnes, fishings  
woodis, benefices, or pertinencies what summever, the  
samyn againe in our said sonis name to gif, and de-  
liver signatouris thair upon: and upon the giftis of  
waigris, nonentredis, and relevis of landis, and ma-  
riageris of airis falland, or that fall happen to fall in  
our said sonis handis as superiour thair of.

And als upon presentatioun of landis, benefices,  
ecclesiis of gntis monabbill and binnouabbill, bettis  
and takkis, respectis, remissiditis, supercedetis,  
and upon the dispositioun of offices vacand, or when  
they fall happen to fall, to subertie, and canse be  
past the seillis the said office of regentrie, to use and  
exerce in all thingis, priviledgis, and commoditeis,  
sicklike as frelie, and with als greit libertie, as ony  
regent, or gonernour to use, or our predecessouris  
hith in ony times bigane, and sicklike as gif eny  
heid, priviledge and article concerning the said office  
wer at leny expressit and amplifit in thir our let-  
teris. And to hold firme and stabill in the  
word and faith of ane prince, to what summever  
thingis our said dearest brother in the premissis hap-  
pinnis to do. Charging heirfor to all, and thair  
our iudgis, and ministeris of law, liegis, and suber-  
tis forsaikes, to answer and obey to our said dearest  
brother, in all and thair thingis concerning the  
said office of regentrie, as he and like ane of to  
will declar to us luffing subertis, to our said maist  
deir sonne, and under all paine, charge, and offense  
that he and like ane of to may commit, and thair  
againis his mathe in that past. Subertit with  
our hand, and gein under our prete seill, at Loch-  
leuin the 14 day of Julij. And of our reigne, the  
twentie five yetr.

These commissions being read, the bishop of Ar-  
gyle, with two superintendents, proceeded to the co-  
onation: the earle of Morton, and the lord Home  
toke the oth for the king, that he should rule in the  
faith, feare, and love of God, and to mainteine the  
religion then preached and exercised in Scotland,  
and to persecute all aduersaries to the same. The  
whole ceremonie was done in the Scots English  
tong, the quene mother to the king remaining at  
that time prisoner in Lochleuin. But before we  
enter into the augmentation of the historie of this  
kings time, I thinke it not unmeet to deliuer one  
thing, which I haue with some wonder obserued in  
all the kings of Scotland descended of the Ste-  
wards: that neuer ante one of them except the first  
second king of that name was of the age of man,  
or of one and twentie yeres when they put on the  
kinglie ornaments. A rare thing, and not unmeet to  
be considered of, although we can not enter into the

secret judgments of God. The proofe of which mat-  
ter, being after this sort, I haue set downe in a ca-  
lendar of the orderlie descent of those kings. In the  
compilation of the yeres of whose age and first  
coming to the crowne I haue followed Lescus.

Robert Stewart the first king of that surname,  
was 27 yeres old when he began his reigne, in the  
yere of our redemption 1370. John Stewart son  
of the said Robert began his reigne 1390. These two  
alone were of full age, when the title of the king-  
dome descended vnto them. James Stewart, the  
first of the name of James, the third of the name  
of Stewards, was within age at the death of his  
father, when the title and crowne descended vnto  
him: who although he receiued not the crowne at  
Scotland because he was about eightene yeres ho-  
norable kept as a prisoner in England) untill he  
was of manis age: yet being king in right, and the  
reignie intrested in him when he was within age,  
I doubt not to make him king from the death of his  
father, and so within age to haue obtained the king-  
dome, though not the kinglie use thereof, begin-  
ning his reigne in the yeres of our redemption  
1424.

James the second, and the fourth of the Ste-  
wards, was six yeres old when he was crowned, in  
the yere of Christ 1436. James the third, and fifth of  
the Stewards, being seven yeres old, was crow-  
ned king of Scotland in the yere that the word be-  
came flesh 1460. James the fourth, and first of the  
Stewards, being threene yeres of age, was ado-  
ned with the ensignes of the kingdome, in the yere  
of our saluation 1488. James the fifth, and the se-  
uenth of the Stewards, being one yere, five mo-  
neths, and ten daies old, was crowned king of Scot-  
land, in the yere from the birth of Christ 1513. Ma-  
rie the eight of the name of Stewards, being but  
seven daies old, was crowned quene of Scots, in  
the yere of Christ 1542. Henrie Stewart, sonne  
to the earle of Lennox, and husband to the said  
Marie Stewart, was not one and twentie yeres  
old, when he came to be king in the right of his wife  
Marie: for he was not past one and twentie when he  
was slain, as before in the yere 1567. Charles  
James Stewart, the first of the name of James, and  
the ninth of the surname of Stewards, sonne of the  
said Henrie Stewart and Marie Stewart, being  
about a yere old, began his reigne in the yere that  
God became man 1567. To whome Andrew Mel-  
vine (this yere 1585 in England) did whilste he  
was in Scotland dedicate these verses following:

*Dum tu, magne puer patribus das iura vocati,  
Et populi pensas crimina lance pari,  
Iura tibi, tuum ille solon, tuum ille Lycurgum,  
Quarecti & puris fontibus hausta dedit,  
Nobilium regum exemplis obsecrat auis,  
Hic, ubi quid fugias, quidue sequaris habes.  
Felix, si fugias fugienda, sequenda sequaris!  
Felix cum populo tuq, patre, tuo.*

There was order taken by the magistrates of  
the reformed churches, assembled for that purpose,  
touching the discipline of excommunication, and the  
excommunicated, diuided into these heads: that is  
to say, what crimes be worthy of that severe cen-  
sure of the church by excommunication: how the  
minister shall behaue himselfe in publike audience  
of the people: of confession of the penitent: of the of-  
fenses which merit publike repentance: of the or-  
der to proceed therein: the forme and the order of  
publike repentance: an admonition to the church:  
a thanksgiving for the correction and repentance  
of the censured: the forme of the excommunication:  
the prayer for the obstinate that will not repent af-  
ter that censure: the prayer before the excommuni-  
cation:

The kings  
oth.

Fr. Thin.

390  
holde  
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the p  
thor  
Seco

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the  
theft  
And  
race

390  
Fr. T  
Buck  
lib.

Out of the  
booke printed  
thereof.

cation: the matter to imocate the name of Iesus, with the sentence of excommunication: the order to receiue the excommunicate againe into the church: the forme of the absolution: and lastlie the prater for the church. Which booke containing the discourse of these matters at large, with authoritie of scriptures and reasons, was set forth by John Knox minister, and commanded to be printed by the generall assemblee, in the yere of Christ 1569, beinge seene and allowed by those which follow, appointed to that function by the said assemblee: whose names were John Willike, maister John Crag, Robert Dunt, John Kohn, David Lindsay, William Crichton, James Greg, &c.

A parliament  
holden at  
Edinburgh.

On the fifteenth of December a parliament begun, beinge holden at Edinburgh before the earle of Murray lord regent, in the which diuers acts and statutes were deuised, made, and ratified: as first concerning the quenes demission of hir crowne, and resignation thereof made to hir sonne king James the first. And likewise concerning the instituting of the earle of Murray in the regencie of the realme, which he took upon him the two and twentieth day of August last past, according to hir letters of commission and procuracion aboue specified. Also there was an act made for the abolishing of the pope, and his usurped authoritie. And an other act for the annulling of former acts made in parliament for maintenance of superstition and idolatrie. And hereto was annexed a confession of the faith and doctrine receiued by the protestants of the realme of Scotland, authorized in the same parliament. There was also an act made for the indemnitie of those that had leuied warre, and apprehended the quene at Carbarrie hill, the fifteenth of Iulie last past, and concerning the detaining of hir in Lochleuin.

An act for  
the abolishing  
of the popes au-  
thoritie in  
Scotland.

The castell of  
Dunbar and  
the castell of  
Insketh to be  
rased.

Fr. Thin,  
Buchanan,  
lib. 19.

Moreover, it was ordeined by an act passed in this parliament, that the castell of Dunbar, and the castell of Insketh, should be demolished and rased doونه to the earth. To be byie, there were one and forty acts or statutes made and established in this parliament, as by the register thereof it maye appere. In the first beginning of the spring, the gouernor determined to make a progresse ouer the realme, with the iudges that were appointed to aduise him: which he ment to do, to the end that he might amend and establish such things as were indamaged by the tumults of the yere before. Which matter working diuerse opinions in those of the quenes faction, did cause that Metellane and John Balfour sought meanes to deliuer the quene out of prison. Touching which matter also the Hamiltons labored who beinge next to the crowne, if the young king were gone, and the quene made auaie, both which perhaps was no great matter to procure) did soine with the quenes faction and fauourers. Whose part in like manner the earles of Atholl and Huntly refused not to take, because the mother of the one, and the wife of the other, were of the familie of the Hamiltons.

William Murray of Tillbartine, for his contrarie opinion in the controuersies of religion, and for priuat quarrels, beinge estranged and grieved from and with the gouernor, did not onelie now depart from the kings faction (although before he showed great diligence in taking the quene) but did also drawe with him a great companie of his friends invited therunto with no small hope of benefit to rise vnto them thereby. And as these were heads and chiefe of such as sought the quenes deliuerance: so there were a great manie other, whom priuat necessity, secret grudge, desire of reuenge, hope of advancement, and necessity of alliance to those which are before named, procured to follow, and to further

the cause of the quenes libertie. In the meane time, whilst the regent was at Glasgowe to minister lawe to such as required it (and that he had there heard of these things) this determination of setting the quene at libertie was put in execution, the manner whereof was in this sort. There was in the castell of Lochleuin, wherein the quene was kept as prisoner, the mother of the regent, and three of his brethren by an other father, with a great troupe of women: but none were admitted to see the quene, save such as were well knowne or sent thither by the regent.

Of all this household companie, there was none that seemed so meet to the quene to execute anie matter, as was George Douglas the youngest brother of the regent, beinge a man of a pleasant wit, and easilie to be overtaken with the faire speeches of women. This man had accesse vnto the quene to playe at cards, and to vse hir with other courtlie pastimes: who determininge to set hir at libertie, did with promises and gifts win the seruants of the castell to fauour him and his enterprises. Whereupon this Douglas (not unwitting as was thought to his mother) omitted nothing that might seme to serue for the quenes libertie: the which although manie there did perceiue & took not in verie good part, giuing intelligence therof to the regent; yet he gaue such credit to his owne people there, that he changed (as hath Buchanan) none of the keepers in that place, but onelie commanded his brother George to depart out of the Island. This said George, when he passed into the next countie adioining to the lake, in which the castell stood, did more liberallie than before (by corrupting the keepers with monie) consult with the quene of all hir affaires.

Wherefore not onelie the Scots (whome the present state of things did mislike) beinge drawn into that faction; but also the Frenchmen by James Hamilton (which had bene regent not manie yeres before) and James archbishop of Glasgowe solicited therunto, the Scots promised their bodilie force, and the French promised their helping purse. Now about the end of Aprill, an ambassador came out of France requiring in the name of his king, that he might haue leaue to go to the quene: which if he were denied, he made theu that he would presentlie depart. Wherevnto the gouernor answered, that it was not in his power to grant it: that the quene was not committed to prison by him, and that he could not determine anie thing herein without the knowledge which first restrained hir of libertie, and after by decree confirmed that deed: but he would not be idle in pleasing his sister, and such a friend as the king (his maister) was, to do all that he might: and further, that he would take order for an assemblee of the nobilitie the twentieth daie of the next moneth. Untill which time the ambassador seemed somewhat appeased, and the regent applied the administration of the lawes.

On the second of Maie, in the yere 1568, at supper time, the quene escaped out of Lochleuin, by the meanes and helpe of George Douglas brother to the lord of Lochleuin. The lord Seton, the lord of Riccarton, and James Hamilton of Dribston, were readie to receiue hir, and conueied hir ouer the quenes ferrie, first to the lord Seton his house, and from thence to Hamilton castell, where she remained till the thirtieth daie of Maie beinge thursdaie, gathering in the meane time such forces as she might from all places. The earle of Murray lord regent was in Glasgowe, at what time the quene escaped out of Lochleuin; and upon knowledge had thereof, ment at the first to haue withdrawen himselfe to Sterling: but suddenly changing his purpose in that behalfe, he determined to continue at Glasgowe,

1568.  
The quene  
escape out of  
Lochleuin.

The quene  
gathereth a  
power.

The regents determination to stae at Glasfow.

Fr.Thin. Buchanan,lib. 19.

coto, which is not pass eight miles from Hamilton, because he was perswaded, that if the should shrinke backe neuer so little, he should incourage his aduersaries, and discourage his friends, and so consequentlie weaken his part greatlie. \* Which they also supposed was the more weakened, by the departure of Robert Boid (vnto the quenes part) having untill that time twone a great opinion of his constancie towards the regent.

This man, being of a famous familie, was now in the decate of his house meanelie and sparinglie brought vp vnder his father, a valiant gentleman, and one that followed the frugalitie of the Scots, who (willing to prepare a waie to the readuance of his house, as manie of his other kintred did) was now content to seeke meanes therefore: for which cause both he and his father did first follow the Hamiltons then ruling all things. But after that their gouernment was posseed ouer from them to the quene mother the regent; and that contention was moued about religion: he ioined himselfe to the lords of the congregation, from whome his father was most estranged: in which this Robert Boid firmelie continued untill the quenes returne out of France. By meanes thereof, there was a great opinion of his valure & wisdom, on whose counsell Coline Campbell earle of Atholl did almost wholie depend. But when by chance certeine of the nobilitie had conspired or conspired (to vse Buchanans word) for no euill act, but for the defence of the king, he subscribed to the same league.

But after, with like lightnesse both he and the earle of Argile (which hong vpon his aduise) wrote vnto the quene euerie thing that was done in the same assemblee, from which time this Boid was partaker of all the quenes secrets against his old friends, who with the quene did yet obtaine no greater opinion of constancie, than he did amongst others of lightnesse and inconstancie. But after that the quene was imprisoned, and the earle of Spurreie made regent, he went then to the part of the gouernor: with whome he shewed such proofe of his wit and industrie, that he was admitted into the priue counsels of the regent, contrarie to the opinion of others. But after when the matter should be tried by fight betwene the regent & the quene (after his escape from Lochleuin) he fled againe to the quene. ] All which notwithstanding, the thirteenth daie of Maie afore mentioned, the quene with hir power marched from Hamilton, by the south side of Clebe toward Dunbarton; and out of Glasfow on the other part marched the lord regent with his forces: so as at length both the armies met at a place called the Langside, nere to the house of Cathcart within two miles of Glasfow.

The armies met at Langside.

Lords on the quenes part.

Lords on the regents part.

They ioine in battell.

There were on the quenes part the earles of Argile, Cassiles, Eglington, and Rothes, Claud Hamilton sonne to the duke of Chatelerault, the lords Seton, Hammerpill, Pesser, Borthwicke, Leuingston, Herries, Haywell, Sauquhar, Boid and Rolfe, lards and knights, Lochinwar, Bas, Mauchton, Dalhousie, Rolien the striffe of Aire, sir James Hamilton, and manie others. On the regents part were these accounted as principall, the earles of Morton, Mar, Glencarne, Menteith, the maister of Graham, the lords Hume, Lindie, Ruthuen, Sempill, Ogiltrie and Cathcart, of lards and knights, Bargaue, Blacubhan, Drumlanrig, Selsford, Lus, Buchanan, Tulibardin, Peteur, Grange, Lochleuin, Levington, and sir James Balfour. At the first ioining there was a verie sharpe encounter: for after they had bestowed their shot of harquebuzes and arrows, they fell to it with speares and swords. But at length, after the quarters of an houres fight, the

quenes part was put to flight.

The victorie remained with the regent, who suffered none to be slaine but those that were killed in the fight, before they turned their backs; among the which were foureteene of the surname of the Hamiltons killed. There were taken prisoners about three hundred, of which number the principall were these; the lords Seton and Rolfe, sir James Hamilton, and manie other of that surname. Of the regents part, the lord Hume was hurt in the leg and face, and the lord Ogiltrie in the necke, by the lord Herries; and the lord Lindie, and the lards of Drumlanrig, and of Grange, bare themselves verie valiantlie that day, falling not in anie point that belonged to the dutie of hardie capitains. The quenes part was thought to benere at the point of sir thousand men, and the regents was reckoned to be foure thousand: so that there were ten thousand men in the field that daie, that vpon the one side and the other.

The quenes part discomfited.

Foureteene of the Hamiltons slaine. Prisoners taken.

The earle of Huntlee was coming forwarde to haue assisted the quenes part, but the battell was stricken, and his people discomfited (as ye haue heard) yer he could come, and so he returned. In this battell the valiance of an Ireland gentleman named Spacferlane, stood the regents part in great stead. For in the hottest brunt of the fight, he came in with two hundred of his friends and countiemen, and so manfullie gaue in vpon the flanke of the quenes people, that he was a great cause of the disordering of them. This Spacferlane had bene latelie before (as I haue heard) condemned to die for some outrage by him committed: and obtaining pardon (through sute of the countesse of Spurreie) he recompensed that elemencie by this peece of seruice now at this battell, [which was (as saith Buchanan) fought the thirde daie of Maie, and the eleuenth after the quene had escaped out of prison.]

The earle of Huntlee coming forward to aide the quene.

Fr.Thin.

The quene perceiving the ouershot of his people, fled from the place where she stood to behold the battell, and withdrew to Crawford towne, and so by the Sauquhar to Dunbarton in Gallowate: and after she had taried there two or three daies, she took ship and passed to Worthington in England, where she was staied & conueied to Caerleill, and from thence to Bolton castell, belonging to the lord Scrope, who with sir Rafe Sadler (being sent downe for that purpose) had the custodie of hir, till at length she was committed vnto the earle of Shrewesburie. \* The French ambassador, which looked for the good successe of this battell, and did promise to himselfe assured victorie on the quenes part, vnderstanding the contrarie, and being deceived of his former hope, changed his copie; and with his wife and guides hastened all he could into England, without bidding the regent farewell. In which iourne he was robbed by thieves: but James Dotoglasie, capitaine of the marches of Drumlanrig, did this honor to the ambassador, that he had all his goods restored vnto him.]

The quene of Scots fleth into England.

Fr.Thin. Buchanan lib. 19.

But now to the doings in Scotland. The regent sent to summon Hamilton castell, but the answer was respited till the next daie: and then he that had the charge came to Glasfow, and offered the keyes to the regent. The castell of Draxan was also yielded at the same time to the regent. The eighteenth of Maie, the regent made proclamation, that the inhabitants of the shires of Perns, Angus, Fife, Mers, Louthian, Kile, and Carricke, should prouide themselves of vittels for fiftene daies, and to meet him at Beggan the tenth of Iune, to ride with him into the south west parts of Scotland, to chastise certeine theues, and other disobedient persons. Herevpon, the eleuenth of Iune, the regent marched south of Edinburgh, and came that night to Beggan. The army being assembled, contained foure or five thousand

The regents iourne into the south west parts of Scotland.

land horsemen verie well appointed, beside a thousand footmen, gunners and halberdiers: of boies and young men that went with the cariage, there were about foure thousand.

The castell of Boghall, pertaining to the lord Fleming, was surrendred to them. The twelfth of June Skirling castell was rased (a faire house) to the end that other understanding therof, might be put in greater feare. That night they came to Cratsoy, where the castell was to them surrendred; it belonged unto sir James Hamilton, whom they had in their hands. The thirteenth of June they marched to Saucher, a castell, the which being rendred they spared, because the lord Greichton the owner thereof, promised at a certeine daie to come to the regent to Edinburgh. The fourteenth of June they came to Barbacast, where they late that night, and the lord Mederborne was sent to speake with the lord of Louchinware. Wednesday the fifteenth of June, they marched to a place called saint John Schlagan, staieng there in trust of the lord of Louchinwares comming unto them, but he came not: whereupon, the next daie being the sixteenth of June, they rased the house of Berumure, and an other house also, for that the owners were friends to the said Louchinware.

The seventeenth of June they came to a gentlemen house, standing by the water of Ur, where divers gentlemen came in, and were receiued. The eighteenth of June they marched to Dunfreis, and remained there all the next daie. A strong house standing in that towne, & appertaining to the lord Sparwell, was offered unto them. Divers of the Sparwells, Johnstons, Pretwines, Grahams, and Bels, came unto the regent, and offering themselves to be obedient, were receiued. Two daies before this, the lord Sparwell, the lords of Johnson, Colvill, and Louchinwar, had bene at Dunfreis with a thousand men, and spent all the vittels. It was thought that the lord Sparwell would haue come in, if the other had not counsellid him to the contrarie. The twentieth of June they marched to Hoddum, a place belonging to the lord Herries: a thousand of the broken men were assembled and offered skirnish; two or thre were taken, they late within a mile of the regent that night.

The one and twentieth the house was pebbled, and the custodie thereof committed to the lord of Drumlanrig that was appointed warden of those marches. It was thought verie strong, so that the defendants might haue kept it longer if they had bene disposed. Great hunger began to pinch the armie; a pint of wine was sold at seven shillings Scotch; and no bread to be had for antimonie. The regent sent south the earle of Morton, and the lord Hume with a thousand men, to trie if they might haue dravven the broken men to a chase: but it would not be; for they went their waies, and would not tarry it. The two and twentieth of June the campe late still; but the regent with a thousand men went to Anland, and had it pelluered unto him. Here he met with the lord Scrope, and after returned to the campe. The thre and twentieth of June they went to Lochmaben and receiued the castell, the which the regent beliewed to be Drumlanrig: but some of the Sparwells being close by hid within an orchard of the house; after the regent was gone, they came out and set the house againe into their hands.

Two houses of lord Johnson taken by the regent. The same daie, two houses belonging to the lord of Johnson, the one named Lochmaben, and the other Lochmaben, were taken, but not burnt: because the lord Johnson had put in writte to come in by a day unto the regent. The same daie they took great store of cattell; and that night with a shot of the great artillery, they smitten threes among the Scots.

thers that came and approched verie nere to the armie, as the maner of the pickers is. The armie late that night at Milton holms. The saure and twentieth of June they came to Peebles, and the next day to Edinburgh, so ending that iourne; in the which they had passed through the countries of Clidestdale, Gallowaie, Piddesdale, Annandale, & Tweedale. Such a doo and great trouble arose within Scotland, by reason that the Hamiltons and their adherents made parts against the regent, and those other lords that gouerned vnder the king; whereof as I haue no certeine notes, so I must passe the same with silence.

\* Whilist these things were thus in doing, letters came to the regent from the queene of England: for she was perswaded by such as were fled with the queene of Scots into England, that there was great iniurie done unto the queene of Scots, being hardned with high matters, through the enuie of hir euill subiects, in which chieflie the kinglie authoritie was reuiled, and the regiment of sacred maiestie defaced. A thing which did not alone pertaine to the priuat person of the queene of Scots, but to the example of all other princes. Which euill of expelling kings, was speedlie and soundlie to be prevented, least it might creepe anie further. By which and other perswasions, the queene of England required of the regent to send sufficient men, that should declare to hir the order of all things as they were done, and that should answer all such reproches as were laied against him.

Touching which matter, although it appeared grievous and heauie in it selfe, to call things in question which before were by parlement established; and to bying in vye a new kind of iudgement of their causes before forein iudges and kings who were their enimies, and first perswaded against the regent by such as maliced him and his faction; and that after a sort the same seemed dangerous and full of shame: yet on the other side there were manie things that enforced him to accept that request of the queene of England, although it were vniust. Wherefore when he had determined to send ambassadors, and that they could not agree who they should be, sith the chieffest, and those of the nobilitie refused it: at length the regent professed that he would take that iourne upon him. For the performance whereof he chose certeine persons to accompanie him into England, contrarie to the mind of William Spetellan, which onelie denied and stood against it. Wherefore he caried the said Spetellan with him (sauozing the queene) not doubting in the end by one meanes or other to win him to his part.

The rest that went willinglie with him, were James Douglas, Patrike Lindseie, being of the nobilitie; the bishop of Orknie, & the abbat of Fermilindon, churchmen; James Macgill, and Henrie Balnane, lawyers of the college of iudges. To whom as the ninth was ioined George Buchanan author of the Scotch historie: with whom the regent accompanied to the number of 100 horse; toke his iourne into England, and came the fourth mones of October to Poike, to the assemble appointed there by the queene of England. On which day, and almost at the same houre, Thomas Howard duke of Northfolke came thither also; to which duke were associat in commission, to heare the controuersie of the Scots, the earle of Souler, and sir Rafe Sadler knight. After a few daies, came thither such as were sent by the queene of Scots, which did complaine of hir unkind subiects, and required helpe to restore hir to hir kingdome. These men being heard (fundered from the regent and the earls) did (after they had protested that they came not unto them as iudges, hauing anie right to make lawes to bind

Great trouble in Scotland.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 19.

bind them) with manie words open the injuries which the Scottish subiects had done unto their quene, and required of the quene of England, that either she would perswade hir unkind people to receive their prince againe; or if they refused the same, that she would give them an armie, with which they might compell them thereto.

In few hours after this, the regent (calling the matter to the deciding of law, before equall arbiters) did contend (sith nothing was done but by right, by law, by the ancient custome of their countrie, by the determination of the assemble of parliament, and by the subscription of manie such as were there present to accuse them) that he alone by his authoritie could not bind the same: but when the English commissioners had denied that they could be satisfied with those things done at home, & here pronounced by the Scots, except some cause were shewed that enforced them to severellie to pronounce against their quene; the regent answered that he did chieflie see that matter, least he should be driven to accuse his quene and sister. Which he denied to do, not willing to laie abroad to foreign nations his wicked deeds, as Buchanan fearmeth them. To the contrarie whereof he would not be enforced, unless the quene of England would promise to defend the cause of the now king, and to take him into his protection: if he did manifestlie prove, that the quene of Scots had murdered the king of Scots his husband. Whereunto the English answered, that they had authoritie onelie to heare both parts, and to declare their whole request unto their quene.

By reason whereof, in the end they wrote to the quene of England all the state of their doings; who did write backe, that the earle of Murray should send one or more to the English court, fullie to informe hir thereof, sith she would do all therein that belonged unto hir. Which letters received, the earle of Murray sent Metellan (a man before suspected, and that did after toime in conference with John Lesle bishop of Ross) to the court of England, associated with James Macgill. Now after these men were come to the quene at London, it was thought most convenient by hir and hir counsell, that the regent himselfe should be present, when all matters of controuersie were intreated upon. For which cause, sending part of his companie backe into Scotland, the regent came with a small traine to London: where the same difficultie was objected against him which was done at Forke: to which he answered as before. Whilst these things were doing at London, the quene of Scots did by James Balfoure move warres in Scotland. For the furtherance whereof, she wrote letters to hirs and Bothwells friends, and made manie deputies to execute hir authoritie in Scotland.

When the regent saw himselfe thus beset on euerie side, he determined to returne with all speed into Scotland aswell as he might, without dispatch of that for which he came. Wherefore the English still instantlie vying him to tell the cause (which being untold, they could not determine any thing therein) that moued them to do those things in Scotland: the regent (loath to offend the quene of England) made a long protestation how unwilling he was to accuse the quene, and his sister; and therefore requested one thing, that they which were the occasion to lead him into this battell might be present thereat, for because he would vse their witness in the weightiest matters. Which for manie great reasons being denied by the English, the quene of England resistered, that the quene of Scots (by force and armes expelled) might be restored home: for thereto had giving the regent a day, to shew cause why the re-

nengers of the kings death had taken armes against the quene; although the erle of Murray were none of them: for he was in France at the time of the deed done. Wherefore the regent shewing all he could against the quene of Scots for the defense of hir aduersaries; in the end, the quene of England deferring the same to another day, permitted the regent to depart home to appeale the troubles there, and that he should leaue some one of his behind him, to answer all such euils as should be objected against him.

But the regent desired them whilst he was there, that his accusers might be brought out. Whereupon the accusers being present, and saing that they had not then any thing to saie; but that they would further shew their accusation where it pleased the quene: the matter with much controuersie ended on both parts, & the counsell brake vp without any final sentence therein. But whilst the regent remained thus in England (as is a little before touched) there were manie things without successe attempted by the quene of Scots followers. For James Hamilton (who a little before had bene gouernor) being grieved with the mishap of things at home, falling out contrarie unto his mind, did therefore depart into France, where (removed from all companie, and onelie attended upon with a man or two) he did secretlie liue to himselfe.

But when the quene of Scots was escaped the prison of Lochleuin, and that she was afterwards subdued in battell, being within a few daies after compelled to land in England; the Frenchmen that could not draw the earle of Murray (now by his friends called home into his countrie) into their faction, thought it best for manie reasons (sith they might not for the troubles in France send him succor or monie) to raise by the said Hamilton against the earle of Murray, and especiallie at that time whilst the regent was in England. Wherefore he committing out of his den abode into the world, intrusted by the French with a few golden crownes, and overcharged with manie faire promises, was importuned by his friends and kindred, whilst he hastened from England into Scotland, that the quene of England with the authoritie of the quene of Scots, would induce the earle of Murray to deliver by his regentship of Scotland unto him; sith that place was of right due unto him (by the maners and lawes of all nations, but chieflie by the custome of his countrie) as nearest in blood, and next in succession.

For the proofe whereof, it is not necessarie to reckon by the memorie of historians from the first times, considering: it is knowne to all men, that gouernors haue bene given to those of young yeares (not able to rule the kingdome) of such as haue bene nearest of blood. For so after the death of James the third, Robert his uncle had the gouernement in the absence of James the first; and Murdace the son of the same Robert succeeded him therein. And of late time in our remembrance, John duke of Albany did gouerne the young yeares of James the fifth; and Hamilton himselfe, in the minority of Marie the quene that now is, being as then neither fit for a husband or a kingdome; did a few yeares rule all the affaires of Scotland. Who now by certaine rebels, was through vniuersall voices expelled thence of with force and violence, and that (which is worse) a bastard is advanced thereto in contempt of lawfull blood. Which honor, if it were restored unto him, he would forthie appeale all those civill battles; and restore the quene of Scots unto hir kingdome, without any force or tumult of armes. Whereunto the king of Scots legats did answer, that Hamilton did not onelie demand a thing quite contrarie

contrarie to the lawes and old customs of Scotland; but also a thing most vniust, if no authoritie of law were against it. For our ancestors (by reason of many murders committed by those of the kings blood) almost a thousand three hundred yeares past, did change the order in creating of their kings. For whereas before, they which were of the familie of Fergusius, the first king of that name, were in the life of the king chosen after to reigne, not as nearest of blood; but as persons most worthy to weild a kingdome: Kenneth the third (to the end to take awaie from the court all treacherie towards the kings familie, and cruell murders of kindreds amongst themselves) did establish that order which is now obserued in creating of our kings; which was, that the next in blood should be advanced to the place of the deceased king.

But afterwards, when men were taught by the successe of things, that it could scarce be chosen; but that in such inconstancie of fortune, the right of the chiefeest magistrat-must sometime light vpon children and vpon heires also vnfit for gouernement, they did ordeine, that he should be chosen to the administration of the publike wealth; which did excell others in wealth and wisdom. Which course our ancestors haue kept almost these six hundred yeares, leauing the kingdome whole & sound to posteritie. According to the which, when Robert Bruce was dead, there were gouernors chosen by voices: which were Thomas Randolph earle of Murrie, Donald earle of Mar, Andrew Murrie, John Randolph, & Robert Stewart. For sometime, as manie were chosen gouernors together; so when James the second was a child, Alexander Levingston, being no kin to the king, no not so much as of the nobilitie, but onelie a knight, was appointed gouernor to the young king.

Which may not be excused, in saying that the same was then so done, because there wanted men of the kings blood to supplie those places. For at that time were liuing John Kennedie head of the familie, the kings kinsman by the sister of James the first; and the vncle by his fathers side: James Kennedie also, bishop of saint Andrews, a man of most account in the kingdome for all kinds of vertue, being borne of the kings aunt; and Douglas also, earle of Angus, with Archembald earle of Douglas, both of the kings blood; whereof the last was in riches and power almost equall to the king, but far beyond the wealth and power of all others; of whome, none did ever complaine to the parlement, when they were put besides the gouernement, and others not so nere of blood appointed thereunto. Not long after, foure tutors were appointed to James the third, which were not made in respect of blood; but chosen by the voices of the nobilitie.

And although of late, John duke of Albanye was by the nobilitie called out of France to the gouernment of Scotland, during the tender yeeres of James the first, and confirmed in the same by publike decrees of parlement; yet was it not giuen vnto him in respect of nearnesse of blood. For he had Alexander his elder brother in life, who although perhaps he was inferior to the duke; yet he was farre aboue James Hamilton (in all kind of vertue) which did sometimes reach after that place. But in the absence of James the first, Robert his vncle ruled the kingdome. But by what right? Was he admitted thereunto for nearnesse of blood? No fruitie.

What then? Was he chosen of the people? No. How then was he made? Marie when king Robert the third was not sufficient to rule the kingdome, either for strength of bodie or mind, he did substitute Robert his brother as his deputie, & commended his

children to his gouernment; who in the end furnished Dauid the eldest, and also threatened death vnto the younger sonne James, which he did auoid by fleeing Scotland. Which Robert being in the possession of authoritie by tyrannie (and his brother killed with thought) did leaue the same to Murdac his sonne. So that it cannot be doubted what the mind of the last king Robert was to his brother, for he would neuer (if he had liued and bene in health) haue made him tutor of his children, whom at the houre of his death he curst as the butcher of his children.

That time also, in which this Hamilton gouerned, doth remember vnto vs manie things (though what sooner was then done, is no proof that it was well done) which are to be considered of. For when the cardinall Beton did labor by subtiltie to inuade the chiefe gouernement, this Hamilton rather leaning to the hatred which good men did beare towards Beton, than trusting to the fauor of the people towards himselfe, did leape into the empty place of a gouernor; in which he ruled with much crueltie and couetousnesse, and in few yeeres after, both sold the gouernment (obtained by force) and the quene, whom he had vnder his authoritie. At what time was shewed the fauour which the people bare vnto him; when they preferred the gouernement of a strange woman, before the bondage which they had vnder him.

You see now (I hope) the request of the Hamiltons to be against our countrie lawes, and decrees of our ancestors, and that so contrarie vnto them, that wanting other sufficient arguments, he is constrained to confirme the same onelie with lies. But if there were anie such custome, I suppose there is none but doth see how vniust it were. For what can be more vnrighfull, than to commit yong, weakie, and faultlesse yeeres to his faith, which doth baillie either looke or with for the death of the pupill: whose whole familie hath alwaies bene at baillie and bondage with the house of the king that now is? What defense can be here by nearnesse of blood against old malice, vnmeasurable couetousnesse, and the headie violence of (alreadie tasted) tyrannie? Laodice the quene of Cappadocia is supposed to haue killed hir owne children, as they came to yeeres of discretion; and to haue bought the small continuance of hir gouernement with the blood of hir sonnes.

Wherefore, if the mother spared not hir owne flesh, for the gaine of short authoritie; what will old enimities do, inflamed to crueltie with the brands of couetousnesse (nay rather what is to be thought that they will not do) against a child, which deferreth respect of their hope of gouernement? If this example seeme ouer old or obscure to anie man, or to be ouer farre set, I will lay downe some nearer home, and those most notable. Who is so ignorant of this late, he done, that he knoweth not that Calcas Sforza (growne to discretion, a husband, and sonne in law to a most mightie king) was slaine by his vncle Lodowike; or to whom are the calamities vnknowne, which followed so cruell a parricide and kin-slayer? For the most beautifull countrie of Italie was almost brought thereby to utter destruction: the familie of the Sforties, the mother of manie a valiant person cleane destroyed, and the barbarous people (from whose crueltie and couetousnesse nothing was safe) brought into the pleasant places about Padus. Who is he that is borne in Britaine, that hath not heard of the crueltie of Richard (the third king of that name in England) against the children of his brother? But with what bloodshed was that in the end purged?

Now, with these did not feare to do such evils to their

their nearest blood, by the onelie enforcing desire to gouerne, being otherwise worthy persons: what shall we looke for from him, whose inconstancie of mind all the Scots doe knowe? Whose vnskillfull gouernement they haue tried with manie slaughters? And (which is more) whose familie not content with the murder of this kings great grandfather, did go about to intrap his grandfather by the mothers side, whilst he was in life; and when he could not kill the grandfather by the fathers side, he thrust the poore father out of the kingdome, brought forth the mother to be slaine as a sacrifice, & sold his kingdome (when they could not inioy it) to strangers: out of which bondage the (by the prouidence of God) being deliuered, they haue throwne themselves into these troubles in which they now are. Whereby we may easilie vnderstand, what the iudgement of the common people was touching that matter, in that those men doe now seeme to be deliuered out of a prison of miserable bondage, and to behold the sweet light of libertie, when they (which knew not how to order it) did sell their gouernment to a strange woman.

These things being thus heard on both sides before the councell of England, the queene thereof by his said councell declared to Hamilton, that he requiured an vnusurp'd thing, and that he should not hope for arie aid from him; and that the hath promised the kings ambassadoe, that Hamilton should not depart England, before that the said ambassadoe had leaue likewise to go home. After that these things were done, and that the regent somewhat indifferently dispatched his affairs in England, he obtained leaue to depart, and was honorably conducted home with the English, who sufficientlie garded him: but especially the nobilitie and companie of the north parts, sith it was great honor for his maiestie safelie to returne him home, who (vpon his letters had) was come out of his owne countrie. Which regent coming to Edinburgh the next day after the kalends of February, hee was there receiued with great pompe.

Few daies after this, those of the kings faction assembled at Strueling, where the regent declared vnto them what he had done in England; which being well liked, was in the end confirmed by all the nobilitie. Much about that time, James Hamilton chiefe of that familie came out of England, being by the queene of Scots authoris'd with a new and arrogant letter: in that he called him his father, and made him his vicar and deputie of the kingdome. This man at his first coming made proclamation, that no man should obeye arie other than such as were substituted by him. Wherevpon those of the kings part (bestowing summes of monie vpon soldiers, to make them readie, if need required, to the vttermost conflict) met on a day appointed at Glasgow.

But when there was a great assemble of the common people at Hamilton, more than they looked for, a meanes of agreement was attempted, with this condition: that Hamilton, coming to Glasgow, should acknowledge the king for chiefe gouernor; which if he did, all other things should easilie be agreed; but if he denied that, he should come in vaine: all which he promised to doe, and the kings armie was dismissed. When he came to Glasgow, they obtained their former goods and honors the same day, in which he and his friends professed themselves subjects to the king: but yet so, that in the meane time they should remaine in prison, or else giue pledges of their next kin; with further notice, that if arie of the said part would so doe, they should also be receiued on the same covenants, wherevnto the earle of Argyle and the earle Huntley refused to subscribe.

Hamilton coming at the day appointed to Edinburgh, did deferre the performance of his promises, deuising manie delaies; vntill the other principall of the factions were come, whereby the covenants might be established by all their consents, for which he prayed day till the tenth of Aprill: and that in the meane time he might vnderstand the mind of the imprisoned queene of Scots: all which in the end was denied vnto him. Wherevpon Hamilton (confessing the truth) said, that he consented to those conditions by compulsion; and that (if he were free) he would not allow of arie of them. For which answer, Hamilton & Partwell were committed prisoners to the castell of Edinburgh. The earle of Argyle was suffered to be quiet at home, but the earle Huntley was more hardlie dealt withall, because that in the absence of the gouernor he had taken manie, and had made deputies about Crawford and Ogilvie.

Wherevpon there was day giuen vnto them both to meet at the assemble at saint Andzeus, whither the earle of Argyle first came: with whom there was no extreme dealing, because he ceased to trouble the realme arie more, was of kinred to the gouernor, and they two were of great friendship together euen from their young yers. But when the cause of Huntley (long before his coming) was well debated, the gouernor pronounced, that he would pardon all priuate faults done to him, or to the king: but that he neither could nor would pardon arie injuries done to any other. And if Huntley, or his friends that followed his faction, could passe away with those spoils, he would willingly labor that arbitrators chosen by both parts, should temper the value of the damage. At what time also there grew a further mischief, whether all they which took part with Huntley should also be pardoned; but in the end, vpon deliberation, all things seemed indifferently well pacified.

During these things, the queene of England sent letters into Scotland in the behalfe of the imprisoned queene, either that she might wholie be restored, or iointlie rule with his sonne; or admitted to liue priuatlie in his owne countrie. All which being denied to be granted, the Scots sent Robert Petcarne, a man of great wisdom and fidelitie, to deliuer their answer vnto the queene of England. Whilst these things were in doing, the gouernor fearing the power of the imprisoned queene, which now waxed great, did call William Pettellan before him, from Perth to Strueling; who requested the earle of Argyle to go with him for his better suertie. Afterwards, this William sitting in the councell, was accused by Thomas Crawford of the kings death, wherevpon he was commanded prisoner to a chamber in the castell, and others were sent to apprehend James Balfourie.

But in the end, the gouernors mildnesse suffered no great hurt to fall vpon them: for Balfourie by his friends some obtained pardon; and Pettellan being led to Edinburgh, was left in a house there not farre from the castell: to whom certeine horsemen were appointed keepers, vnder the charge of Alexander Hume a noble young man, appointed chiefe ouer them. But William Bircadie, capteine of the castell of Edinburgh, about ten of the clocke at night, did counterfeitt letters signed with the hand of the earle of Spurreie, and brought them to Alexander, willing him to deliuer William Pettellan, which he did accordingly. Wherevpon Pettellan was caried by Bircadie into the castell, to the great mislike of the nobilitie, being almost vncertaine whether they should impute the deed to Bircadie, or to the gouernor, not being vniacquainted with the boldnesse of Bircadie: in such sort, that the same was like to grow to a commotion, if the innocencie of

Buchanan.  
lib. 19.

Buchanan,  
lib. 19.

Proclamation  
made at Bl  
with by Sir  
Jo. Foster

The castell  
Blenwicke  
warke was  
fortified by  
Jo. Foster

Sir John  
Foster he  
with few  
fell against  
the rebels.

Sir Henry  
Perrie aga  
his brother  
the earle of  
Northumb  
land.

1569.  
Proclamation in  
the north of  
England, b  
the earles of  
Northumb  
land & West  
merland.

of the gouernour had not before bene sufficientlie knowne.

In the yere 1569, the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland raised a rebellion against the queenes maiestie of England; but by the good diligence and prudent circumspection of the earle of Souther, then lieutenant of the north parts, and by his direction as was giuen by his maiestie and his counsell, for the leuening of an armie vnder the leading of the earle of Warwicke, and the lord admerall Clinton, the said two earles were kept so in feare, that they durst not aduance farre forward in their wicked begun enterprise, but were constrained to retire backe towards Durham. Whereupon the earle of Souther, supposing that their meaning was for their last refuge and safegard to take the castels of Alnewicke and Warleworth, he wrote vnto sir John Foster lord warren of the middle marches, either by force, policie, or some other means, to get into his hands the possession of those two castels, and the same to fortifie with such number and garisons of men, as to his discretion should be thought convenient, for the safe custodie and gard thereof.

Sir John Foster, being at his house nere to Alnewicke, when he receiued these letters, accompanied with his seruants, friends, and tenants, & some soldiers that were come to him from Berwicke, marched vp to the castell on foot, where finding the house garded with a great number of the earle of Northumberlandes seruants, retainers, and tenants, he made proclamation before the castell gate, that euery of them within the castell should come forth, and withowt to their owne houses, upon paine to be reputed rebels to the queenes maiestie: and that which of them sooner did refuse to obeye this proclamation, staing either in the castell or elsewhere in anye vniuersall assemblee, it should be lawfull for euery man to spoile his goods, and him to kill if he made resistance.

This proclamation notwithstanding, they within the castell, at the first refused to yeld it vp. And thereupon sir John Foster marched through the towne into the market place, and there made the like proclamation in behalfe of all the inhabitants that were the earle of Northumberlandes tenants, for their repairing home to their houses. And coming here with backe towards the castell, they within perceiving themselves destitute of succor, and sir John Foster to increase in power, did vpon better aduise yeld themselves vnto him, who saued all their liues. After the same manner he got also the castell of Warleworth, and fortified them both with sufficient number of men. This done, he assembled such forces as he was able to make, so that he got together to the number of eleuen hundred horsemen, and toke order to forsaie and stop the passages, so as the earles friends and tenants in Northumberland should not go vnto him.

After this, hauing in his companie the lord Diggle, and Thomas Foster his brother, and other gentlemen, he went to Newcastell, where with Thomas Coluer equier, that had the principall rule therof at that time, he toke order for the defense of that towne against the rebels. With came to him sir Henrie Percie, offering his seruice against his brother, and other the rebels, to the uttermost of his power. Hereupon diuerse excursions were made south of Newcastell into the bishopricke, where the two earles were incamped, and sundrie skirmishes chanced betwixt the two parties, though no great hurt followed thereof. The earles yet on a day came from Durham, and with their armie marched towards Newcastell. Sir John Foster, and sir Henrie Percie, hauing intelligence thereof, fled south of Newcastell with

all their forces, and certeine peces of great ordinance. They had also with them certeine bands of the soldiers of Berwicke, meaning betwixt to haue joined battell with the earles: but Henrie Percie the which was willing and forward thereto as was he in all the companies.

At Chester deane, midwaie betwixt Durham and Newcastell, the armiees approached the one nere to the other, a small brooke running in a hollow diuiding them asunder, so that there was no passage for them to conuene their ordinance ouer, the banks on either side being so deepe and crumbersome. Whereupon the earles, perceiving that they were disappointed of their purpose, after some skirmishes betwixt the horsemen, they returned vnto Durham: and from thence the next day they went to Berham, and after being in vtter despaire, fled into Scotland: where the erle of Westmerland lighted among those that shifted him aboute so from place to place, that he escaped out of that realme, when he could no longer remaine there in suertie. But the earle of Northumberland fell into their hands, which deliuered him vnto the regent, who thought he could do no lesse than put him in safe keeping, considering the amitie that was betwixt the two princes, the queenes maiestie of England, and the king of Scots.

But shortly after, the regent (as he was riding through Lithgow) was withed shot in with an harquebuse, by one James Hamilton, and so wounded, that the next day he died of the hurt [as saith Buchanan out of a wood gallerie, in which were clothes hanged as it were to an other ble.] \* But the night before the slaughter of the regent, Walter Scot, and Thomas Bar also of Ffernish entered into England to spoile the borders, which they did more cruellie than euer was done before, rather for desire of reuenge of some iniurie, than for the gaine of anie booties. Besides which, the captaine of the castell where Spettellan was prisoner, was now commanded to set the same Spettellan at libertie: who vpon oath before the nobilitie (which allowed and confirmed the same) did purge himselfe of the death of the king, and of the ciuill warres moued in England (where with he was charged) adding that he would proue the same at anie time when day should be appointed to him the refoze. After which, there was an assemblee made for the election of a new gouernour.

At what time Thomas Kandolph, being sent thither ambassador for the queene of England in the life of the regent, had audience granted vnto him: whose message was, to demand the deliuerie of such rebels of England as had fled thither: which ambassador the deceased gouernour had before refused to heare at Striueling. Whereupon, with all things were then in a turmole by his death, they departed. But now, when there was a parliament for the choosing of a new regent, Kandolph which had bene in Scotland some yeres before, because he seemed best to knowe the men and their conditions of Scotland, and because he had before dispatched some other ambassages for the benefit of the realme, was held nere and well esteemed of the nobilitie, and therefore was brought into the counsell.

Who, after that he had declared what the mind of his prince had bene vnto the Scots, he shewed that he would not now abbate the same vnto them in these troublesome times, no more than he had before done. After which he centembred the inuasions made into England, with the slaughters, spoiles, and burnings committed a litle before: all which he well knew was not done by the counsell or labor of the publike state: and therefore his queenes sance was not diminished to them, but that the same god will

Do. j.

The earles of Northumberland & Westmerland fled into Scotland.

1571. Buch.  
1570.  
The earle of Northumberland regent daime.  
Fr. Thia.

Buchan. lib. 20.

1569.  
Rebellion in the north of England, by the earles of Northumberland & Westmerland.

Proclamation made at Alnewicke by sir Jo. Foster.

uchanan, b. 79.

The castell of Alnewicke and Warleworth fortified by sir Jo. Foster.

Sir John Foster besieged Newcastell against the rebels.

Sir Henrie Percie against his brother the earle of Northumberland.

did remaine to them now, as ample as ever it was. And there she was grievouslie offended (and that without hir desert) yet she was not now determined (although by right the iustlie might) to demand publike restitution and recompense for such enuill; nor to exact punishment of the whole nation for the widdowing of a felo.

For she was not ignorant what tumults and troubles of all things was of late raised amongst them. Notwithstanding this euill, she did not yet anie whit doubt of the fauor of the good and vertuous men vnto hir: and that she would not onlie for their cause separate the offense from the publike consent: but also (if they themselves for the domesticall seditions could not inforce the disturbers of the quiet to make restitution of such spoiles) that she would ioine hir power with them, to the end by common counsell they might take iust punishment vpon the truce-breakers. Which if they could not then do by that meanes, that yet she would prosecute those iniuries with hir owne people, whose armes should without anie damage to them passe through such places as would be quiet, and take no reuenge vpon anie that were not guiltie of that iniurie. The rest of the parts of his ambassage did containe admonitions alwaies profitable in all lawfull assemblies, but most necessarie for the present state of Scotland.

Whereof the first aduise was for the defense of religion, with an especiall care of diligence therein: sith the same alone doth teach vs the forme of our dutie, and peace towards God, our prince, our equal, & christian neighbors. For no common-wealth diuided in it selfe can long continue: for which cause they must chieflie labor with all their power, with might and maine, with saile and oyes, that peace and quiet maie be holilie and vertuouslie nourished at home amongst their people. For sith God the creator of all things, hath imparted a kinglie gouernment ouer this nation, it is iust and meet that they obeye their princes; and in dutifull sort bestow all honor, reuerence, and obedience vpon them; sith peace, concord, amitie, and loue, with all men (as much as in vs lieth to be) is most acceptable to God, and doth take awaie (or at the least hinder) the thirst and shedding of mens blood, a fault which God of all others doth most hate.

Which vnitie increasing the wealth of euerie one, maketh all nations moze fearefull to their enemies, and is the preseruer of iustice: whose chiefe part consisteth in punishing the euill, is especiallie to be imbraced: when contrarie dissention and treason is a thing most detestable to all lawfull gouernement: sith such kind of people are to be pursued with all extremite, and not be succored with anie fauor, with anie mercie, or with anie pardon, into what countrie soeuer they flee for refuge of their hated wickednesse. All these things did Randolph both godlie and wiselie admonish vs of, and iustlie and modestlie require from vs.

But because there was no regent chosen for the supreme gouernement, there could no certeine answer be given thereunto: for which cause he was for that time put backe to the kalends of Aprill. At last, William and James Douglas, brothers of the laine regent by one mother, were heard in this parliament, who required that the vntowardie death of their brother might be reuenged, sith the same was taken awaie not for anie priuat grudge, but for the common-wealths cause. Vpon the opening whereof men were of diuerse opinions about his death, though they all agreed that the offenders should be punished: for some would haue a day giuen to such as were suspected of the murder: for the names of manie persons were there shewed to answer the

saine. But it better pleased other not to wait for anie appointed day of law to be giuen to them, who had already taken armes with violence to defend that deed which they had already done; & that they should not onelie raise their weapons against them, but also against all such as were condemned in that assembly of the nobilitie.

To which opinion all the knights and souldiours did some agree, who yet could not hold their determination, especiallie sith the earle of Atholl and Forth did dissuade them from it: whereof the first would haue them tarrie, vntill there were a greater assemble of the nobilitie: and the other supposed that it would come to passe, that if they ioined manie faults in one, that the reuenge of the regent would perish and come to nothing, and the matter would burst out to ciuill wars, whereby all they that feared peace, would flee to the part of such as were guiltie of the murder. Wherefore their faults were to be diuided, and (if it were possible) to treat of them by law, and that nothing should be done or changed vntill the kalends of Aprill, on which there was an assemble of parliament appointed.

Vpon which perswasion the companie was dissolved, though the greatest part of the nobilitie did condemne this delate, as moued therunto: because that the other would saie that all things were done at the becke of the kings enemies, who had thus protracted the time, to the end that the malice of the death of this regent might by little and little vanish in the meane time, and the aduerse faction gather greater power together. Which opinion of the common people was confirmed by manie things that went before, and manie things which followed. For presentlie (before the death of the regent was fullie spread abroad) James Hamilton (morgaging his lands to John Summeruill of Caninchame) borrowed monie thereof: with which, and with other monie taken vp of the rest of his friends, he sent to his fauorers (to hire souldiours) being warned before, that they should alwaies be ready at all times, and for all causes which should happen by the taking awaie of their deadlie enimie, the earle of Arrere: neither after that time did the quenes factions cease from meeting in diuerse distant places.

On the fifteenth kalends of March, there did assemble the chiefe of the rebellious faction (for by that name and epitheton doth Buchanan alwaies terme those that took the quenes part) to deuise of their affaires. At what time the earle of Argile, and the lord Boyd did write vnto earle Forth, that they would willingly (sith they did not yet know who killed the regent, and who were consenting thereunto) consult with the other nobilitie about the same matter, both to search out and to punish the same: and that they would not come to Edinburgh about that matter. But if the kings faction would be so perswaded, they would willingly come to Lifford, to Frankirke, or to Strueling, there to meet with them. Wherevpon, the earle of Forth, consulting with Apetellan about the same (for so it was desired in the letters) in the end it came to no effect. At the same time, Thomas Har wrote to Lincolne (to vse Buchanans word) to the gardian of the castell, to see if he could obtaine of the quene of England to saie hir armie: which if he brought to passe, that then he would take such order, that he would easilie pacifie the borders without anie further trouble, and that they should remaine in that dutie which they were bound: but if he did refuse this condition, he would continue in his attempt, not doubting but the good subjects would shew their obedience towards their imprisoned quene, & would ioine themselves together, because and would therefore come out of France vnto them.

On the first nones of March, the Hamiltons, the earle of Argyle, and Boid came to Lithquo, but the murder of one hired souldior did trouble all their de-  
uise by a sudden tumult that was raised the rebpon.  
Wherefore the next day after the archbishop of saint  
Andrewes did bring the Hamiltons home, the rest of  
the quenes faction, especiallie the earles of Hunt-  
leie, Atholl, Crawford, and the lords Ogilvie, Hume,  
Seton, and Metellan, met at Cdenburgh: in which  
the earle Morton was accompanied with a small  
traine, untill the earles of Glencarne and Spar were  
come with their retinue. The fourth nones of March  
the chiefe of the factions met together to consult of  
the estate of things: but the same did proceed verie  
slowlie, by reason of the absence of the earle of Ar-  
gile, whose power and authoritie was then verie  
great.

This man did Huntleie seeke to persuade to ioine  
with the rest of the faction, but he returned without  
doing anie thing (as it was supposed by most men)  
through the subtiltie of Metellan, which would haue  
things long deferred, that more convenient meane  
might be had in that troublesome state of the king-  
dome, for the innonation of things. The grea-  
test thing done in this assembling, was the argu-  
ment for the chosse of a new gouernor, which (as it se-  
meth) came to no effect. Now when all these assem-  
blyes tended to little purpose, those of the quenes fa-  
ction returned to sove sedition by procuring Eng-  
lish warres, thereby to draw the common-people to  
assist their part. Wherefore they send the capteine  
(that before had done the like) afresh at this time to  
execute the same, who left nothing undone that  
might tend to extreme crueltye.

During which, the heads of the faction do reproch  
the quene of England, and slander the nobilitie of  
Scotland, as though they were the clients and fol-  
lowers of the English; further threatening abroad in  
euerie place, that they would vse the aid of the  
French and Spanis, if the lord of the congregation  
praised in aid of the English. Much about that time,  
(as it were by chance) landed (out of France) at  
Dunbreton, Meriacke, one of the chamber to the  
French king, which aduanced the mindes of the  
quenes faction, with manie large promises: by  
meanes whereof the Hamiltons appointed an assem-  
blye of their people at Lithquo the first ides of Aprill.

At which day, when a great assemble was made  
of the quenes faction, they began there openlie to  
treat of those things which before were whispered  
in secret: which was, that the death of the king and  
regent might be either forgotten, or at least war cold  
in the publike turmoile of the realme, by making  
warre vpon the English. After which consultation,  
they determined to go to Cdenburgh the third ides  
of Aprill, there (besides manie other commodities  
which might grow to them by that place) to ioine vn-  
to them the citizens, by whom there was great helpe  
of god successe to be receiued. Which they thought  
they might easilie bring about, by reason that Wil-  
liam Kirkcaldie was gouernor both of the castell and  
towne, against which deuise the citizens did yet con-  
tend. But in the end, with hard conditions, the  
quenes part was admitted into the towne. After  
which, not thus contented, they persuaded the citizens  
to deliuer by the keyes of their towne, which they  
most wiselie refused.

All this while there was a great resort to Metel-  
lan then lieng of the govt, for which cause his house  
was commonlie called the scholehouse, and himselte  
the scholemaster. In which meane time, the earle of  
Atholl did not spare to traueil thither and thither, to  
draw those of the other faction to that assemble at  
Cdenburgh. But they would not come thither at all,

untill the kalends of Maie (which was a day appoi-  
nted for the parlement) vnlesse they knewe some iust  
necessitie which might preuent that day: and then if  
there happened anie thing of moment, which might  
not suffer anie delaie, they would communicate the  
same to the earle Morton, whose house was but foure  
mile from thence, & he should giue other knowledges  
thereof. In the end, a day was appointed by the earle  
of Atholl, in which a few of both factions should meet  
at the towne of the earle Morton, called Dalkeith,  
which place did not like the quenes faction, whose  
strength was much holpen by such prisoners as Kir-  
caldie had set at libertie out of the castell of Cden-  
burgh.

But all the deuises and helps of the quenes faction  
were quailed, by the rumoz of the English armie  
comming to Berwikke. Whereupon, Alexander  
Hume, and John Partwell latelie deliuered out of  
prison, without anie publike authoritie, or leaue to  
set them free, went home to defend their owne pos-  
sessions; and a portion of that monie, which they had  
gathered to hire souldiers, was giuen to the said lord  
Hume, to strengthen his castell of Hume. Thomas  
Kear, and Walter Scot (who were iudged to haue  
made some roads into England by the persuation of  
the bishop of saint Andrewes, whereby wars should  
rise in England) being forsaken of those which inha-  
bited neare these places, & fearing their owne estate,  
sent vnto the chiefe of the faction, requesting helpe  
of them: or if they would not do so, that at least they  
should come to Lowther the next towne; and from  
thence shew or make warre vpon England. Which  
when they could not obtaine (nor anie of the publike  
monie) they forthwith departed to their owne lands  
in great anger.

After this, whilest manie other things passed, as  
that the quenes faction sent an ambassado to the  
earle of Suffex, to fraie his iourne into Scotland;  
that they also sent letters to the quene of England  
concerning their cause; and that a seruant of mon-  
sieur Laufac in France, had brought letters to the  
quenes factions (with thanks for their fidelitie) di-  
rected also vnto other that were indiffernt, to ioine  
with the imprisoned quene; and that he promised  
them aid out of France; and that the quenes people  
were assured, that the kings part would come to  
Cdenburgh at the kalends of Maie: after all these  
things (I say) they of the quenes side departed to Lith-  
quo, supposing that place most commodious to as-  
semble their confederats. Whither when the Hamil-  
tons and their clients were come, they beset all the  
way to Cdenburgh: for when they vnderstood that  
John Areskin earle of Spar was comming thither,  
they laid ambushes vnder the next hills to intrap  
him.

But he knowing the insurie of the place, passed  
the riuer two miles aboue, and came to Cdenburgh  
the third day of Maie about euening. Shortly after,  
the kings part remaining at Cdenburgh, and the  
quens at Lithquo, the three earls, Arran, Argile,  
and Huntleie appoint a parlement at Lithquo, the  
three nones of August. The other faction sent Ro-  
bert Percarne ambassado to the quene of Eng-  
land, to intreat with hir about the suppression of the  
common enemie; and further to let hir vnderstand,  
that such were the good minds of the Scots vnto hir,  
that they would chosse a regent by hir appointment.

Besides which, the said lords of the kings part with  
generall consent wrote letters vnto the erle of Len-  
nor, then remaining in England, to repaire home  
with all convenient speed into Scotland. & He maie  
read in the historie of England, in what sort the erle  
of Suffex lord lieutenant of the north parts, entring  
into Luldale the seuen & twentieth of Aprill, burnt  
Do. ij. the

The earle of Lennor sent forward to returne into Scotland.

The duke of Chateleraut gathereth a power.

The duke returneth to Glas-cow.

Captains and gentlemen that went with the earle of Lennor into Scotland.

The earle of Lennor with the Englishmen come to Edinburgh.

the Holle towne, the towne of Crawling, the castell of Fernherst, the towne of Hovvike, and the castell of Baurton, that belonged to the laird of Buckleugh, with diuerse other castels, piles, towne, villages, and hamlets belonging to the lairds of Fernherst, Buckleugh, and others in those parts: also how the lord Scrope invaded the west borders of Scotland at the same time: and likewise how the said earle of Suffer wan the castell of Hume, with diuerse other matters which here I passe over, referring you to the said historie.

But now about the same time, the earle of Lennor, hauing got licence of the queene of England to make his returne into Scotland, was set forward, and came to Berwik towards the latter end of April, where being visited with sicknesse, he remained by the space of fourtene daies or more. In the meane time the duke of Chateleraut, the earles of Huntley, and Cassils, the lord Fleming, and sundrie others of that faction, seeing the time serued well for their purpose, now that the regent was laine and dispatched out of the waie, gathered a power, to the number of three thousand men, and came downe to Edinburgh. But after that they had knowledge that the erle of Lennor was coming out of England with a power of Englishmen, by the queens maiesties appointment; aswell for the safeguard of the young king, as also for the safe conduct of the earle of Lennor home into Scotland: the duke and earles aforesaid retired themselues from Edinburgh to Glascow, where they besieged the castell by the space of five or six daies, untill the earle of Lennor approched thitherwards. For ye haue to vnderstand, that after the earle of Lennor was recovered of his sicknesse, there was appointed a power of horsemen and footmen, to go with him into Scotland, vnder the leading of sir William Durié; as in the English storie ye may read more at large.

There were diuerse valiant captaines and gentlemen that went with him in that iourne, aswell such as had charge, as those that went with him of their owne good wils, to see the order of things, and to helpe to aduance their princes seruice. With charge there were these; sir George Carie captaine of an hundred lances, Henrie Ansell captaine of fiftie lances, William Curleie captaine of fiftie lances, maister Henrie Carie captaine of two hundred light horsemen, captaine Case lieutenant of the generals band of light horsemen, being also two hundred: sir Robert Constable sergeant maior of the footbards, sir Thomas Paners, captaine of the bowes, captaine Caruill, captaine Came, captaine Lambard, captaine Crington, John Constable, and Humfreie Berwik leaders of the footmen. Captaine Crington was also lieutenant to sir George Caries companie of lances. Other gentlemen that went of their owne good wils, there were diuers; as maister George Deuereux, sir Jerome Bowes, maister William Knolles, maister Robert Knolles, maister Michaell Carie, maister Calodie, maister William Durié of Suffolke cousin to the generall, maister Grenill, brother to sir Fulke Grenill, maister Contweie, brother to sir John Contweie, maister Edmund Verneie, and manie others, whose names I could not learne.

The footmen laie the first night at Coldingham. The next day the earle of Lennor himselfe with sir William Durié and the horsemen ouertoke the footmen, and lodged that night at Dunbar. The next day they made such speed in their march, that they came through to Edinburgh, where they found the earles of Morison, Durreie, Glencarne, the lords Ruthuen, Lindcie, Sempill, Glamis, Methuen, Ogiltrie, and Cathcart, with diuerse gentlemen of

the kings side; who receiued the said earle of Lennor, and the Englishmen verie courteously. From Edinburgh they passed to Lithquho, as in the English historie it maie appeare: and from thence the footmen passed to Fankirke, and there lodged. But the earle of Lennor, and the Scottish lords, with sir William Durié and the horsemen rode to Sterling, where the king laie, then being in the custodie of the earle of Mar. From thence they went to Glascow, where the duke had besieged the castell, which was valiantlie defended by the lord of Spintock and his brethren, with their seruants, being not past eightene persons in all; and yet they kept it five or six daies against the duke and his whole power, slaying (as hath bene reported) aboue fortie or fiftie of his men; but in the end they were in great danger to haue bene taken, if they had not bene the more speedilie relieved. But the duke and his adherents, vnderstanding of the coming forward of the erle of Lennor with the English forces, brake vp his siege and fled awaie, with losse and dishonor, as in the English historie we haue likewise noted.

After that the earle of Lennor and his friends were thus come vnto Glascow, finding the siege raised, he remained there by the space of five or six daies. During which time, there came to him of his kinred and friends, which owght him their seruice, according to the vse of the countrie, the number of foure thousand men, verie well appointed after their maner; the more part out of the countries of Lennor and Darneleie, which mustered before the said earle, and sir William Durié, generall of the English there. This done, the earle of Lennor, accompanied with the earles and lords before mentioned, & likewise with the Englishmen, marched to Hamilton, where they entred into the palace belonging to the duke, and lodged therein that night.

The next day they besieged the castell, whereof Andrew Hamilton of Perinton was captaine, hauing vnder him fiftie souldiers to defend it; and would not therefore deliuer it, till that two peces of great ordnance being brought from Sterling, were planted in batterie. For then perceiving themselves in danger to be taken by force, the captaine offered to yeld the house to the Englishmen; but not to the lords of Scotland, with condition, to haue the liues of all them within saued. Which was granted, vpon promise, that they should neuer after beare arms against their king, and to depart the realme with in a certaine terme, and herevnto they were sworn. But they kept not long their oth, for the night next ensuing, they did beset the lord Sempill that was lodged at that present in a house not far off, and not able to keepe it till rescue came, yelded it and himselfe prisoner, so that he was kept by the Hamiltons in safe custodie by the space of twelue moneths after. The castell of Hamilton being yelded (as ye haue heard) was blown vp with powder. Diuers other houses there in the countrie about were burnt also, as Kiploche, the abbat of Althinings house, with diuerse other of the Hamiltons houses in Clidisdale.

After the castell of Hamilton was thus towne and ouerthrowen, the lords returned to the palace, and lodged there againe that night; and on the morrow, they set fire both vpon the same palace, and also vpon the towne of Hamilton: and therewith the Englishmen taking leaue of the lords in Scotland, departed homewards; as in the English historie ye may reade more at large. The erle of Morison went with them; but the earle of Lennor and the other earles and lords with their companies took their way towards Glascow, and from thence euerie of the

Fankirke.

The earle of Lennor and sir William Durié rode to Sterling.

The castell of Glascow besieged by the duke of Chateleraut.

The brethren by his siege.

A muster of foure thousand Scots.

See more hereof in England.

The castell of Hamilton besieged.

It is deliuered to the Englishmen.

The lord Sempill taken.

The castell of Hamilton blown vp and rased.

The towne and palace of Hamilton burnt.

A corner of the lay: The earle Lennor regent.

The ear Huntley

A parier proclaim both the tions at day and

The ear Huntley meth no ver than chine.

The ear Huntley peth.

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the noble men departed home to their houses. Shortly after, there was a convention of the lords at Striveling, where the earle of Lennox was made lord lieutenant of Scotland: and afterwards in August following, there was an other convention at Edinburgh, where, by the consent of the three estates of the realme, the said earle was made regent of Scotland.

And about the same time, the earle of Huntlie toke upon him to be lieutenant of Scotland for the quene of Scots that remained still in England, and thereupon in his name summoned a parlement to be holden at Litchburgh the one and twentieth of September then next following. Unto the which parlement, as well the earle of Lennox then regent, as all the residue of the lords of both parties were summoned. Whereof the regent being advertised, caused a parlement to be summoned in the kings name to be kept at Litchburgh, at the selfe same day which was appointed by the earle Huntlie. At which day there appeared the lords of the kings partie, & also sundrie great lards, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of eight thousand, verie well furnished, looking for the earle of Huntlies comming, according to his appointed order; but he came no nether than Brechin.

Whereupon it was decreed by the regent and nobilitie there, to pursue him: and to that end, James Douglas earle of Morton was sent before with a thousand horsemen to have taken him upon the sudden in the towne of Brechin, before he should have any warning of their comming, the regent following after with an armie. But Huntlie having warning of their approach, escaped their hands, although verie narrowly; in somuch that some of his footmen were so put to their shifts, that they were driven for their refuge (being so beset on the sudden) to take the castell of Brechin: the earle of Huntlie promising before he went from them, to succour them within eight daies; but they being straitlie besieged, and the earle not keeping promise with them, after those eight daies were expired, they yielded themselves and the castell unto the regents mercie.

They were in all about three hundred, of which number one and thirtie of the chiefest were executed. Some of them had borne arms against the king before that time, and had bene pardoned, and therefore were now thought by the regent and his friends the more worthe to die. After this, the regent returned to Striveling, and from thence passed to the castell of Dornie, and besieged it; being kept by the servants of the lord of Saint Colmes Inch, who yielded it to the regent after three daies siege. During the time of the regents being there, he sent one of his servants called John Spone, with letters into England, directed to the quene of Englands counsell: who (for his secret practising and conference had with such as were enemies to the king and regent before his departure out of Scotland, and for receiving of their letters to be conveyed also, and hereunto discovering sundrie secrets to them, the which were committed unto his credit and trust) was apprehended, and the same letters which he had secretlie received being found upon him, and the matters aforesaid proved against him, he was by law executed.

About the same time the earle of Morton, the abbat of Dunfermeling, and James Macgill, cleark of the register, were sent into England commissioners upon the kings partie; the bishop of Ross, the abbat of Kilwinning, & the lord Levingston, appointed for the quene then being in England. In January following, the regent then being at Edinburgh, Claud Hamilton, one of the duke of Cha-

teleraunts sonnes, entered the house of Palsie, then being kept by the servants of the lord Sempill: and seizing upon all things which they found as stodd with his pleasure, he fortified the house with munition, and vittels, such as he could get either in the towne of Palsie, or nere thereabouts. The regent advertised thereof, repaired thither with a power in all speedie wise, and laid siege to the house. They within sued for a truce, which was granted to them for the space of six daies, the better to advise of their owne estate: which terme being expired, proclamation was made by the regent, that if they would yield the house, so manie of them as had not borne armes before that time against the king and regent, should have their lives saved, the rest to remaine at the regents pleasure.

Whereupon contention rose among them within the house: for whereas the more part of them having not served in any tourne or exploit against the king before that time, would needs yield; the other, being the lesse number, were not able to defend it of themselves. Whereupon they were ready to draw their weapons one against another; but yet in the end they agreed to surrender the house, and yielded themselves, upon such condition as the regent had prescribed: whereupon five of them were executed, & all the rest were pardoned of their lives. The capitaine John Hamilton, lord of Coughnall, and his two brethren excepted, who were sent to the castell of Glasgow, there to remaine in prison, and shortly after the said John Hamilton was executed.

In March following, the regent returned to Glasgow, and for that Gilbert Kennedy with the erles of Cassilis & Gylenton refused to shew themselves obedient to the king, and would not come to the regent, who had sent for them by letters at sundrie times, the regent gathered his power at Glasgow, and with the same marched towards Arbrin and Air, and so forward to the earle of Cassilis countrie, who hearing of the regents comming, sent forth his brother to offer his submission. Whereupon it was concluded, that the messenger should remaine with the regent as pledge for his brother, by the space of twentie daies; and then the said earle to make his appearance before the regent at Striveling, to answer such matters as should be laid to his charge.

The same time also Hugh Montgomerie earle of Gylenton, and Robert Boyd leuied their bands also to appeare and answer in like sort: and as well the one as the other (according to their assurance given) appeared at the day appointed; but yet not agreeing to such articles as were required of them, they were both committed to prison, the one in the castell of Dunbarton, & the other in the castell of Dornie. Afterwards there was a truce taken betwene the regent, the Hamiltons, and their adherents for twentie daies, to wit, untill the last of March. Which truce once ended, the regent determined with himselfe to give an attempt to the castell of Dunbarton, which had bene long kept by the lord Fleming against the king, and the earle of Murreie late regent, who had besieged it for the space of halfe a yere or more, but could not by any meanes compasse to win it.

But now on the first of Aprill, the truce being then expired, the regent going forward with his purpose, caused all the passages round about the countrie to be stopped, as well by land as by water; and the same night sent thitherward capitaine Thomas Crawford, and capitaine Hume, with an hundred souldiers, chosen out for the purpose: who the second of Aprill, about foure of the clocke in the morning, came to the castell, where the souldiers with ladders, ropes, and other devices, found meanes to cline by the rocke,

Palsie taken and kept by Claud Hamilton.

The regent besiegeth Palsie.

Palsie is surrendered to the regent.

1571.

The regent goeth against the earle of Cassilis.

The earles of Cassilis and Gylenton committed to ward.

A truce for twentie daies.

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A convention  
of the lords.  
The earle of  
Lennox made  
regent.

The earle of  
Huntlie.

A parlement  
proclaimed by  
both the fac-  
tions at one  
day and place.

The earle of  
Huntlie com-  
meth none  
nether than Bre-  
chine.

The earle of  
Huntlie esca-  
peth.

Execution.

The castell of  
Dornie yield-  
ed.

Commissio-  
ners sent into  
England.

The castell of  
Dunbzyeton  
taken by a  
policie.

Captaine  
Crawford &  
captaine  
Hume.

The lord  
Fleming es-  
capeth.

John Hall.

The strong  
situation of  
the castell of  
Dunbzyeton.

The ladie  
Fleming ho-  
norable in-  
treated.

which is of an exceeding great heighth, and so with great paine, and more danger, at length got vp to the wall of the castell, standing vpon the heighth of the rocke, to the which wall they reared vp a ladder, by the which entered first one Alexander Kamlie, ensigne-bearer to capteine Crawford, & leaping ouer the wall, was straightwaies assailed by three of the watchmen, of the which he slue one: and a souldier named Wilerborne that followed him, being the second that entered, slue another of them: the third of those watchmen was also slaine, as he was about to flee from them.

Herewith capteine Crawford & capteine Hume got ouer the wall, and entering the castell with the rest of their souldiers, strooke by the drum, & cried: A Derneleie, being their watchword; and setting vp on the ordinance, manned the same. The lord Fleming capteine of the castell, hearing that sudden fright and tumult within the house, fled out by the posterne gate at the neither baile, and so escaping, got a fishers boat, and passed into Argyle. The souldiers of the castell, perceiving their captein fled, and the castell possessed by the enemies, yielded themselves, and were pardoned. There were taken within the castell John Hamilton, the archbishop of saint Andrews, monsieur de Meriacke a Frenchman, sent thither by the French king, also the ladie Fleming, wife to the lord Fleming, and John Fleming lord of Boghall, Alexander the sonne of William Leuingston, and John Hall an Englishman, being partener of a new intended conspiracie, as was after proued against him, for the which he was arreigned, condemned, and executed at London; as in the English historie appeareth.

The third of Aprill, being the morrow after that Dunbzyeton was thus strangely toone, the regent came thither, and entered the same, where he calling the capteins and souldiers together, caused them with him to kneele downe vpon their knees, and to giue God humble thanks for their good successe in that enterpryse, brought to passe rather by the prouidence of God than otherwise, sith the castell seemed to all those that knew it, impossible in manner to be toone, by reason of the great heighth of the rocke, and the strange situation, being incircled almost round about with the water of Clide on the one side, and the water of Leuin on the other. The report of the winning of this castell was sofull to the townes and countries about, which before had bene a continuall scourge to them, by reason that the souldiers that kept it, would issue out at sundrie times, robbing, spoiling, and carieng awaie the commodities of the inhabitants thereabouts, as well by land as by water.

The regent dealt verie honozable with the ladie Fleming, suffering hir to depart away with all such plate and iewels, as appertained either to hir or hir husband. He granted also a safe conduct to monsieur de Meriacke, to passe homewards through the countrie, but the archbishop of saint Andrews was sent prisoner to Striueling. The spoile of the goods found in the castell was giuen to the souldiers that ventured so dangerously to achieve so high an enterpryse, bringing it to the wished effect by policie with so little bloodshed as deserueth perpetuall remembrance. The day next ensuing, being the fourth of Aprill, the regent appointed John Cunningham lord of Drumthussell, a man of good seruice, and seruant to the regent, to be capteine of that castell, and leaving him therein, departed to Striueling, where he caused the archbishop of saint Andrews to be examined vpon certeine articles, as well touching the murder of the late king Henrie, as also for the death of the earle of Arrureie the late re-

gent.

At whattime there came in a priest without compulsion of anie (as hath bene said) and before the regent declared, that one John Hamilton, being in extreme sicknesse, vnder confession told him, that the bishop did send him with three others to the murder of the king. And as touching the murder of the earle of Arrureie, the bishops flat answer was, he might haue letted it if he would. Wherewith the people that heard him, cried, Awaie with him, hang him. And so for these and other offences, for the which he had bene forsailed afore that time, he was now executed on a gibet, set vp in the market place of Striueling towne. After this, the regent summoned a parlement, to begin at Edenburgh the fourteenth of Maie next ensuing, and passed from Striueling to Lith-qao.

Here the earle of Morison (with the rest of the commissioners for the kings part, being returned out of England, with other of the nobilitie) met the regent, and then they passed toward Edenburgh, where they thought to haue bene receiued, and so to haue kept the parlement there. But they were not suffered to enter that towne, nor yet the castell, the same being defended against them by the lord of Grange, who after the death of the earle of Arrureie, was revolted from the kings part to the Hamiltons side, and had fortified both the towne and castell: so that the regent and nobilitie being kept out there, held their parlement in the Cannogate street, within the suburbs of the towne, where sundrie of the quenes part were forsailed. This being done, and sundrie skirmishes had with them that issued forth of the towne against them without, the regent returned to Striueling, there to remaine for a season.

In the meane time the earle of Morison, hauing certeine susses come forth of England by sea, and brought to land at Leith, sent the lord of Carmichell with his household seruants, & two hundred shot, to fetch the same from thence vnto Dalketh, being five miles distant from Leith. At their returne with the susses, they were set vpon by the earle of Huntley, and the lord Hume, who issued out of Edenburgh with their powder: so that betwixt them was a verie hot skirmish. But in the end the earle of Huntley, & the lord Hume were constrained to flee, and were pursued by Carmichell and his companie euen vnto the gates of Edenburgh, some of their men being slaine, and others taken prisoners. For reuenge of which ouerthrow, shortly after the earle of Huntley, and Claud Hamilton, with their forces marched from Edenburgh, to Dalketh, purposing to haue spoiled the towne.

But the earle of Morison, hauing knowledge of their intention and coming, sallied forth of Dalketh with the powder which he had there with him, although not comparable in number to his aduersaries; & meeting them in the field, there was a sharpe skirmish betwixt them, and manie hurt on both parties: but in the end the earle of Morison was put to the worse, fouentie or more of his men taken prisoners. And the cause was, for that his footmen were too forward, wanting helpe of their horsemen that should haue succoured them. About the five & twentieth day of Maie following, capteine Cullen issued forth of Edenburgh with two hundred shot, meaning to intercept certeine harquebusers, which were appointed to come out of Fife ouer the riuer of the Forth, vnto the earle of Morison, who kept still at Dalketh.

Wherevpon the said earle, hauing knowledge of Cullens enterpryse, aduertised the regent thereof, who being then at Striueling, the next day came downe to Dunfermling in Fife. But before his coming thither,

The archb.  
shop of saint  
Andrews  
executed.

A parlement  
summoned.

A skirmish

The castell of  
Edenburgh  
kept by the  
lord of Grange  
against the  
regent.

The abbot  
kilwinnie  
slaine.  
The lord  
Hume and  
capteine C  
lentaken.

The lord of  
Carmichell.

Fr. Thin.  
Leith fort  
ed.

The earle of  
Huntley and  
lord Hume  
put to flight.

A proclamation.

The earle of  
Morison put  
to the worse.

The chal-  
lenge of the  
lord of  
Grange.

The lord  
Carmichell.

John Che  
holme.

thither, Cullen had met with a bote upon the water, wherein were aboard five and twenty that, whom he took prisoners, and led them along with him to Edinburgh. The next day the earle of Spontoun came to Leith, where he met with sir William Dornie, and there they lodged that night. The next morning sir William Dornie passing forth of Leith towards Edinburgh, accompanied with sundrie captains, and other gentlemen for his comrade thither, they within Edinburgh perceiving them coming, imagined that they were come forth to offer a skirmish, whereupon they issued out of the towne and castell to encounter them.

So that being readie on either side to begin the skirmish, sir William Dornie, being come to talke with the parties for some accord to be had, took in hand with great diligence to appease them: and at length procured them to agree upon a truce to endure till eight of the cloche at night. But yet when both parties staid in the fields for the space of an houre, because they could not agree whether captives should first retire from the field, they fell at length in skirmish (notwithstanding the truce) and fought very sharpe for the time, till in the end they of the towne and castell had the overthrow: the abbat of Balthuning being slain, with diuerse other; and there were taken about an hundred prisoners: amongst the which the lord Home, and capitaine Cullen were accounted principall. Those that escaped were chased, & constrained for their safetie to flee into the towne of Edinburgh, & capitaine Cullen was afterwards beheaded.

The regent turned at le after this skirmish came with all speed to Leith, as well to fortifie the towne, as to make some further attempt against his adversaries within the towne and castell of Edinburgh. Whereupon was Leith (whose capitaine was Patrick Lindseie) interchanged round about, being esteemed a place of great importance, standing both in the face of the enemies, and so readie to annoy them, and also serving well to prevent them of such succour as they looked for daile out of France. In this meane time, the lord of Grange, then capitaine of the castell, and prouost of the towne of Edinburgh, raised proclamation to be made, that all those inhabitants which were not willing to take part with him in his doings, should depart out of the towne. Whereupon, manie of them departed thence, together with their wiues and children, and took with them also such goods as they could secretlie conueie: and coming to Leith, offered their seruice vnto the regent, who thankfullie accepted their offer: and so they remained at Leith, seruing against the contrarie faction vpon their owne expences.

After this, the lord of Grange, understanding that report had bene made by some of the kings part, that he was a traitor to the king, and an enemy to his countrie, offered the combat to anie that would iustifie the same. Which being advertised to them with in Leith, diuerse gentlemen were desirous to undertake the challenge: but the regent granted it to the lord of Carlishe, being a Steward, & his kinsman, who had earnestlie requested it. Whereupon, after diuerse messages by heralds sent to and fro betwixt them, the time and place was appointed; but the matter went not forward, excuse being made on the behalfe of the lord Grange, that by reason of the charge which was committed to him, it was not thought convenient that he should hazard the whole cause vpon his owne person.

Shortlie after, there came out of France one John Chescholine, who was sent with monie to the lord of Grange for the payment of his souldiours: he brought with him also a certeine quantitie of powder, and

some hundred callibers. Upon his entering into the border of France, and coming by the same, he leaued his horse the regent was in Leith: whereupon he landed at Bont Island, and afterwarres for feare his himselfe betwixt two cliffs of a roche, not farre from the quenes ferrie: but at length he was found out by the abbat of saint Colmes Inch, and deliuered to the regent at Leith, in which towne the said regent lay about two moneths, doing sundrie murther, as well by private and policie, as by force to haue taken the towne of Edinburgh. In the meane time sundrie skirmishes chanced betwixt them, and diuerse prisoners were taken on either part.

At length, the regent caused a parliament to be summoned, appointing the same to be holden at Strimeling the two & twentieth of August next ensuing. And when that day approached, he left the lord Lindseie at Leith in charge, as his lieutenant to gouerne the towne, and all the men of warre appointed to remaine in gard thereof; and repaired himselfe to Strimeling, where at the prefixed date was assembled the earles of Spontoun, Mar, Cathcart, Sutherland, Spontroffe, Eglington, Glencarne, the lords Ruthuen, Glamis, Gresham, Seimpill, Ogiltrie, and Cathcart, with manie lords and gentlemen. The first day of this parliament the king was conueied thither, the crowne, scepter, and sword being borne before him.

When he had taken his place, he uttered a certeine speech as had bene taught him, touching the assembling of that parliament, which matter the regent more at large declared vnto the whole house: and this done, they proceeded further to other affaires, concerning the state of the common-wealth. Spoken in this parlement, the duke of Chateaurault with his two sonnes, the abbat of Arbroth, and Adam Hamilton, the earle of Huntly, the lord of Grange and sundrie others were assembled. This parliament continued by the space of seven daies: at the end wherof, to wit, vpon the second of September, Adam Hamilton, the lord of Bouchlugh, the lord of Darnlie, and diuerse others, to the number of three hundred horsemen, betwixt earlie in the morning entered the towne of Strimeling, and suddenly beset not onlie the regent, but also the rest of the nobilitie within their lodgings.

The regent hearing a great uprore raised within the towne (in which George Ruthuen was slain) and not understanding the cause, nor who were the authors thereof, after he perceived how the house wherein he lodged was beset on each side, he defended the same against the enemies for a good space: but at length despairing of succours, and doubting least the house had bene underlaid with some barrells of powder, and that it would be blown vp if he yelded not as some told him: and the enemy to increase that doubt, crying still, Blow vp the house, what should he stand longer about him: at length he was contented to yeld to the lord of Darnlie, but not before he saw that some of his stoutest captains had yelded themselves before his face. He yelded, with condition to haue his life saved: but promise in that behalfe was not long kept. For those that had thus taken him, when they perceived rescue coming doونه from the castell, so that they should not be able to carrie him awaie, capitaine Cauder with a pistol shot him into the bodie, before he could be recovered out of their hands.

The rest of the nobilitie, to wit, the earles of Spontoun, Eglington, and Glencarne, and diuerse other being taken prisoners, were presently rescued by those that issued out of the castell. The earle of Spontoun being in the hands of the lord of Bouchlugh, took the same lord prisoner, he yelding himselfe vnto him: and

A parliament summoned.

The duke of Chateaurault assembled.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Lennox taken in his lodging

The earle of Lennox wounded.

and likewise the earle of Glengorne took his proper  
prisoner, and so did sundrie others take their authors :  
but Claude Hamilton, with others their companions,  
having first gotten all the horses that were found  
in the towne into their hands, when they heard that  
the rescue was coming, shifted for themselves, and  
fled away. The regent, being mortally wounded, but  
yet delivered from his enemies, rid up to the castle,  
and calling there unto him the whole nobilitie, when  
he perceived his end to approach, he bled these words  
(or the like in substance) as followeth.

The earle of  
Lennox his  
words before  
his death.

My lords, it is not unknowne unto you all, that  
my coming hither to take this regiment upon me,  
was not of mine owne seeking, but at the request of  
you all. And that which chiefly moved me hereunto,  
was, for the defense of the kings person, being yet  
(as you see) an infant; of whom by nature and dutie  
I was bounden to have carefull consideration, and  
that in his minority, the good and quiet gouverne-  
ment of this common-wealth might be advanced,  
and justice executed upon those that most cruelly did  
murder the late king, my sonne the kings father,  
and his uncle the good earle of Murray, late regent :  
whose mischievous and diabolical devices if in time  
you do not prevent by your wisdoms and discreti-  
ons, they will procure the final overthrow and de-  
struction of you all. In this action (as you see) I have  
spent my blood, and have played the last part of my  
tragedie, and now I seele death to draw nere at  
hand.

Wherefore I require you all, for the due regard  
that you haue of your duties, first to almighty God,  
and next to the king your most lawfull and naturall  
prince now in these his tender yeeres, whome to im-  
plore your service in his defense, with care to main-  
teine the state of this common-wealth, whereby you  
shall not onely accomplish your duties towards  
God, but shall be assured to find in your king in time  
to come (God lending him life) all that good, which  
you can lawfully require. And I shall further commit  
to your friendly protection, my poor servants, who

for their good service haue well deserved, and yet re-  
maine unrecompensed, desiring you all to be good to  
them. And lastly, I desire you to commend me unto  
the most honorable Margaret my deere wife, now being in  
England: unto whom I beseech God to be a com-  
forter. And now my spirits begin to faile, and  
that my life draweth nere to an end, I take my  
leave of you all, desiring you to pray to God for  
me: These words being ended, he called to God for  
mercie, and continuing in prayer unto the end, with-  
in a while after he departed this life, and was buried  
in the kings chappell in the castell of Striveling.

The earle of  
Lennox de-  
parteth this  
life.

Thus haue I hitherto continued this historie of  
Scotland; not so largelie nor perfectlie as I could  
haue wished, but skambled forward with it in such  
sort as you maie see; having delivered nothing unto  
you to impair the credit of the Scottish nation, o-  
therwise than I haue found in authors, or learned  
by credible report (as I take it) having put off the  
partiall affection, which I beare of dutie to mine  
owne countrie, in this respect, that I shuld not seeme  
to twist the words of writers, either to the aduan-  
tage of the English people, or disadvantage of the  
Scots, speciallie in politike gouernement, warlike  
exploits, ciuill demeanour, and other vertuous exerci-  
ses: which as I haue found them either in anie one  
person particularlie, or in the multitude in generall;  
so haue I reported the same, not sparing the truth  
herein, as I haue found it recorded, either for loue  
or hatred, dread, fauor, or enuie: but yet in no wise  
presuming (as else where I haue said) to vse mine  
owne censure, but rather leaving the iudgement of  
other mens reports unto the readers discretion. To  
whome I wish such vnderstanding and knowledge in  
the truth, as maie satisfie himselfe, and rebound to  
the publike commoditie of his countrie, and plea-  
sure of the almighty; in whose hands are the hearts  
of kings & gouernours, guiding the states of realms  
and common wealths, as to his diuine wisdoms sa-  
meth most expedient. To whome be glorie, honor, and  
praise for evermore; Amen.

Thus farre the painefull industrie of *Raphaell Hollinshed*, and others.

The sequelle, concerning the continuation of this Sco-  
tish historie, is a new addition before  
this time neuer in English  
published.

